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PRIMITIVE BEHAVIOR

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PRIMITIVE BEHAVIOR

An Introduction to the Social Sciences

BY

WILLIAM I. THOMAS

Author of The Polish Peasant in Europe and America; The Child in America; The Unadjusted Girl; Sex and Society; Source Book for Social Origins; etc.

FIRST EDITION

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PREFACE

The present volume is presented as a study in culture history from the sociopsychological standpoint. Its general objective is an examination of the varieties of human response to the stimuli of various cultural situations and the exemplification of the degree of adaptability of the human organism as shown in individual and organizational behavior reactions and the resultant group habits and social codes.

Two features of the bibliographies may be pointed out. In order to provide an adequate amount of reading material for students in institutions where anthropological literature is not abundant the contents of certain important volumes which are usually everywhere accessible are listed by chapters or topics under the relevant bibliographical headings. For the same reason the contents of such publications as the *Reports of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, the *American Anthropologist* and the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, which are usually accessible, are listed rather fully.

It will be noticed that there is a relative neglect of the economic and artistic factors of behavior in the text. There are, however, copious references to these factors in the bibliographies.

The explanations in brackets of the meanings of strange words and phrases are usually inserted by myself, and my footnotes, as distinguished from those of the authors quoted, are in brackets.

Some confusion may arise from the fact that the name of the same Bantu tribe may appear in different forms. In this family of languages a prefix is added and modified to define the application of nouns. Thus *Ila* is a root word; *Mwila* refers to a single person of an *Ila*-speaking tribe; *Ba-ila* to more than one person; and *Bwila* is the name of the country. Strictly the tribe should be called the *Ila* but in practice the form *Ba-ila* (or *Baila*) is more usual; and similarly the people of Uganda may be referred to by different writers as the *Ganda* or the *Baganda*, etc.

Since the pronunciation of the primitive languages is of no importance in the present connection I have omitted the diacritical marks usually employed by the philologist in recording these languages.

In passages containing Hottentot or Bushman words the "clicks" are represented by the following characters: ! (cerebral), ‡ (palatal), | (dental), || (lateral).

In a number of the passages quoted the author refers to something "said above" which I do not quote, or to a figure which I do not reproduce. In such cases it will be understood that further details will be found in the original.

It may be pointed out also that while the word "tabu" (rather than "taboo") is used in general in the volume, the word "tapu" is used when the Polynesian custom is referred to.

The preparation of the volume was certainly something of a trial of patience to a number of libraries, and I wish to acknowledge the perfect cooperation of the New York Public Library over a long period, and the generous response of the Yale University Library, the Library of the American Museum of Natural History, and the following libraries of Stockholm: the Royal Library, the Library of the Social Science Institute, the Library of the National Ethnographical Museum, the Library of the Royal Academy of Science.

I wish to acknowledge also the cordial assistance of Leslie Spier, George P. Murdock, Edward Sapir, Robert H. Lowie, C. G. Seligman, Gerhard Lindblom, and Bruno Gutmann, and these are also among the authors whose works I have plundered extensively. Raymond Kennedy has also placed at my disposal the manuscript of a forthcoming publication containing the most extensive employment of the materials in the Dutch language on Indonesian groups.

Bernece W. Shalloo and Eleanor C. Isbell have rendered invaluable assistance in the preparation of the manuscript.



W. I. T.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.,
December, 1936.

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KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

Abhandl.—Abhandlungen
Acad.—Academia; Academy; Académie
Akad.—Akademie
Amer.—American
Ann.—Annalen; Annales; Annals; Annuaire
Anth.—Anthropological; Anthropologie; Anthropologisch; Anthropology
Arch.—Archiv; Archives; Archivio
Archaeol.—Archaeological; Archaeology
Ark.—Arkiv.
Assn.—Association
Bull.—Bulletin
Bur.—Bureau
Centralbl—Centralblatt
Ethnog.—Ethnographical; Ethnographisch; Ethnography
Ethnol.—Ethnological; Ethnologisch; Ethnology
Forsch.—Forschungen
Gesellsch.—Gesellschaft
Hist.—Historical; Historique; Historisch; History
Inst.—Institute; Institution; Institut
Internat.—International; Internationale
Jahrb.—Jahrbuch
Jour.—Journal
K.—Königlich; Kaiserlich
Mem.—Memoirs
Mens.—Mensuelle
Mitteil.—Mitteilungen
Mus.—Museum
Natl.—National
Proc.—Proceedings
Psychol.—Psychological; Psychologisch; Psychology
Publ.—Publication
Quart.—Quarterly
Rec.—Record; Recueil
Rept.—Report
Rev.—Review; Revista; Revue
Roy.—Royal
Sci.—Science; Scientific; Scientifique; Scienze
Ser.—Series; Serial
Sociol.—Sociological; Sociologie; Sociologique; Sociology
Soziol.—Soziologie; Soziologisch
Suppl.—Supplement
Tr.—translator
Univ.—University; Université; Universität
Verein.—Vereinigung
Verhandl.—Verhandlungen
Veröffentl.—Veröffentlichung
Wissensch.—Wissenschaft
Wissenschaftl.—Wissenschaftlich
Zeit.—Zeitschrift

PRIMITIVE BEHAVIOR

CHAPTER I

THE COMPARATIVE STUDY OF CULTURES

The social sciences are fundamentally concerned with relationships between individuals and individuals, individuals and groups, and groups and other groups. Language, gossip, customs, codes, institutions, organizations, governments, professions, etc., are concerned with the mediation of these relationships.

The central problem in the general life process is one of adjustment, and the forms of adjustive effort are "behavior." In a human as distinguished from an animal society the problem of the adjustments of individuals and groups is related to a cultural situation, that is, one in which a body of values has been accumulated and preserved (mainly through the instrumentality of language) in the form of institutions, mores, and codes, together with a reinforcing set of attitudes or tendencies to act in conformity with prescribed behavior patterns or norms. The attitudes and values, or, we may say, the attitudes toward values, which reflect the personality of the individual are the result of a process of conditioning by the influences of the cultural milieu, eventuating in a body of habits.

The reaction of different individuals in the same culture to identical cultural influences will depend partly on their different trains of experience and partly on their biochemical constitutions and unlearned psychological endowments. Local, regional, nationalistic and racial groups are in turn conditioned, in the formation of their behavior patterns and habits, by their several trains of experience and conceivably by their particular biochemical and psychological constitutions.

From this standpoint the problems of individual and group adjustment involve study of the following factors:

1. The culture situations to which the individual is to make adjustments (studies of cultures).

2. The devices and instrumentalities for adjusting the individual to the cultural situations (social organization and education).

3. The capacity and opportunity of the individual to be adjusted (constitutional factors, incentives, social position).

4. The failures of adaptation, meaning: for the individual, dependency, vagrancy, crime, alcoholism, drug addiction, psychoneurosis, etc.; and for the group, decline, subordination, extermination.

5. Changes in cultural situations (*e.g.*, internal mobility of populations, urbanization, migration, invasion, colonization, the dissemination of cultural traits, race prejudice, technological advance, shifting of occupation, changes in attitudes and values, etc.) requiring continuous readjustment of individuals and reorganization of culture and learning, and involving questions of the participation of individuals and groups in promoting and directing cultural change.

In this connection it is a frequent experience that the problems of a given situation are soluble only by going outside that immediate situation. Thus the widest and seemingly most irrelevant excursion from human situations is the exploration of the cosmic universe, but the hypothesis-forming implications of this research for our own material universe have been pointed out by an eminent astronomer:

> The variable stars are our main measuring tools for getting out into the universe beyond and outside our own system. It is very difficult to find out anything about our own milky way because we ourselves are inside this system. We can study it only by studying the other systems, and the more we learn about them directly, the more we will learn about our own system, indirectly.[1]

The employment of the microscope instead of the telescope and spectroscope has enabled the biologists to push exploration to the other extreme, in the direction of the examination of the life and behavior of invisible and parasitic forms of existence, and this direction of research, which originally seemed also quite irrelevant to the problem of the human universe, has eventually reacted very positively on the control of human diseases. Thus, to take a single example, malaria is caused by a parasite which must develop its life cycle in two unrelated hosts, the earlier stages in the stomach of a mosquito and the later stages in the red blood corpuscles of humans. Humans bitten by infected mosquitoes contract malaria, and sound mosquitoes biting infected humans are infected, and a vicious circle is thus established. But if mosquitoes are unable to

[1] Shapley, H., *New York Times*, Jan. 1, 1931.

bite humans the parasites cannot be propagated and malaria disappears. Similarly, experiments with garden peas, guinea pigs and fruit flies have thrown a light on human heredity not directly obtainable from humans.

It is well known also that the theory of evolution as formulated by Darwin and his contemporaries had a profound influence upon the development of all the social sciences and more particularly on anthropology and sociology. Darwin also went outside the immediate situation and examined comparatively the modification of life on the morphological side during the whole of geological time, and fixed what Huxley later called "man's place in nature," which was, in fact, among the animals.

The years following the publication of Darwin's *Origin of Species* were, of course, an exciting period, and a formative one for anthropology. A new and vivid interest was aroused for those great groups of mankind called "savages," "primitives," "uncivilized," "lower races," "natural races," and recently by Faris "preliterates," and for about seventy years these groups have been studied with increasing intensity and improved techniques, partly from the standpoint of the antiquity of man and the derivation of his varieties and partly from that of the evolution of human institutions.

At the present moment all the social sciences have become more or less concerned with the problem of human behavior, especially in its relation with the problems of education, the intercourse of nationalities, the contacts of races, delinquency, crime, insanity, etc., and more generally with reference to the progressive unstabilization of society, and there is a renewed and wider interest in the comparative examination of the specific cultural systems of racial and national groups and the behavior of individuals in the specific cultural situations, corresponding again with Professor Shapley's dictum that the more we learn about other systems directly the more we shall learn about our own system indirectly.

Historically the study of primitive societies has been prominently associated with the three following points of view:

1. That cultural evolution, as shown in social institutions, would be found to emerge and proceed in a regular order and invariable unilinear sequence, the same steps being taken in the same order by each and every division of mankind in so far as they were taken at all.

Tylor, who was prominent in the foundation of modern anthropology, emphasized the theory of the unilinear development of cultures and illustrated it by a comparison drawn from geology:

The institutions of man are as distinctly stratified as the earth on which he lives. They succeed each other in series substantially uniform over the globe, independent of what seem the comparatively superficial differences of race and language, but shaped by similar human nature acting through successively changed conditions in savage, barbaric, and civilized life.[1]

The assumptions of this straight-line evolutionary theory have been well stated by Rivers, who at the same time rejects it in favor of a historical approach to be noticed later:

[Formerly] the aim of the anthropologist was to work out a scheme of human progress according to which language, social organization, religion, and material arts had developed through the action of certain principles or laws. It was assumed that the manifold peoples of the earth represented stages in this process of evolution, and it was supposed that by the comparative study of the culture of these different peoples it would be possible to formulate the laws by which the process of evolution had been directed and governed. It was assumed that the time order of different elements of culture had been everywhere the same; that if matrilineal institutions preceded patrilineal in Europe and Asia, this must also have been the case in Oceania and America; that if cremation is later than inhumation in India, it has also been later everywhere else. This assumption was fortified by attempts to show that there were reasons, usually psychological in nature, according to which there was something in the universal constitution of the human mind, or in some condition of the environment, or inherent in the constitution of human society, which made it necessary that patrilineal institutions should have grown out of matrilineal, and that inhumation should be earlier than cremation.[2]

From the standpoint of the cultural evolutionists, the lowest savages, represented by the Tasmanians and Australians, were taken as representing the first phase of cultural evolution, and the "folkways" of European peasants, their periodic festivals, superstitions, etc., were regarded as "survivals" from the first phase. Inferences were also made as to the original state of man from certain reported practices of contemporary savages, suggesting that their cultures contained also survivals. If in some savage groups wives were loaned in a hospitable way this was assumed to be a survival of primitive promiscuity, and, similarly, if the tabus against incestuous cohabitation were broken periodically (as in certain ceremonies) this was interpreted as evidence of a prior stage of general "consanguineous marriage." It was noticed also that in certain tribes near relatives of a girl cohabited with

[1] Tylor, E. B., "On a Method of Investigating the Development of Institutions . . . ," *Jour. Anth. Inst.*, **18**: 269.

[2] Rivers, W. H. R., *History and Ethnology*, 3–4 (The Macmillan Company. By permission).

her immediately before marriage, excluding the groom temporarily, and this, termed by Lubbock the "expiation of marriage," was regarded as a sort of resentful gesture on the part of family members and a survival from a period when sexual communism prevailed. The mock resistance on the part of a bride and her relatives to her removal to the residence of the groom was interpreted as a survival of marriage by capture, etc.

2. That the higher cultures are the result of superior inborn mental endowment in the racial divisions which they represent.

The Darwinian formulation of evolution, which on the physical side meant the gradual building up of the higher organic forms through the modification of the lower ones, was especially favorable to the view that the "lower" races were incompleted in their mental evolution. It had, in fact, required no Darwinian theory to convince the white man that the black and yellow races were mentally inferior and thus incapable of originating higher forms of culture. This was, for example, the argument in America in justification of slavery, and the earlier ethnological reports on the inability of savages to count more than three or five or to reason logically pointed also in this direction. Spencer and Galton were prominent in formulating this view but it is notable that Tylor did not base his evolutionary argument on alleged differences in mental endowment of the races of lower and higher cultures. He was influenced by the general concept of evolution derived from geology as well as biology and explicitly avoided the identification of his view with the question of mental differences, in the following terms:

> For the present purpose it appears both possible and desirable to eliminate considerations of hereditary varieties or races of man, and to treat mankind as homogeneous in nature, though placed in different grades of civilization.[1]

The most thoroughgoing transfer of the concept of organic evolution to a social problem was made by the criminologist Lombroso, who defined the criminal, at least the "born criminal," as one whose physical, mental and moral evolution has failed to take place regularly or completely, and who consequently remains in the stage of our "brutal prehistoric ancestors." Lombroso and his followers attempted to enumerate the physical marks or "stigmata" of the criminal (protuberant lower jaw, deformed cranium, scanty beard, etc.). The criminal type was thus regarded as an "atavism" or throwback to an incompleted stage of evolu-

[1] Tylor, E. B., *Primitive Culture*, 1: 7.

tion. In this case the question of race development was not involved, but to the extent that the Lombrosian theory prevailed it was confirmatory of the view that the backward races represented an incompleted development.

This view has also naturally enough become associated with colonial policies, nationalistic aspirations, and race prejudice and at present has its most organized expression in the theory of Nordic or Anglo-Saxon superiority. Originating strangely enough with a Frenchman (Gobineau), this position is held by certain students of heredity, eugenics, race biology, and physical anthropology, in Germany, Scandinavia, and America, and is urged by a number of popular and chauvinistic writers.

3. That different rates of progress and levels of culture among the racial populations are due to more and less favorable geographic positions and economic conditions.

As long ago as Hippocrates and Aristotle a relation was pointed out between raw materials, geographic position, and climate on the one hand and the character of given civilizations on the other. The concept was emphasized later by Bodin and Montesquieu in France, by the geographer Ritter in Germany, by the historian Buckle in England, and systematically developed by the anthropogeographer Ratzel in Germany and by his disciple Semple in America. In America also Huntington has emphasized particularly the efficiency of culture as related to climate, and Wissler, among others, has been prominent in the delimitation of specific culture areas and culture complexes.

From this general standpoint what is variously termed the "ecological area," the "geographical province," the "area of characterization" determines the physical type of plants, animals, and humans, the character of civilizations, and the fate of nations. It is claimed that the great civilizations have arisen under favorable conditions of climate and material resources, and their decline, as in Greece, is interpreted as due to climatic change, denudation of forests, introduction of malaria, or the expansion of the population beyond the available supply of certain material values. Simkhovitch, for example, has attempted to trace the decline of the Roman empire to an inadequate supply of hay.[1]

It is plain that the material culture of an area will, as Dixon has expressed it, reflect the "permissive" character of the environment. Certain values may be absent and certain activities may be excluded. The Eskimo will not be able to cultivate corn or

[1] Simkhovitch, V. G., "Hay and History," *Polit. Sci. Quart.*, **28**: 385–403; "Rome's Fall Reconsidered," *ibid.*, **31**: 201–243.

build houses and boats of wood, and the tropical African will not wear furs, build houses of snow, or construct blubber lamps. Moreover, great aggregations of men are in general dependent upon fertile soil, agriculture, cattle, and mineral resources, and political history has a certain relation to the mass of population. But even so, we find that populations circumvent unfavorable conditions on the one hand or fail to utilize them on the other. The Egyptian civilization may be correlated with the fertility of the Nile Valley but the comparable civilizations of the Incas of Peru and the Mayas of Central America were developed on an unfavorable mountain plateau and in what is now a tropical jungle, while the Indians of the fertile regions of the United States developed nothing comparable. It has also been pointed out that different types of culture may emerge successively in an identical environment and that two groups living simultaneously side by side in the same general environment may show very different patterns of behavior and culture.[1]

No one of these standpoints will be emphasized in the following discussion. On the contrary, it will be assumed:

1. That diversities in behavior and culture are the result of different interpretations of experience, resulting in characteristic behavior reactions and habit systems, and that a uniform course of cultural and behavioral evolution is consequently out of the question.

2. That theories of difference in degrees of mental endowment among races and populations and of inborn racial "psyches" have not been sustained; that such differences as may possibly exist have not played a noticeable role in the development of behavior and culture, and that the manifest group psyches are not inborn but developed through experience and habit systems. This question has lost some of its supposed significance, but is examined in Chap. XVIII.

3. That emphasis should be placed on the culture area rather than the natural environment. In their adjustive strivings territorially isolated groups develop, through their specific experiences, characteristic values and habits, some of them unique, and the circulation of these traits, their migration from area to area, and the borrowing back and forth, represents a sort of social inheritance, and is perhaps the main basis of social change and of advance to the cultural level termed "civilization."

[1] Dixon, R. B., *The Building of Cultures*, 28 *ff.*

Chapter II

METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

Employing the term "culture" to represent the material and social values of any group of people, whether savage or civilized (their institutions, customs, attitudes, behavior reactions) the structuralization of cultures, their diversification and the direction of their development, the total configuration of the patterns they contain, and the reaction of personalities to the cultural situation can best be approached in terms of *the definition of the situation.* An adjustive effort of any kind is preceded by a decision to act or not act along a given line, and the decision is itself preceded by a *definition of the situation,* that is to say, an *interpretation,* or *point of view,* and eventually a policy and a behavior pattern. In this way quick judgments and decisions are made at every point in everyday life. Thus when approached by a man or beast in a lonely spot we first define the situation, make a judgment, as to whether the object is dangerous or harmless, and then decide ("make up our mind") what we are going to do about it.

On the social level these definitions and the patterns they initiate are represented by moral and legal codes, political policies, organizations, institutions, etc.; they originate in adjustive reactions, are developed through language, gossip, argument, and conflict; there appear special definers of situations—medicine men, prophets, lawgivers, judges, politicians, scientists; culture epochs and mass conversions (Christianity, Mohammedanism, the German Reformation, the French Revolution, popular government, fascism, communism, prohibition, etc.) are inaugurated by the propaganda of definitions of situations.

Examining this standpoint among primitive groups we find that they notice and magnify situations which we fail to notice, or disregard; that different tribes define the same situation and pattern the behavior in precisely opposite ways; that the same tribe may define the situation for one set of objects in one way and for another set in another; that a trivial situation may initiate a pattern which expands and ramifies and is stepped up to a position of emotional and social importance; that the same pattern may include a variety of meanings and applications; that in differ-

ent populations an identical pattern may have different meanings and applications; that a pattern may change to its opposite and back again, and even back and forth, with changing circumstances; that in some regions a pattern may be extraordinarily emphasized, in others quite incidental, and in still others entirely lacking; that different cultures may be more or less dominated by particular definitions and patterns; that reactions on the physiological (visceral-emotional) level may initiate patterns which are subsequently rationalized; that there is a tendency (which may be termed "perseverative") to step up patterns to unanticipated extremities.

The development of this approach will appear throughout the following chapters, but by way of exemplification and as a preface to the progressive discussion, two directions of interpretation and behavior connected with childbearing are presented at this point. The birth of twins may be taken as illustrating the variety of possible definitions of a given situation and the many and contrasted subsequent behavior reactions, and the custom of couvade as a further illustration of the perseveration in behavior of an initial definition of a situation.

Twins

The reaction toward the birth of twins is apparently always unfavorable unless there has been a previous favorable definition of the situation. There has been a violation of the habit system of nature, the woman is declassed in comparison with other women, the act is indecorous, and in some cases the mother herself kills the twins. In Australia, among the Murngin, "a woman kills a twin because it makes her feel like a dog to have a litter instead of one baby,"[1] and in northern Australia "twins are usually destroyed at birth as something uncanny."[2]

Usually there is an adjustment on the part of society to the occasional occurrence of twins and no great attention is paid to them, but in certain regions, more particularly in parts of Africa, the incident has been rationalized and extreme policies have been formed in opposite directions. In the Niger Delta

> the almost general rule . . . is that the mother of twins must be put to death, and her children also. I say almost general, because in some places the mother is allowed to live; but her life is little better than a living death, for she becomes an outcast and must live the remainder of her days in the forest. If she by force of hunger ventures near a village

[1] Warner, W. L., "Morphology and Functions of the Australian Murngin Type of Kinship," *Amer. Anth.*, N.S., **32**: 245.

[2] Spencer, B., and F. J. Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Northern Australia*, 609.

or town she must do so only at night time, and must be very careful to guard against being seen by any other natives, for the juju laws lay it down that if such a woman passes along any of the paths leading to the town or village, those paths would be defiled and unfit for the rest of the inhabitants to use. She must not drink from the same spring or water supply of her own people; she must not touch anything belonging to them. The consequence is that the mothers of twins simply die from hunger and exposure, or they take their own lives.[1]

On the other hand,

in the Congo Valley live the Bankundo people, less than a thousand miles from those in Nigeria, among whom the mother of twins is the object of honor and veneration throughout her life. She is entitled to wear a special badge around her neck, and her name is changed to "Mother-of-twins," a title which is quite permanent, like the title "Judge" among us, or "Colonel" in Kentucky. She is always saluted in a special manner, being given a double greeting, one for each twin.[2]

These two cases represent different definitions or points of view. In the first instance we may conjecture several explanations: (1) The woman had committed adultery, the twins representing different fathers; (2) one of the twins was an evil spirit which had entered the woman, and the woman perhaps was allied with evil spirits; (3) the birth of twins had in past times been followed by some calamity—death, plague, drought, famine, etc.

The missionary Wessmann reports a case indicating how a coincidence between twins and misfortune may originate or confirm a sinister interpretation of twins:

The mother of one of my best laborers paid him a visit one day and was suddenly delivered of twins. She was very earnestly admonished, and requested to leave the children alive, as she need not fear any misfortune. One day one of her other children became ill, and from fear she strangled one of her twins during the night without leaving any trace of her nefarious deed. The sick child soon grew better; but once more, from fear that it might become ill again or even die, the woman murdered the second of the twins during another night. This time there could be no doubt, as the child's throat showed distinct marks of strangulation.[3]

Similarly among the Turkana of northeast Africa the birth of twins and any near-by death are thought to be in a causal relation:

Twins, which are called *emu*, are not welcomed by the Turkana. Should a death occur near by, soon after the twins have been born, the Turkana put it down to the fact that two persons came into the world

[1] Cardi, C. N. de, "Ju-Ju Laws and Customs in the Niger Delta," *Jour. Anth. Inst.*, **29**: 57
[2] Faris, E., "Are Instincts Data or Hypotheses?" *Amer. Jour. Sociol.*, **27**: 190.
[3] Wessmann, R., *The Bawenda of the Spelonken*, 63.

together, and, as this is unnatural, an extra death must necessarily occur. . . . When twins are born it is necessary for the father to slaughter a cow and a goat, and for the woman's father to slaughter a bullock and a goat, in addition to the beasts ordinarily slaughtered on the birth of a child.[1]

The appreciation of twins would seem on the face of it no more than positive recognition of a numerical contribution to the population in an extraordinary way. This appreciation is, of course, very strong in Africa and elsewhere. But definitions and positive or negative appreciations are most frequently related to a background and context of belief and custom, that is to say, to a body of previous interpretations, and this background has always magical and supernatural elements. Thus among the Baganda of east central Africa

the birth of twins was regarded as a most important event, for they were regarded as due to the direct intervention of the god Mukasa, and this necessitated great care and numbers of tabus, in order to retain the favor of the god. Any mistake on the part of the parents, or any sickness which befell the twins, was looked upon as the result of the god's anger, which might extend to the whole clan.[2]

And among the neighboring Bakitara, where the same view was prevalent,

it was a joy to the parents if the twins were boy and girl, for should both be boys, the god was thought to favor the father and have some grudge against the mother and her clan, while, if both were girls, the father and his clan were thought to be in disgrace.[3]

On the other hand, the Herero, inhabiting southwestern Africa, regard twins as a manifestation of the displeasure of "heaven" toward the tribe as a whole, calling for a ceremonial reconsecration of everybody. The parents are not in disgrace but are thus designated by heaven as intermediaries, and incidentally they take advantage of the situation to collect a fortune. They, as well as the twins and those who assist them in the ceremonies, are called *epaha*, twin:

Immediately after the birth of the twins, messengers are sent out, to call together all the members of the tribe. Then everyone has to appear, from the oldest man down to the youngest child, even if they live ever so far away; and if the former, as well as the latter, should have to be carried. And not the people only, but also all the cattle, large and small,

[1] Embley, E. D., "The Turkana of Kolosia District," *Jour. Anth. Inst.*, **57**: 175.
[2] Roscoe, J., *The Baganda*, 64–65 (The Macmillan Company. By permission).
[3] Roscoe, J., *The Bakitara or Banyoro*, 250 (Cambridge University Press. By permission).

must come to the village where the *epaha* has been born. He who does not appear will be bewitched (*ma huhua*), and must on this account die. Should the tribe be large, one can see, upon this occasion, the field covered, perhaps for hours of distance, with oxen and sheep. . . . Then each one who is present, from the eldest to the youngest, comes forward, in order to be consecrated. . . . Persons of the male sex are consecrated by the father, those of the female sex by the mother of the twins. This is done by their taking between the tips of the fingers a little of the powdered root of the *omundyoze* tree . . . and rubbing with it the one to be consecrated. . . .

During the following days, the *epaha* goes round the werft in procession, visiting two or three houses each day; where exactly the same takes place as on the first day of its return to the village. They sit down at the right side of the house, and again, at each single house! all who are at the werft gather together, each time bringing the above-mentioned offerings, each time, being again consecrated; each time a head of cattle is strangled, from which a forequarter is again boiled, and *makera'd*, and the remaining meat carried to the house of the *epaha*. When, finally, meat becomes too plentiful, the man says, "There is meat enough; bring me now living cattle"; which he then adds to his flock. . . .

After these ceremonies have come to an end in their own village, and among those belonging to his *oruzo* [tribe of the father], the *epaha* goes round the country. . . . Should the father be a bold or impudent man (*ependa*), he passes no village, even should it belong to a strange tribe and to him be quite unknown. At every village which he visits, quite the same ceremonies as those described above are repeated. No chief will dare to send him away, as this would cause his death. . . . Such a procession [about the country] sometimes lasts more than a year; and, as the *epaha* chiefly allows itself to be presented only with livestock, it usually comes back rich.[1]

We find a somewhat similar situation among the Kwakiutl of the northwest coast of America, and the same opportunity for blackmail:

The chiefs are afraid of the parents of twins, because nobody ever succeeds in anything if the parents of twins wish ill to him.[2]

But in this case the parents improve the opportunity no further than demanding to be released from the customary tabus, which is granted.

Among certain of the Thonga clans of southeastern Africa, where twins are also viewed as an unfavorable manifestation from "heaven," the attention is directed toward the purification of the mother instead of the whole tribe. The birth of twins is looked

[1] Dannert, E., "The Customs and Ceremonies of the Ovaherero at the Birth of Twins," *Folk-lore Jour.*, **2**: 109–113.

[2] Boas, F., "Ethnology of the Kwakiutl," *Bur. Amer. Ethnol., Ann. Rep.*, **35**: 689.

on as a "death," and the mother, after a ceremonial purification by a medicine man, is secluded for a period lest her defilement should contaminate other women, who would also bear twins:

For the time being, the mother of twins like the widow . . . is considered outside the pale of society. But her defilement is worse than that of the widow; so, in order to be purified from it, the rite of *lahla khombo* (cast away the malediction) through which she must pass is much more trying. According to Mboza she must "deceive" four men one after the other, in the bush, all of whom will die. She hears that so and so says *djoo-djoo, viz.*, becomes livid, that his body swells, that he is dead! She knows the reason. They have taken her defilement. Perhaps the fourth does not die, but only becomes consumptive. These men have been designated to her by the divinatory bones. Each time she succeeds in performing the purification ceremony she informs her medicine man, who "prepares for her a vapor bath." Afterwards, she goes to reside at her parents' house, has relations with a lover, and gives birth to another child. Then her purification is complete, and her husband goes with ten—to take her, and bring her home. The lover completed the removal of the "*buhahla*," *i.e.*, the condition in which a mother of twins is. He has washed her (*hlantsa*). A new hut will be built for her, furnished with new utensils, and the ordinary family life will begin over again.[1]

In these Thonga clans the twins were formerly killed, but are now allowed to live, though treated abusively:

Twins are not liked by other people. They are considered as bad characters. When the little ones begin to crawl, and chance to go towards the other huts, people throw cinders at them and drive them away, saying: "These are children of heaven. Be off! You annoy us!" If any ordinary child has a particularly bad disposition, one often says: "You are naughty! You are just like a twin!" "*Hahla dja karata*" (twins are troublesome) is another common saying; and if a child is really exceptionally difficult to deal with, people say: "It is a twin! You cannot do anything with him!"[2]

Among the Kaffirs men refuse to sit long with a twin or to eat with one, fearing that they may thus acquire the twin-bearing quality and transfer it to their wives.[3]

In comparison with this, the attention is directed among the Neuer (a Nilotic tribe) to the regularization of the twins. The mother is not defiled but she and the father and all the relatives are endangered. The underlying idea is that the twins are one person, a dissociated personality, and cherish a grudge:

[1] Junod, H. A., *The Life of a South African Tribe*, 2: 396–397 (The Macmillan Company. By permission).
[2] *Ibid.*, 397–398.
[3] Kidd, D., *Savage Childhood*, 48.

The danger to the parent comes chiefly from the twin of the opposite sex. It is believed that the spirit of girl twins will kill the father, and that the mother will fall a victim to her twin sons. When the twins are of opposite sexes the danger is lessened, for, as among the Dinka, the twins will quarrel. The boy will suggest killing the mother, but his twin sister will object, saying, "Who will then provide for my wedding dance?" and she will suggest killing the father. The boy in turn will complain that then there will be no one to provide him with spears. So owing to their indecision both parents will survive.

The fiction that the twins are one person is preserved throughout life. Until the twins have gone through a sham marriage ceremony with one partner of the opposite sex it is not even safe for a girl twin to be courted. If a young man should unwittingly seize the arm of a girl twin at the end of a dance in the manner recognized as an invitation to courtship, she will recoil and say, "I am a twin," and he will immediately leave her, for otherwise she might die.

In the sham marriage ceremony the twins are dressed in the clothes and wear the ornaments of the opposite sex, and the single spouse does the same, so that boy twins dressed as girls are "married" to one girl dressed as a boy, and vice versa.[1]

Very frequently only one of the twins is killed, the idea being that by reducing the number to one the birth process is regularized. The Kayans of Borneo kill one of the twins, usually the girl if they are of different sexes, in the belief that if both live neither will thrive because they are so identified that any misfortune affecting one will be transferred to the other also.[2] Among the natives of Mentawei the belief in contagion between twins takes a different direction. Some of them declare that in the case of a boy and a girl neither will live long because they have come in close contact in the womb, thus violating the incest tabu.[3] On the contrary, it is reported from three sources that twins of opposite sex are or were formerly married. Wilken says that this was formerly customary, especially in the higher classes, among the Balinese of the Dutch East Indies, and that at present twin brother and sister are called "betrothed twins."[4] Formerly it was necessary among the Nabaloi of the Philippines for a twin to marry a twin; at present it is practiced, but a native informant thinks it is "not good."[5] It is reported also that in old Japan twins were married:

[1] Seligman, C. G. and B. Z., *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, 227 (George Routledge and Sons. By permission).

[2] Hose, C., and W. McDougall, *The Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, **2**: 156.

[3] Loeb, E. M., "Mentawei Social Organization," *Amer. Anth.*, N.S., **30**: 430–431.

[4] Wilken, G. A., *Verspreide Geschriften*, **2**: 334.

[5] Moss, C. R., "Nabaloi Law and Custom," *Univ. Calif. Publ. in Amer. Archaeol. and Ethnol.*, **15**: 239.

The birth of twins of opposite sex is not of frequent occurrence, but it is not considered wise to separate them throughout life. These marriages rarely result in issue, it is said by native authorities.[1]

Wilken would trace the practice back to a time when incest was prevalent, but the original concept may have had either one of two aspects—that the union of twins with others was dangerous, or that it was unsafe to separate what was joined together in nature.

A problem arises as to the relative social position of twins. Among the Yuman tribes of America

> a curious point [says Spier] was that the first-born of twins was called the younger. The reason given was that one always let a child, a younger person, go through a doorway first. The twins called each other in this fashion younger and older brother. It was absolutely necessary that some such decision be made, considering that age distinctions figure at every turn in the kinship system.[2]

In Africa every question tends to take on a legal aspect, and in Ashanti they say that the twin born last is to be given precedence over the first: "the first has merely been sent to prepare the way for the second."[3] The legal aspect of the situation appears also in other parts of Africa. Thus among the Kamba of Ulu the woman is returned to her parents on the birth of twins and the bride price is repaid. The woman may then be married again with safety provided the second husband is of the grade of elder of the council. The life of the first husband is endangered by the twins if they survive but he does not kill them because, according to native law, the second husband would sue him for their value.[4]

In the Belgian Congo, at the court of the king of the Bushongo, there is among the state officials one "representing the fathers of twins," and another "to whom the happy father of twins must make a gift."[5]

The treatment of twins affords an example of the definition of the same situation in different ways for different objects. Among the African Bantu tribes cattle are almost assimilated to the family; girls are, in fact, called "the cattle of the family." And usually twin children and twin calves are given the same treatment—either highly appreciated or killed. But there are

[1] Pfoundes, C., "On Some Rites and Customs of Old Japan," *Jour. Anth. Inst.*, **12**: 224.
[2] Spier, L., *Yuman Tribes of the Gila River*, 314 (University of Chicago Press. By permission.).
[3] Rattray, R. S., *Ashanti Proverbs*, 188.
[4] Hobley, C. W., *Bantu Beliefs and Magic*, 157.
[5] Torday, E., and T. A. Joyce, *Études ethnographiques . . . : Les Bushongo*, **2**: 56; 57.

tribes that kill twin children and preserve twin calves, and honor their mother. Stayt reports of the Bavenda:

In peculiar contrast to the Bavenda attitude towards twin children is their treatment of twin calves. A cow which gives birth to twin calves becomes the property of the chief; it is often given a separate kraal and all its milk is left for the calves; it is regarded as being favored and blessed beyond the ordinary cow. Amongst many of the northern Bantu, such as the Baganda and the Bakitara, the advent of twin calves is considered a great blessing, but among these peoples twin children are regarded in the same way. On the other hand, the Akamba used to kill one of their twins and they still regard twin births with apprehension and dislike, but this attitude is reflected in their treatment of twin calves, which, with the mother, are always killed. Among the Bomvana of the Transkei twin children and twin calves are allowed to live and are treated with special ritual.[1]

Stayt points out that the custom of killing twin children in this group is apparently rather recent, and seems to suggest that they borrowed the custom from the neighboring Bakaranga, who borrowed it from some other source, neither of them relinquishing the appreciation of twin calves. Borrowing may, indeed, be involved, but this does not explain the origin of the difference. In some group at some time misfortune may have followed the birth of twin children and good fortune the birth of twin calves, and this may have happened more than once. The instance recorded by Wessmann above (which happens to be also from the Bavenda), where the woman killed the children in spite of his remonstrance, may have been a repetition of an earlier type of experience which had fixed the tribal habit. The borrowing could then begin.

The equatorial African Baganda regarded the afterbirth as an incomplete twin possessing a soul, very dangerous and resentful, and consequently requiring careful treatment, especially emphasized in the case of royalty. The following passage from Roscoe is supplemented from unprinted communications from him to Seligman and Murray, quoted presently:

The afterbirth was called the second child, and was believed to have a spirit, which became at once a ghost. It was on account of this ghost that they guarded the plantain by which the afterbirth was placed, because the person who partook of the beer made from this plantain, or of cooked food from it, took the ghost from its clan, and the living child would then die in order to follow its twin ghost. [But in some clans the afterbirth was buried in the house.]

[1] Stayt, H. A., *The Bavenda*, 92–93 (Oxford University Press. By permission).

[It is their belief that after his death the ghost of the king attaches itself to his jawbone and the ghost of the afterbirth attaches itself to the base of the umbilical cord.] Each king during his lifetime builds a large house in his enclosure, which, after his death, becomes his *malalo* (the abode of his ghost). . . . [On his death his body is embalmed and placed in a conical hut, and after some five or six months have passed the hut is visited by three chiefs who sever the head and] place it in an ant hillock, where it is left for a few days, guarded by the soldiers, until the ants have eaten all the flesh from it. . . . [The skull is then washed and taken to the new king, with the words, "We have brought the king," and the new king gives permission to remove the lower jaw, which is placed in the *malalo* along with the remnant of the placenta, which has been preserved in a house built for it in the enclosure belonging to the Katikiro (prime minister)]. . . .

A little beyond the middle of the hut [tomb] is a dais . . . covered with lion and leopard skins, and is protected by a row of brass and iron spears, shields, and knives; the chamber at the back of the dais formed by the bark-cloth curtains is the home of the *lwanga* (jawbone) and *mulongo* (placenta), and the ghost is attached to these; they are placed upon the dais when the departed king wishes to hold his court, or for consultation on special occasion. . . .

The Katikiro of the deceased king becomes the bearer of the "king" (the jawbone is called "the king") and the Kimbugwe [second officer of the country] the bearer of the *mulongo*.[1]

In this connection it is quite astonishing to find that in the several cases where two tombs were erected to Egyptian kings one of them was apparently designed to contain the placenta of the king. The existence of two tombs had long been noted but had remained mysterious until Seligman and Murray noticed the report of Roscoe and pointed out its meaning. In their paper they give pictures of funeral standards showing a placenta with the umbilical cord attached and labeled, "The inner thing of the king"[2] (Figs. 1 to 3).

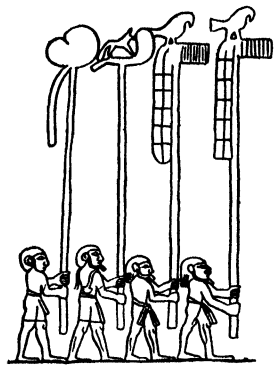


FIG. 1.

Although [they say] it seems almost monstrous to suggest that a pyramid was built for the disposal of the royal placenta, yet this is the only purpose that can be suggested for the unquestionable second pyramids of some Egyptian kings.[3]

[1] Roscoe, J., *The Baganda*, 54–55; "Further Notes on the Manners and Customs of the Baganda," *Jour. Anth. Inst.*, **32**: 43–46, *passim*.

[2] [This translation was later corrected by Sethe to read, "the king's afterbirth."]

[3] Seligman, C. G., and M. A. Murray, "Note upon an Early Egyptian Standard," *Man.*, **11**: 171.

In the Baganda account there is mention of embalming the body of a king, of the construction of a rather pretentious tomb (incipient pyramid), of a temporary separate abode for the placenta, of the assumption that the king still lived, of the appointment of officials for attendance on him, as in Egypt, where, in addition, the function of feeding the ghosts of kings became the hereditary function of certain families.

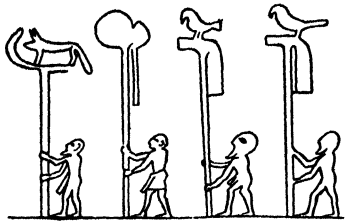


FIG. 2.

Psychologically this situation is the same among the Egyptians and the Baganda. The superior magnificence of the Egyptian practice, the stepping up of a hut to a pyramid would be dependent only on income, which in the case of Egyptian kings was represented by the fact that the construction of the temple balances at Heliopolis for weighing Egyptian income required 212 pounds of gold and 461 pounds of silver, and that the pyramid of Gizeh, covering thirteen acres of ground, contains 2,300,000 blocks of limestone, each weighing about two and a half tons, weighs altogether 5,750,000 tons, and its building required the labor of 100,000 men over a period of about twenty years.[1]

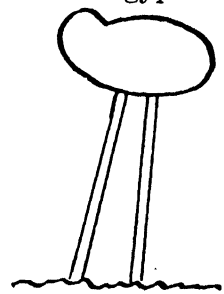


FIG. 3.

The question of the place of origin of this practice, whether in Egypt or Uganda, will be discussed in the chapter on the diffusion of patterns.

THE COUVADE

The practice termed couvade required that the father of the child, not the mother, should lie in and be pampered, invalided, and dieted. Tylor's early account of this is very searching and utilized practically all the existing literature. He says:

The following account is given by Du Tertre of the Carib *couvade* in the West Indies. When a child is born, the mother goes presently to her work, but the father begins to complain, and takes to his hammock, and there he is visited as though he were sick, and undergoes a course of dieting which would cure of the gout "the most replete of Frenchmen. How they can fast so much and not die of it," continues the narrator, "is amazing to me, for they sometimes pass the five first days without eating or drinking anything; then up to the tenth they drink *ouycou*, which has about as much nourishment in it as beer. These ten days passed, they

[1] Breasted, J. H., "The Origins of Civilization," *Sci. Monthly*, **10**: 90.

begin to eat cassava only, drinking *ouycou*, and abstaining from everything else for the space of a whole month. . . . Through the space of six whole months he eats neither birds nor fish, firmly believing that this would injure the child's stomach, and that it would participate in the natural faults of the animals on which its father had fed; for example, if the father ate turtle, the child would be deaf and have no brains like this animal, if he ate *manati*, the child would have little round eyes like this creature, and so on with the rest. . . . "[1]

[Similarly, Dobrizhoffer reports from the Abipones of South America that a Spanish official offered snuff to a native cacique] "who came up to pay his respects, having just left his bed, to which he had been confined in consequence of his wife's recent delivery. But seeing the savage refuse it, contrary to custom, he thought he must be out of his mind, for he knew him at other times to be greedy of this nasal delicacy; so he asked me aside to inquire the cause of his abstinence. I asked him in the Abiponian tongue . . . why he refused his snuff today? 'Don't you know,' he answered, 'that my wife has just been confined? Must not I therefore abstain from stimulating my nostrils? What a danger my sneezing would bring upon my child!' No more, but he went back to his hut to lie down again directly, lest the tender little infant should take some harm if he stayed any longer with us in the open air. For they believe that the father's carelessness influences the newborn offspring, from a natural bond and sympathy of both. Hence if the child comes to a premature end, its death is attributed by the women to the father's intemperance, this or that cause being assigned; he did not abstain from mead; he had loaded his stomach with water hog; he had swum across the river when the air was chilly; he had neglected to shave off his long eyebrows; he had devoured underground honey, stamping on the bees with his feet; he had ridden till he was tired and sweated. With raving like this the crowd of women accuse the father with impunity of causing the child's death, and are accustomed to pour curses on the unoffending husband."[2] . . .

The fasting observed in South America and the West Indies is not general; repose, careful nursing, and nourishing food being the treatment usual for the imaginary invalid. Venegas mentions this kind of couvade among the Indians of California; Zucchelli, in West Africa; Captain Van der Hart, in Bouro, in the Eastern Archipelago. The country of Eastern Asia where Marco Polo met with the practice of the couvade in the thirteenth century, appears to be the Chinese province of West Yünnan, so that the widow's remark to Sir Hudibras is true in a geographical sense:

"For though Chineses go to bed,
And lie-in in their ladies' stead."

[1] *Histoire générale des Antilles*, **2**: 371 *ff.* (1667).

[2] Dobrizhoffer, M., *Historia de Abiponibus*, **2**: 231 *ff.* (1784). [The editors of the English translation of Father Dobrizhoffer's Latin text (*An Account of the Abipones*, 3 vols.) were apparently interested mainly in political history and did not include this passage on the couvade. The German translation contains it.]

. . . To the districts mentioned in the first edition of this work, I have to add another, South India. The account, for which I have to thank Mr. F. M. Jennings, describes it as usual among natives of the higher castes about Madras, Seringapatam, and on the Malabar Coast. It is stated that a man, at the birth of his first son or daughter by the chief wife, or for any son afterwards, will retire to bed for a lunar month, living principally on a rice diet, abstaining from exciting food and from smoking; at the end of the month he bathes, puts on a fresh dress, and gives his friends a feast. . . .

In Europe, the couvade may be traced up from ancient into modern times in the neighborhood of the Pyrenees. Above eighteen hundred years ago, Strabo mentions the story that among the Iberians of the north of Spain the women, "after the birth of a child, tend their husbands, putting them to bed instead of going themselves"; and this account is confirmed by later mentions of the practice. "In Biscay," says Michel, "in valleys whose population recalls in its usages the infancy of society, the women rise immediately after childbirth, and attend to the duties of the household, while the husband goes to bed, taking the baby with him, and thus receives the neighbors' compliments." It has been found also in Navarre, and on the French side of the Pyrenees. Legrand d'Aussy mentions that in an old French fabliau the King of Torelore is "*au lit et en couche*" when Aucassin arrives and takes a stick to him, and makes him promise to abolish the custom in his realm. And the same author goes on to say that the practice is said still to exist in some cantons of Béarn, where it is called *faire la couvade*. Lastly, Diodorus Siculus notices the same habit of the wife being neglected, and the husband put to bed and treated as the patient, among the natives of Corsica about the beginning of the Christian era.[1]

The perseveration of this pattern has been sufficiently illustrated by Tylor, but a passage from Roth's report shows its extreme elaboration in certain directions among the Surinam Carib:

On the return of the mother and baby from the forest, where she has just been confined, back to the house to resume her household duties, the father takes to his hammock to be pampered. This takes place on the supposition that the infant's body proceeds from the mother, but the spirit, on the contrary, from the father, and that a mysterious connection binds the child's spirit to the father's for some weeks after birth. With newly born children the middle of the skull is very soft and pulsates with the respiration of the heart. In prematurely born children the attachments are even open, which perhaps has given cause for the supposition that the child before birth is nourished not through the navel string but through the skull, and that its spirit penetrates through a little hole in the skull into its brains. As long as this spot is thus not

[1] Tylor, E. B., *Researches into the Early History of Mankind and the Development of Civilization*, 292–295; 300–302.

hardened, it is believed that the little spirit is not yet entirely freed from that of the father. Thus it was supposed the life of the child depended entirely upon that of the father. He was also forbidden to undertake any heavy work or to hunt, because his arrow might strike the little infant. If he climbed over a tree trunk he always placed two little sticks as a sort of bridge for the child's little spirit that always followed him. If he crossed a river or creek, a calabash or fruit shell then served to facilitate the passage across of the child. He everywhere trod cautiously and carefully around, avoiding thorny places. And if he by chance met a jaguar he did not speed away, but courageously advanced on the beast. Verily his child's life depended on it. The little spirit nevertheless could get a fright and lose its way in the forest. Even at night the father had to take care to save his child pain. However badly something bit him, he must scratch very carefully, because his nails could harm the infant. And woe to him if he forgot himself and attempted, in too rough a fashion, to get rid of a louse that was worrying him, because the bare pate of his little darling suffered for it. There were likewise various foods that the father was forbidden to eat out of fear of hurting the child. Among other things, it was believed that water-haas meat caused spots. This abstention took place before as well as after the birth of the child.[1]

It may be pointed out that Tylor employs this situation to support the evolutionary view, and especially the assumption that a matrilineal organization always precedes a patrilineal. He interprets the couvade as a symbolic masculine protest marking the transition toward a paternal and patriarchal system. In a later paper he says:

Looking at this position, I must now argue that the original interpretation of the couvade given by Bachofen in his great treatise in 1861, and supported by Giraud-Teulon, fits substantially with the facts, and is justified by them. He takes it to belong to the turning point of society when the tie of parentage, till then recognised in maternity, was extended to take in paternity, this being done by the fiction of representing the father as a second mother.[2]

Contrary to this, the couvade is no more than a measure for safeguarding the child during the critical postnatal period. It is a form of sympathetic magic, involving originally the concept that the violent activities of the father will affect the child and leading eventually to the fashion of more or less complete inactivity on the part of this parent. The symbolism in the case and the initial point of view are brought out in Williams' mention of a New Guinea tribe, which also shows that the death of a child coinciding

[1] Roth, E., "An Introductory Study of the Arts, Crafts, and Customs of the Guiana Indians," *Bur. Amer. Ethnol. Ann. Rep.*, **38**: 695–696.

[2] Tylor, E. B., "On a Method of Investigating the Development of Institutions . . . ," *Jour. Anth. Inst.*, **18**: 255–256.

with an activity of the father is sufficient to suggest a causal relation, as was pointed out above in the case of twins:

During the first few days of the child's life its father must avoid the dangers of gardening. If he were to strike at a young sapling with his axe it would be as if he struck at his baby's neck, with the possible result that "the blood would come up" and the child choke and die. This association of ideas I have met with several times, and Mr. Flint records the same, as if it were a somewhat ghastly obsession. "One man told me he could not fell a tree until his child was two days old. I asked him the reason. He informed me that if he did so it would be the same as cutting his baby's throat." This couvade-like practice is very general. In rather extreme form it appears in another of Mr. Flint's instances. His interpreter at Kokoda had washed clothes the day his first child was born, with what proved to be fatal results. On the birth of his second he applied for two days' leave from the office, lest this child should die too, and needless to say received it from a sympathetic master, though his work consisted merely in interpreting. It is for a somewhat different reason that the father refuses to plant *taro* too soon after his child is born: here he is considering his garden, for the plant would rot in the ground like the buried placenta.[1]

In Africa the practice tends to include the period of the wife's pregnancy, and is extended symbolically with reference to her continued fertility. Among the Uduk (Darfur province of the Sudan),

during pregnancy for seven months, and for two months after birth, the husband must do as little work as possible and must under no circumstances cut anything—crops, grass, or wood—nor may he build a hut. His brother, or, if his brother's wife is also pregnant, a friend, does all his work, though the wife carries on her duties as usual. The umbilical cord is cut by grass, otherwise the woman would not give birth to more children, for as grass grows freely so will the woman be fruitful.[2]

Among the Mentawei of the Pacific a curious complication is found. There is a long period of betrothal (practically marriage) because the husband is not allowed to do certain forms of work after marriage:

The reason for the prolonged period of betrothal before marriage lies in the many tabus to which the married men are subjected. They are not allowed to kill pigs or chickens, fell trees, ram in the earth for planting poles, to eat squirrels, coconut rats, etc. If they break any of the tabus the children would become sick.[3]

[1] Williams, F. E., *Orokaiva Society*, 95 (Oxford University Press. By permission)
[2] Seligman, C. G. and B. Z., *op. cit.*, 440.
[3] Loeb, E. M., *op. cit.*, 427.

Chapter III

HABIT SYSTEMS

In human beings and animals there are different psychological and physiological components of behavior and the definitions and reactions are on different levels of consciousness. There are unlearned or reflex, and trains of reflex reactions, automatic reactions (which were once learned, but the memory of the learning has lapsed), and involuntary reactions to pleasurable and displeasurable stimuli which may be called visceral or physiological behavior, and which are also unlearned. In rational or calculated behavior all these components participate with the cerebral activities and it is impossible to disentangle them.

In the types of behavior especially prominent in subhuman life the definitions of situations are implicit in the nature of the organism. In the so-called instinctive behavior of animals the activity is not learned by postnatal experience but performed spontaneously in given situations through an organic mechanism of adaptation developed uniformly in the species. This type of behavior has been defined by Wheeler as

> activity manifested by an organism which is acting: first, as a whole rather than as a part; second, as a representative of a species rather than as an individual; third, without previous experience; and fourth, with an end or purpose of which it has no knowledge.[1]

While there are, in fact, no "instincts" in the sense of specific internal "entities" or prompters of the release of specific forms of activity, the unlearned behavior reactions may be referred to as "instinctive" or "instinctual."

A somewhat highly organized form of unlearned behavior is seen in the nest-building activities of rats. All rats, male and female, begin to build nests from the time of weaning—about the twentieth day—and their activities are regulated somewhat by the temperature; they build more in cold weather. But the wave of activity is highest in females just before parturition and during lactation. Females having the first litter, those blinded, and those deprived of the sense of smell are indistinguishable from normal females in their preparations for the delivery and care of their

[1] Wheeler, W. M., *Ants*, 518.

young. Sturman-Hulbe and Stone emphasize the view that the activation of this behavior is dependent more on internal than on external factors:

> The parturient rat manifests a strong nest building tendency which is closely associated with the birth and care of her young. This wave of activity is stronger than similar nesting responses evokable by thermal deficiency in all rats beyond the age of infancy. It appears to be activated primarily by factors arising within the parturient female rather than from stimuli of the external environment. . . .
>
> Primiparous females displayed nesting activities and responses directed toward the delivery, cleansing, suckling, and general care of their young that differed in no observed manner from those of multiparous animals. Likewise healthy blind and anosmic animals were not distinguishable from normal animals in these respects. . . .
>
> Another phenomenon strikingly absurd from the layman's point of view appears occasionally among parturient females whose nesting materials are adequate, but strictly limited in amount. During the evenings, especially, the female leaves the nest and busies herself in its repair or enlargement. From time to time she sallies forth to other parts of the cage in search of bits of shavings, paper, etc. Eventually there is nothing more to be had; nevertheless, the search continues. Then the female may go to the farther corner of the cage, turn partially around, notice her tail, pick it up in her mouth, carry it back to the nest, and deposit it on the nest materials. Sometimes it is pushed into place with her forepaws after it is dropped. Again she goes out on another search which ends as before in her "waltzing" back, tail in mouth. Such stereotyped responses may go on for a half hour or more in a single evening. In one pregnant female housed on a floor of hardware cloth and with no nesting materials, this act was repeated over and over again during the 12-hour period prior to parturition. Actions of this type strongly suggest to the writers the presence of a strong inner driving factor back of nesting responses which finds expression even though the normal provocative objects are absent and only poor "equivalents" are found. Fundamentally, the act is a perversion, if we use this term in its literal sense.[1]

In this type of reaction a set of habits having survival value was acquired through the experience of the species. The reactions are called "unlearned" because they function without experience or practice. Nevertheless the reactions are learned phylogenetically —during the life of the species, not the life of the individual. Biological research has shown that the activity of lower life forms can be controlled and structure modified by exposure to food, chemicals, electricity, light, heat, gravity, pressures, etc., and

[1] Sturman-Hulbe, M., and C. P. Stone, "Maternal Behavior in the Albino Rat," *Jour. Comp. Psychol.*, **9**: 234, 235, 208–209.

Child concludes that stimulus and reaction leave a record of experience, a memory trace, which functions in the future, disposing the organism to react positively or negatively, by approach or avoidance, when the identical situation presents itself again. From this standpoint the evolution of life forms, and heredity, are based on what may be called an organismic or physiological memory—on traces of experience left in the organism, even in the absence of a nervous system:

> Learning by experience occurs when traces, records, or effects of a previous reaction are more or less irreversible and persist after the external factor determining them has ceased to act and so become factors in altering the course of subsequent reactions.
>
> The biologist ordinarily thinks of development as something very different from such modification of behavior by experience, but from time to time the idea that the basis of heredity and development is fundamentally similar to memory has been advanced. More than forty years ago Hering . . . advanced this idea in general form. . . . Viewed in this way the whole course of development is a process of physiological learning, beginning with the simple experience of differential exposure to an external factor, and undergoing one modification after another, as new experiences in the life of the organism or of its parts in relation to each other occur. Memory and learning in the narrower, psychological sense represent that part of the general developmental learning process which concerns the minute pattern of certain regions of the nervous system in advanced stages of development, particularly in the higher animals. There is no evidence of any fundamental physiological difference between the general protoplasmic memory . . . and the higher forms of memory characteristic of the central nervous system.[1]

There is therefore in the long run no unlearned behavior. Instinctive behavior is learned by the long-time exposure of the species to excitants; it is phylogenetically learned.

It has been noted by the chemists that even inorganic substances learn by experience. Linseed oil, for example, oxidizes in the air, and in anthropomorphic terms it may be said that it learns to do this better by practice, that is, by continuous exposure. If exposed to light in a flask for a period of 24 hours nothing seems to happen. It then begins to oxidize and continues at an accelerated rate until the oxygen is used up. The oil also remembers and forgets. If removed from the light for a relatively short time and replaced it resumes its work rather promptly. But if removed for 24 hours it forgets and must learn over again:

[1] Child, C. M., *Physiological Foundations of Behavior*, 248–249 (Henry Holt & Company. By permission).

We do not [says Mathews] usually speak of the long latent period of oxidation as a period of teaching, but it is called in chemistry a period of "inductance"; and we do not say that the oil is learning to oxidize itself, and doing it better and better, but we say that it shows the phenomena of autocatalysis; nor do we say that it forgets again in the dark, but that the intermediary, autocatalytic agent has disappeared; but when organisms show the same kind of phenomena we speak of teaching, of latent periods, of stupidity, of good or bad memories. And it is not impossible by any means that the phenomena of memory, shown in greatest perfection by the mammalian cerebrum, may have at the bottom the same basis as this, and the persistence within certain cells of substances of an autocatalytic nature which have remained from a previous stimulation.[1]

Mathews and Child emphasize on the inorganic level and on a low organic level the chemical aspect of behavior pointed out by Stone and Sturman-Hulbe on a higher animal level. The place of endogenous chemical excitants in human behavior will be referred to in the following chapter. At this point we shall discuss the effect of the experiential stimuli of the social environment in producing in mankind, during the life span, an unconscious fixation of habits or learned stereotyped reactions of a relatively irreversible character.

The fixation of habits on the unconscious, physiological level by repeated exposure to an experience is shown by the experiments of Pavlov[2] and his associates in establishing a conditioned reflex in dogs. If, for example, a dog is given food this induces a flow of saliva (a reflex) and if at the same time a bell is sounded, an electric shock applied at any point on the dog's body, an odor presented to his nose, or any associated stimulus is given, and if this is repeated a number of times, the sound, the odor, or the shock will then produce alone, without the presence of food, the same amount of saliva. This form of reaction to the associated stimulus is called a conditioned reflex.

The conditioning and humanizing of the child in infancy by repeated exposures to experience are clearly shown in the following experiment:

Working in the Vienna hospitals, Hetzer and Tudor-Hart divided 126 children into 9 groups of 14 each, the first group containing children 3 days old and under, . . . and experimenting with sound stimuli, they observed the rate at which the child learns to separate out and give attention to the human voice among other sounds. All the children

[1] Mathews, A. P., *Physiological Chemistry*, 76 (London: Baillière, Tindall & Cox; New York: William Wood & Company. By permission).
[2] Pavlov, I. P., *Conditioned Reflexes*.

noticed all the sounds (striking a porcelain plate with a spoon, rattling a piece of paper, and the human voice) sometimes, but the reaction of the newborn to noises in the first weeks was far more positive than the reaction to the voice, even to loud conversation: 92 per cent of frequency to "ear-splitting" noises and 25 per cent to the excited voice. But in the third week the proportion was about the same, and in the fourth week the reaction was more frequent to the voice. Here we begin to see the behavior of the child humanized by the prominence and function of the mother or nurse in the situation. A process of conditioning has been going on—the human voice and feeding simultaneously. The voice has gained a significance over others sounds in the feeding complex, but at first the person speaking or the loudness or softness of the tone makes no difference. The voice has been associated with feeding, and angry tones have not yet been associated with punishment. The first specific reaction to the voice is a puckering of the lips, which appears in the third week. This is a presocial reaction, because it is not associated with any definite person, merely with a voice—a voice among other noises. The speaking person does not exist for the child. The voice stimulates the saliva reflex and if feeding does not follow the child will cry.

At this point the mother and child are associated in an intimacy. It is the first social relationship in the developmental history of the child, and it grows out of the hunger contractions and the mother's response.[1]

A single association may in some cases be sufficient to produce a reflex reaction and condition the personality. In a certain experiment with odors all the subjects reacted pleasurably to the odor of roses with the exception of one youth, who showed fear. On investigation it was shown that he had been thrown from an automobile into a rose garden. In the same experiment cedar-wood oil caused one subject to visualize a pair of shoes seen in childhood, the association being by the way of shoe-polish, which, like cedar-wood oil, has a resinous smell. In another subject the smell of clove oil recalled a certain town where he had toothache, although he had not used clove oil on that occasion. The smell of vanillin reminded one subject of chocolate, another of his grandmother, and another of a few bars of Chopin's music. Some of the women in this experiment showed anger at the smell of musk because it was identified with women whom they disliked.[2]

In everyday life a whiff of lavender may recall mother because she used this perfume, and the odor of tuberoses reminds us of death because they are used at funerals. The perfume called "frangipani" is prepared from a West Indies tree and was perhaps brought to America by negroes. At any rate it is their favorite

[1] Thomas, W. I. and Dorothy S., *The Child in America*, 560 (Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. By permission).
[2] Kenneth, J. H., "Mental Reactions to Smell Stimuli," *Psychol. Rev.*, **30**: 78 *ff.*

perfume in the southern states. Consequently, the white woman of these localities shuns this perfume like the pest because its use would identify her with the negro. And the same is true of the other senses. If, for example, a youth has been robbed of his girl by a soldier the sight of a uniform will provoke anger and all men in uniform will be hateful.

In general terms, the exposure to experience, the repetition of stimulus, and the resultant memory traces create attitudes, or tendencies to act, which condition behavior, structuralize it in given patterns, and inhibit other possible reactions. In the field of the appetites this is exemplified by an experience of the Arctic explorer Stefansson when attempting to train his dog teams to eat food to which they were not accustomed. Dogs brought up on a diet of seal, caribou meat, and fish were taken to a region where nothing was obtainable except geese and for several days all the dogs in the team refused to eat, and one dog persisted for more than a week before eating at all, although he had to work part of the time. On another occasion Stefansson's party happened to kill a wolf, and as the dogs of this team had never tasted wolf meat, he took occasion to break the dogs of this food prejudice, thinking he might later be in a situation where only wolf meat was available:

> We did not know [he says] exactly the ages of our dogs but could judge them roughly by their teeth. One of the dogs was presumably two or three years older than any other member of the team. There were six dogs altogether. We offered them the meat for three or four days before any of them ate any of it. Then they began to eat it . . . in the order of their age, the youngest being the first to give in. The oldest dog went for two weeks without swallowing any of the wolf meat, although he occasionally took a piece of it in his mouth and dropped it again [and it was necessary to feed him with caribou meat in order to save his life].[1]

We find also in mankind comparable food prejudices. It is proverbial that the European peasant will not taste food to which he is not accustomed. *Was der Bauer nicht kennt isst er nicht.* Some African and American tribes living beside streams full of fish never taste them. Numerous savage groups, including cannibals, have a horror of eggs as food. Tribes which eat putrid flesh and the raw entrails of animals are revolted by some of our delicacies:

> I remember [says the African traveler Junker] how some A-Barmbo were disgusted at the smell of some genuine old Edam (Dutch) cheese,

[1] Stefansson, V., "Food Tastes and Food Prejudices of Men and Dogs," *Sci. Monthly*, **11**: 540 *ff.*

of which I had eaten a few scraps, and gave out that the white people eat "the foulest muck." Many smells affect them differently from us, and they turn with loathing from eau de cologne, for instance, and from scented soap.[1]

The American Indians had no milk-giving animals and have never borrowed the milk habit from the whites. "It is with the greatest difficulty," says Wissler, "that our reservation Indians can be led to care for milk cows."

More remarkable is the rejection of milk and dairy products by a large part of the population of Asia, though surrounded by neighbors who use them:

Ancient Asia with its European annex is split into two large, sharply defined economic camps, as regards the production and consumption of milk and other dairy products. The entire East-Asiatic world, inclusive of China, Korea, Japan, Indo-China, and all Malayans, does not take animal milk for food, and evinces a deep-rooted aversion toward it; and this was the state of affairs even in remotest times. On the other hand, all Indo-European peoples, the Semites, the ancient Scythians, and all nomadic tribes of northern and central Asia, as Turks, Mongols, and Tibetans, are all milk drinkers, and were so in early historical times. The remarkable feature about this case certainly is not the bare fact that the East-Asiatics abstain from milk—for the aboriginal tribes of America and Australia and others, simply for the lack of milk-producing animals, do exactly the same—but the essential point is that the Chinese and their followers adhere to this practice, despite an abundance of milk-furnishing domestic animals in their possession, and despite long-enduring intercourse with neighboring milk-consuming peoples, whose habits and mode of life were very familiar to them. They rear cows, buffalo, mares, camels, sheep, goats, all animals from which milk could be derived, but they do not even understand how to milk them. They were at all times surrounded by Turkish and Mongol peoples, whose daily sustenance depends upon milk and kumiss, butter and cheese. This fact has been perfectly known to the Chinese, but, notwithstanding, they never acquired the habit. In India and Indo-China we face the same striking fact, in that the aboriginal inhabitants, though willing to submit to the higher civilization of the Aryan Hindu, never adopted from them the custom of milk drinking. It follows, therefore, that our consumption of animal milk cannot be looked upon as a self-evident and spontaneous phenomenon, for which it has long been taken, but that it is a mere matter of educated force of habit. As natural as it appears to us, owing to time-honored practice and tradition, so just as unnatural, tedious, and barbarous does it strike the Chinese and other peoples of eastern Asia, who uphold that it is cruel to deprive the calf of its mother's milk. This ethical opinion, surely, does not give the true reason for their abstinence

[1] Junker, W. J., *Travels in Africa*, **3**: 101.

from milk, but is no more than a speculative afterthought. No less remarkable is it that no religious tabu is placed on milk in any of the Eastern religions, and that the aversion is not prompted by motives of any religious character; it is purely a matter of social and economic life.[1]

Kroeber has pointed out that certain foods which were originally inaccessible to the Jews and to which they were consequently not habituated were placed under a tabu which was later explained as a divine commandment:

It has often been said that the Jew's prohibition against eating pork and oysters and lobsters originated in hygienic considerations; that these were climatically unsafe foods for him in Palestine. This explanation is more simple than true. Ancient Palestine was an arid country in which hogs could not be raised with economic profit, and so they were not raised; and the Philistine and Phoenician kept the Jew from the coast along which he might have obtained shellfish. Eating neither food he happened to acquire a distrust of them; having the distrust, he rationalized it by saying that it was foreign and wicked and irreligious to act counter to his habits—just like the Pueblo Indian [who will not eat fish and thinks them poisonous], and in the end he had the Lord issue a prohibition for him.[2]

In addition to taste and smell, sight and touch contacts are favorable to definitions of situations and habit formation on the unconscious level. Among the white, black, and yellow races there will be a preference for the native color and a prejudice against other colors and physical features:

There must [says Livingstone] be something in the appearance of white men frightfully repulsive to the unsophisticated natives of Africa; for on entering villages previously unvisited by Europeans, if we met a child coming quietly and unsuspectingly toward us, the moment he raised his eyes and saw the men in "bags," he would take to his heels in an agony of terror, such as we might feel if we met a live Egyptian mummy at the door of the British Museum. Alarmed by the child's wild outcries, the mother rushes out of the hut, but darts back again at the first glimpse of the fearful apparition. Dogs turn tail and scour off in dismay, and hens, abandoning their chickens, fly screaming to the tops of the houses.[3]

The standard of perfection in color [among the Malays] is virgin gold, and as a European lover compares the bosom of his mistress to the whiteness of snow, the East Insular lover compares that of his to the yellowness of the precious metal.[4]

[1] Laufer, B., "Some Fundamental Ideas of Chinese Culture," *Jour. Race Development*, **5**: 167–168.
[2] Kroeber, A. L., *Anthropology*, 183–184 (Harcourt, Brace & Company. By permission).
[3] Livingstone, D., *The Zambesi and Its Tributaries*, 181.
[4] Crawfurd, J., *History of the Indian Archipelago*, **1**: 23.

The negroes, who generally imagine the devil to be white, consider a black, shiny skin, thick lips, and flattened noses as the type of beauty.[1]

The children that are born [in Malabar] are black enough, but the blacker they be the more they are thought of; wherefore from the day of their birth their parents do rub them every week with oil of sesame, so that they become as black as devils. Moreover, they make their gods black and their devils white, and the images of their saints they do paint black all over.[2]

[A servant of the king of Cochin, China] spoke with contempt of the wife of the English ambassador, that she had white teeth like a dog, and a rosy color like that of potato flowers.[3]

Ask a northern Indian what is beauty, and he will answer, a broad flat face, small eyes, high cheekbones, three or four broad black lines across each cheek, a low forehead, a large broad chin, a clumsy hook nose, a tawny hide, and breasts hanging down to the belt.[4]

On the other hand, if the organism is exposed to new excitants for a period of time the attitudes are reversible. Livingstone reports that he was shocked at the sight of white men after long habituation to black faces:

One feels ashamed of the white skin; it seems unnatural, like blanched celery or white mice.[5]

Stanley also reports his feelings on first meeting white men after crossing Africa, although they were, in fact, Portuguese and not very white:

As I looked into their faces, I blushed to find that I was wondering at their paleness. . . . The pale color, after so long gazing on rich black and richer bronze, had something of an unaccountable ghastliness. I could not divest myself of the feeling that they must be sick; yet, when I compare their complexions to what I now view, I should say they were olive, sunburnt, dark.[6]

Food tastes and prejudices are similarly converted. Stefansson says that dogs accustomed to prowling around ships and eating garbage were cosmopolitan in their food tastes. In the famine districts of Russia the peasants formerly ground the bark of trees into their flour to increase the quantity and, becoming habituated to the bitter mixture, continued to use it in years of plentiful harvest. In a description of a visit to Tibet McGovern says:

[1] Moore, F., *Travels into the Inland Parts of Africa*, 93.
[2] Marco Polo, *The Book of Marco Polo Concerning the Kingdome and Marvels of the East*, Book III, Chap. XVIII.
[3] Waitz, T., *Anthropologie der Naturvölker*, 1: 105.
[4] Hearne, S., *A Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort* (ed. 1796), 89.
[5] *Op. cit.*, 379.
[6] Stanley, H. M., *Through the Dark Continent*, 2: 462.

Yak dung is the only fuel used over the greater part of Tibet, which is barren of both trees and coal. . . . Unfortunately, owing to the ammonia contained in it, it emits a very acrid smell, which even flavors any food cooked over it. Strangely enough, one becomes accustomed to this taste and subsequently finds for a time that food cooked in an ordinary way seems almost tasteless.[1]

During the Tai Ping rebellion in China and during a famine in ancient Egypt human flesh was sold in the open markets and the people abandoned the habit of cannibalism reluctantly.

In the field of animal behavior Whitman has reported a situation in which the instinctive-reflex action pattern of a species is superseded by a reaction induced by exposure to another species:

If a bird of one species is hatched and reared by a wholly different species, it is very apt when fully grown to prefer to mate with the species under which it has been reared. For example, a male passenger pigeon that was reared with ringdoves and had remained with that species was ever ready, when fully grown, to mate with any ringdove, but could never be induced to mate with one of his own species. I kept him away from ringdoves a whole season, in order to see what could be accomplished in the way of getting him mated finally with his own species, but he would never make any advances to the females, and whenever a ringdove was seen or heard in the yard he was at once attentive.[2]

Removal from exposure to the total environmental situation, including land, home, "the old familiar faces," "the old oaken bucket," etc., is accompanied by the discomfort called homesickness, unless, as among ourselves, the discontinuity of the exposure has been great owing to facilitated transportation and communication, the dissipation of primary groups, and the free circulation of individuals who, like Stefansson's dogs, have acquired cosmopolitan tastes. Among primitives also acute distress may follow the removal from accustomed scenes. Gusinde says of a girl among the Ona, a tribe at the southern extremity of South America:

[A few weeks before my return Yoni married Himsuta and brought her from Rio del Fuego.] I often saw her squatting sadly in her hut with her face turned toward her former home. When I asked, "Why so sad?" tears came to her eyes and she always answered, "I feel so lonesome here. I wish I were with my parents." This in spite of the fact that her husband was very kind to her and the other women of the camp very sympathetic. Only the birth of her first child brought a change in her state of mind.[3]

[1] *New York Times*, Oct. 7, 1923.
[2] Whitman, C. O., "The Behavior of Pigeons," in *Posthumous Works*, edited by H. Carr, **3**: 28.
[3] Gusinde, M., *Die Feuerland Indianer*, **1**: 334.

The meaning of homesickness is that with the withdrawal from the scene of activities there is a cessation of the activities, and the habituated and unsophisticated person is temporarily, as in the case of Stefansson's dogs, unable to initiate any new experience. It is not the home as locality but the memory traces of the experiences associated with the locality. The Maoris of New Zealand have an unparalleled attachment to their land which is instructive in this connection:

> [An old Maori saying] illustrative of the affection of a person for his native soil, is, "I greet my only surviving parent in the world, the land." In speeches also the same feeling is expressed, and one cannot help but be struck by the vividness of the metaphors used by these savage orators. When the question of the ceding of the Waitara lands to the Crown was imminent, Wiremu Patukakariki rose up and said, "Governor, Waitara shall not be yielded to you. It will not be good that you should take the pillow from under my head, because my pillow is a pillow that belonged to my ancestors." And Paora Karewa stood up and said: "Listen, Governor! I will not give Waitara to you. It will not be good that you should drag from under me the bed matting of my ancestor."
>
> The chanting of a lament bidding farewell to one's home and lands just before death was not an uncommon custom. Even in the stark cruelty of war the tinge of softer emotion could still find place. Sometimes after a battle a captive asked permission to sing such a song, and the uplifted weapon was stayed for a moment while the last farewell was uttered. It happened on occasions that a prisoner, when about to be slain, asked to be conducted first to the border of his tribal lands that he might look upon them once again before death. This was sometimes done for him. Or he might ask that he should be allowed to drink of the waters of some stream which flowed through the borders of his home. Cases are known when, being a person of consequence, he was escorted to such a stream, or a messenger was sent to procure water for him that he might drink—after which he met his fate. This courteous compliance with what seems to us a somewhat singular request gives evidence of the recognition which was accorded even by an enemy to the sentimental attachment of a person to his lands. On occasion, prisoners who were kept as slaves sent a message to their friends in their own tribe: "*Tukuna mai he kapunga oneone ki au hai tangi*"—"Send me a handful of earth that I may weep over it," which being done, they were able to greet once more in semblance the land which was lost to them. When the chief Rakuraku was too old to travel, his young people, when they returned from his lands at the head of the river, used to bring him a branchlet of a tree that he might greet over it.
>
> In a time of great stress the courage of the people was sometimes stirred by an appeal to their emotional regard for their tribal lands. Several instances are recorded in Maori history of how in the heat of

battle, his people broken and flying before the enemy, a chief of influence has rallied them and saved the day by driving his spear or staff into the ground and standing firm, with the words, "Let me die on my land." Rarely has a tribe failed to respond to such an appeal. In a case which came up before the Native Land Court, one claimant, Noa te Huke, rested his whole title on the dying words of a female ancestor of his, "Take me not away from the land, but bury me within hearing of the Rangitahi waterfall." A picturesque phrase given in a letter of some Hauraki chiefs expresses, too, the intimate connection which to the native mind exists between a person and his land. "The blood of the European is shed in his money, but as to the blood of the Maori, it is shed on his own land." The transfer of territory to the *pakeha* (white man) in the early days of settlement was often accompanied by affecting scenes of farewell by the assembled people to their tribal lands, songs, laments, and speeches giving token of their grief. . . .

The manner in which sentimental associations are bound up with the holding of land is further shown by C. W. Ligar, the Surveyor General, in an interesting letter to an early newspaper. There was a dispute as to the boundary of lands between two Waikato tribes, Ngatitipa and Ngatipou, which culminated in some fighting. "Every spot of ground is associated with some particular deed connected with their many engagements and triumphs. One is sacred because a man of rank fell there; another because it is the place where he is buried; and another is named to commemorate the place where they ate their enemies. The history of these places is handed down from father to son, the retaining of them in their possession has become more dear than life." In consequence of this, when the first demarcation of the land was discussed, the Maori proposal was to make the graves of the chiefs who fell in the preceding unpleasantness the boundary marks, and then to run the boundary crooked, so as to keep as many of the little disputed places as they could.[1]

Tregear has further illustrated the Maori land sentiment by the character of the legal claims to land made on the basis of specific human contacts and associations, some of them extraordinarily fantastic from our point of view:

[Hereditary] titles were . . . made complex by the different claims which could be made to hold them. Some of these were as follows: (1) Descent, *i.e.*, by universal consent as to the lands having been owned by direct ancestors. (2) Because the bones of the claimant's parents or forefathers have been buried (or were at one time buried) there. (3) Because his umbilical cord at birth was cut there, or the afterbirth of his mother when he was born was buried there. (4) By having acquired it through his wife; this was only during his wife's lifetime or (if she died) during the youth of the children. (5) By having been one of the warriors

[1] Firth, R., *Primitive Economics of the New Zealand Maori*, 361–364 (London: George Routledge and Sons; New York: E. P. Dutton & Company, Inc. By permission).

who conquered it. (6) By having been wounded on it. (7) By having acted as an ally by supplying food, weapons, etc., to the victorious war party. (8) By being cursed on it. (9) By having received it for some service as a gift publicly declared by the ruling chief of the tribe and acknowledged in open assembly. (10) By being allowed through a public permission from its owner to occupy it either by building a house there or cultivating the soil. (11) By his ancestors having been allowed to catch rats or eels, etc., there. (12) By his tree (*kawa*, the branch used in baptism, sometimes planted) having grown there. (13) By some ancestor having been (by permission) buried there. (14) By his ancestors having set up an altar (*tuahu*) there or a fort (*pa*), etc., etc. Sometimes grim but grotesque claims were set up, such as that made by a chief who asserted that his ancestor had killed an ancestor of the other side, had made a bird cage out of his enemy's ribs and backbone, and had kept therein a tame parrot. This cage was set up on the land and was a plain proof in Maori eyes that he was the owner of the land in question. One man claimed on the ground that his ancestor was a lizard that used to live on the land; another that his ancestor once saw a ghost there. This latter claim was allowed by the Colonial Government and a Crown Grant made. Even the acceptance of a valuable present from one chief to another might be made the subject of a claim by the giver to the land on which the event occurred. Should any act be performed which passed without comment by the owners, their silent acquiescence was taken as recognition of a claim. Thus, a chief named Raukataura, passing through a forest owned by a friendly tribe, had one of the feathers of his headdress torn out by a shrub. Sitting down, the chief made a little fence of broken sticks round his sacred feather. He was accompanied on this occasion by some of the men of the tribe owning the place, but they said and did nothing. Their silence and inaction were construed as an assent to ownership, and the sons of Raukataura held possession by this title until the present day. Had the little fence been broken down and obliterated no claim would be sustained. Sometimes if a chief should wash or comb his sacred head when journeying across a piece of land his people would claim the land, or if he slept in a temporary hut for a night, title would be asserted. These claims were not, however, made lightly, there were to be other circumstances, such as the death of a near relative at the time; something to mark the event as of importance before such claim was established, and it always had to be upheld by the law of the strongest. . . .

When a chief was murdered on a piece of land by men not the owners of such land his relatives would claim it by right of the bloodshed, and when a chief was drowned a demand was made by his friends that a prohibition (*rahui*) should extend over a portion of the sea and shore where his body was found, that is, that no shellfish should be taken from that place or its neighborhood for a time, generally a year. To remove the prohibition a number of fish, sharks especially, were captured by the tribe in occupation, and the relations of the drowned person invited to a

feast where the dried fish was offered as a present. If the occupant tribes broke the prohibition the land was claimed by the drowned man's friends.[1]

Up to this point passive learning by exposure on an unconscious-physiological basis has been emphasized, but in the Maori land contacts the learning is partly on the conscious level. The fixation of sentiment on the land is bound up with human interests traditionally associated with the land, and we find in this case a verbalization and discussion of the sentiments, their transfer from individual to individual, and their intensification by verbalization and repetition. This direction of attention is here associated with the Polynesian conception of *mana*, or supernatural power. The solicitude to preserve the burial place of chiefs, for example, is derived from the belief that they possess mana and consecrate everything they touch:

Lands and localities [says Tregear] were supposed to possess mana of their own, as well as men, weapons, etc. This influence, when it pertained to land, was on account of the spirits of famous men remaining in guard over them. If a man descended from or related to one of these ancestors was in danger, he would feel much more security if he could reach such enchanted or sacred ground, feeling that in some miraculous way he would obtain succor. Efforts would be made when a fight was impending to force the battle over into such a locality so as to obtain the "tribal luck" (mana) of the place.[2]

The exposure to the attitudes of others and to their definitions of situations through language and emotionally toned gestures takes place almost as gradually as language itself is acquired, and usually culminates in a series of initiation ceremonies at puberty. The treatment of the young child is represented in Hogbin's report on a group in the Solomon Islands:

[During the second period of the boy's childhood, from three years of age until about seven] he begins to hear of the essential tabus—that certain subjects may not be discussed in the presence of the sister, that everything connected with the dead is to be avoided, that he must never approach the temple or a priest. He is told that he is not to do all these things, for at this time education is confined chiefly to prohibitions. He is also warned of the dire consequences of any infringement of these social laws. The place of our bogeyman is taken by the *kipua*, the spirits of the dead. Dozens of fearful examples will be told him by his parents and by other people with whom he may come into contact. All children know what happened to Ke laepa when he disobeyed his parents and strayed into the temple: they found him dead on the floor, killed by the

[1] Tregear, E., *The Maori Race*, 131–134 (A. D. Willis. By permission).
[2] *Ibid.*, 323–324.

angry kipua. Then there was Oma. He took an undue interest in the genital organs of his sister and was transfixed to a stone in consequence by these same spirits. . . . The brother-sister tabu comes into greater force with the boy as he grows to a consciousness of his sex. No normal boy, for instance, would dream of playing at games with his sister nor would he do so with another little girl if she were present.[1]

The origin of the incest tabu mentioned in this passage will be discussed later, but it is practically universal for brother and sister, and while the following record by Malinowski is quite extraordinary it shows the point of intensity which social definitions of situations may reach and the precautions to forestall as completely as possible an intimacy between brother and sister:

> The child [of the Trobriand Islands], accustomed to little or no interference with most of its whims or wishes, receives a real shock when suddenly it is roughly handled, seriously reprimanded, and punished whenever it makes any friendly, affectionate, or even playful advances to the other small beings constantly about in the same household. Above all the child experiences an emotional shock when it becomes aware of the expression of horror and anguish on the faces of its elders when they correct it. This emotional contagion, this perception of moral reactions in the social environment is perhaps the most powerful factor in a native community by which norms and values are imposed on an individual's character.
>
> The circumstantial arrangements and set customs which preclude any possibility of intimate contact between brother and sister are also, of course, very important. Brother and sister are definitely forbidden to take part at the same time in any childish sexual games or even in any form of play. And this is not only a rule laid down by elders, but it is also a convention rigorously observed by the children themselves. . . .
>
> When a boy grows up and when there is a sister of his living in the parental house, he has to sleep in the bachelors' hut. . . . In her love affairs the girl must most rigorously avoid any possibility of being seen by the brother. When, on certain occasions, brother and sister have to appear in the same company—when they travel in the same canoe, for instance, or participate in a domestic meeting—a rigidity of behavior and sobriety of conversation falls upon all those present. No cheerful company, no festive entertainment, therefore, is allowed to include brother and sister, since their simultaneous presence would throw a blight on pleasure and would chill gaiety.[2]

Gutmann has recorded the logically complete form of brother and sister avoidance among the Chagga of East Africa:

[1] Hogbin, H. I., "Education at Ongtong Java, Solomon Islands," *Amer. Anth.*, N.S., **33**: 607–609.
[2] Malinowski, B., *The Sexual Life of Savages*, **2**: 519 (London: George Routledge and Sons; New York: Harcourt, Brace & Company. By permission).

It would be quite impossible for a brother to inherit the abode of his sister. . . . The sister abode is tabu to the actual brother. If he makes a visit he dare not spend the night in her hut. He may sit nowhere but on the floor of the hut during the day. . . . He may not reach across her bed to grasp an object. And the same is true for the sister. . . . The feeling of shame toward a sister is extraordinarily fine. To speak improper words in the presence of or within the hearing of a sister is very reprehensible. This holds not only for the brother but for all who are talking while a brother and sister are present. If a man says something indelicate and his glance falls on the sister of a man who is present he realizes that he has done something shameful and covers his face and hides it between his arms.

In such a case the brother has the right to strike and beat the offender, who is not allowed to defend himself. Even if the punishment is severe he has no resort. If he took the matter to the chief he would only be fined in addition. To avoid a violation of this tabu a man drinking beer with friends in the yard when his sister is near will warn them with the words, "The goats are in the meadow, not in the house."

In this situation it would be impossible for brothers to take back a married sister directly into their group. They could not settle a divorced or widowed sister on sib ground. They would beg a bit of neighboring land and build a little abode for her there. To deny a request for such land would be difficult, for it would be made with the words, . . . "Guard me from a dying curse." The last resource of an abandoned woman, especially a childless one, was her brothers. Without them she would perish. The threat of her curse had therefore a compulsive power over reluctant brothers. Such a sister had also a special burial, on the border of her residence in an uncultivated spot, that is, the hedge. A childless old man was engaged to sacrifice a goat on the grave with such words as would be used if he were her husband. The flesh of the goat was his payment. He planted a banana shoot beside the grave to represent a grove. An old woman who took refuge with her relatives after the death of all her children could spend her last days on sib ground but was buried outside. . . .

So deep is this fear of a sister that an old, old man, the last of the Lelo line, whose hut was falling to pieces about him, refused to be taken in by the goodhearted son of his sister. He resisted all pleas stubbornly with the words, "I cannot sleep at my sister's."[1]

Malinowski also fortunately made an inquisition among the natives as to their reactions to the exposure to this propaganda and found that their feelings were correspondingly intense:

When pressed to say what a man would feel or do if he committed such a crime [as brother-sister incest] the native would usually answer: " . . . No, we don't do it. If a man did it, his mind having turned

[1] Gutmann, B., *Das Recht der Dschagga*, 61–62 (C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung. By permission).

wrong and silly, he would wake up (*i.e.*, become sober and realize his crime) and commit suicide." Or he might say more negatively: " . . . We don't do it and then play around and remain lighthearted. . . . " [Other locutions are:] "We don't do it"? "My mind turns sick (if I did it)"? "I would vomit." . . . "Very bad smells, like excrement." . . . "In the fashion of a dog—not of a man." That is, actions of a dirty animal and not of a human being.[1]

The incest situation is thus highly charged with emotion promoted by language and gestures, but in cases where a pattern has been fixed by repetition, and no moral issue is involved, the emotional resistance to its violation is also singularly pronounced and unreasonable. Radin suggests that the violation of the traditional order of procedure in ceremonial may meet with more resistance than doctrinal and ideational innovations:

About 30 years ago a ceremony was introduced which deviated in many significant ways from the normal Winnebago type. The tenets of this new religion were from the very beginning diametrically opposed to the old Winnebago cultural background. The new faith naturally encountered tremendous antagonism among the older members of the tribe and, although understood, was definitely disapproved of. Yet what completely placed it outside of the pale for certain individuals was not the introduction of some new belief or rite, nor the denial of the efficiency of the older rites and of the whole sacerdotal system, but the reversal of the customary manner of making the ceremonial circuit in entering the ceremonial lodge. This constituted, for many, the real sin against the social configuration.[2]

Anticipating the later treatment of primitive law (Chap. XV) the following description by Rivers of crime and punishment in Melanesia represents the regulation of behavior on the basis of a habit system and without constituted authority:

In Eddystone Island, . . . and the same holds true for Melanesia in general, there is no tribunal for the administration of justice, or for the punishment of offenses against other individuals or against the community as a whole, but the administration of justice has a spontaneous character which is wholly foreign to our point of view. . . . So far as one could tell the only grave offenses formerly recognized were incest and murder, meaning by the latter term killing of a person by a member of his own community. For both incest and murder, and especially the former, the punishment was death. I was unable to discover that the infliction of this punishment took place as the result of any formal decision by chiefs, elders, council, or meeting of the community in general. To my informants it seemed obvious that one who had committed incest would be

[1] Malinowski, *op. cit.*, **2**: 519; 466.
[2] Radin, P., *Primitive Man as Philosopher*, 46 (D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc. By permission).

killed, and that any kind of machinery for the determination of guilt or for reaching a decision concerning punishment was quite unnecessary. The punishment followed automatically the discovery of the crime, and it seemed that the relatives (or *taviti*) of the offender took the leading part in the infliction of the punishment.

For offenses of lesser magnitude the punishment was ostracism, of which I will give an example from my own observation. In Eddystone Island it is a rule that a man may only take a second wife if he is a chief, or has taken ten heads in warfare. During our visit to the island a man who had neither of these qualifications took a second wife and was consequently ostracized or boycotted by the rest of the island. He took the opportunity to spend his time with us, and occupied himself in making a model canoe, which is now in our museum; but after about ten days he became tired of his isolation, gave up his second wife and returned to his village, to carry for the rest of his life, so far as we could tell, a social stigma for having tried unsuccessfully to regard himself as superior to the traditions of the community. I could not discover that there had been any formal condemnation in this case. The man had committed an offense against the community, and the community had, intuitively, it would seem, decided to have no more social dealings with the offender till the offense was purged. . . .

We may be enabled the better to understand the spontaneous, or as it might be called, the intuitive mode of inflicting punishment by such knowledge as we possess concerning the deliberations of councils or less formal bodies in such regions as Melanesia. In these councils there are none of the formal means of reaching decisions by voting or other means which are customary among ourselves. At a certain stage of the discussion it seems to be recognized by some kind of common sense, which I have elsewhere regarded as a part of a gregarious instinct, that the group has reached agreement.[1] The conclusion which has been reached is intuitively known to all, and the meeting passes on to the next business. A friend who has had the opportunity of observing the social activity of the Russian peasants tells me that the same complete absence of governorship and apparently unregulated reaching of conclusions is characteristic of their assemblies.[2]

Rivers' allusion to the deliberations of Russian peasants may be illustrated by the following description from a Russian writer, in which it will be seen that the efforts of the *mir* are not directed toward the formulation of new definitions of situations but toward the determination of whether and how an immediate decision will fit into the traditional pattern:

[1] [Rivers here refers to his volume *Instinct and the Unconscious*, where he assumes a gregarious instinct in man (pp. 94–96). But the so-called gregariousness of herds and flocks is a specialized form of unlearned behavior, whereas the behavior described by Rivers above is learned through association and communication.]

[2] Rivers, W. H. R., *Social Organization*, 167–169 (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co.; New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. By permission).

In the discussion of some question by the *mir* [organization of neighbors] there are no speeches, no debates, no votes. They shout, they abuse one another, they seem on the point of coming to blows; apparently they riot in the most senseless manner. Someone preserves silence, and then suddenly puts in a word, one word or an ejaculation, and by this word, this ejaculation, he turns the whole thing upside down. In the end you look into it and find that an admirable decision has been formed, and, what is most important, a unanimous decision.[1]

It is significant in this connection that the nervous mechanism which directs the impulses and activities is partly on a reflex basis and, where the activity has successive stages, the principle of "chain reflex" operates, whereby the completion of one stage of the performance touches off the next stage. F. H. Herrick[2] has pointed out, for example, that the nest building of some birds consists of a cycle of as many as five stages, and if the activity is interrupted at any point it is necessary to begin the whole process again. A parallel of this is seen in the case of simple people giving testimony in court. They are not able to continue if interrupted, or to omit stages in the narrative and come to the point, but must start again at the beginning. There is thus an organic resistance to the violation of the order of the components of a complex reaction.

Furthermore, if we examine the sustaining incentives of all goal seeking and adjustive striving we find that they rest on an unrationalized, reflex, and emotional basis. All action patterns are derived from the impulses operating in hunting, killing, capturing, and captivating activities, whether motivated by the hunger or the sex drive. These are the primary "pursuits" and the term has by an appropriate feeling been transferred to more social and abstract pursuits—the pursuit of learning, the pursuit of riches, the pursuit of fame, etc. The close of a pursuit is primarily a "kill" (or capture) and for making a kill by man or animal a technique is required involving hand and muscular coordination and timing in striking or grasping. The success or failure of the action represents a life or death situation. Hence our admiration of skillful technique on any level. At one time I witnessed a gun fight where *A* fired a bullet which passed between the heart and the left arm of *B*. *A* then turned and ran, and *B*, in a split second, fired a shot shattering *A*'s backbone. In this case life and death were very impressive from the standpoint of technique.

Our admiration for the skill and nerve of the two-gun man or the clever or daring outlaw or burglar may even supersede our

[1] Engelgardt, A. N., *Iz Derevni:* 12 *Pisem* [From the Country: 12 Letters], 315.
[2] *Jour. Animal Behavior*, **1**: 168; *Sci.*, N.S., **25**: 645.

judgment of moral values. Performances in baseball, tennis, golf, billiards, rifle shooting, archery, chess, cards, fishing, etc., the chagrin and contraction of the cat that misses its kill, the elation and expansion of the player who "stops the show," the sustaining curiosity, absorption, and jealousy in scientific pursuits and in all problems and goal seekings, are derivatives of the primary drives and have also the unrecognized semblance of life and death. Not only does the substitute or "sporting" pattern of life and death activity sustain the performer but the feeling of the technique of the performance is transferred to the spectators.

These are the concrete aspects of the process, but if we generalize the statement and view life as a continuous striving for adjustment it is plain that all techniques, including language for argumentation, mathematics for calculation, law and medicine for control of given situations, economic techniques for the accumulation of material values conferring status and advantage, and all idealism are aspects of the adjustive conflicts, sustained by the unconscious impulses. The emotional components of the reactions are not consciously analyzable but are in the structure of the organism.

In this connection, the impulse in the drive toward a goal which was originally a food or sex object, where the activity was primarily motor in character and dependent for its success on the perfection of technique, is transferred to the pursuit of any goal whatever, and we find in tribal society very serious importance attached to the perfection and order of procedure in all goal seeking, for example, in ceremonies for securing rain or success in hunting or war. A mistake may terminate the ceremony and may cost the offender his life. Among the Omaha Indians

> [the keeper of ritual prepared two sacred pipes for the chiefs when deliberating.] He had to be careful not to let either of the pipes fall. Should this happen the meeting of the council would be at an end, and the life of the keeper would be in danger from the supernatural powers.[1]

On the northwest coast of America certain spirits were hereditary in the clans, and in order to be taken away by one of them and initiated and adopted by this spirit it was necessary for a youth to perform a ceremonial dance:

> No greater misfortune, however, can happen than for one of the dancers . . . to fall, . . . and his father must make a new festival for him. . . . As the expense of such a festival is very great . . . but few persons are able to afford a second initiation. While nowadays every

[1] Dorsey, J. O., "The Omaha Tribe," *Bur. Amer. Ethnol., Ann. Rep.*, **3**: 209.

effort is made to enable the father to give the new festival, it is said that in former times the unfortunate one was killed [by the dancers of his own and other clans] often at the instance of his own father.[1]

Among the Polynesians, where the tabu regulations were excessively systematized and industrial pursuits were consecrated, a "disorderly" procedure would cause a house or a boat to remain unfinished:

Every mistake, every awkward move was a bad omen among this people. The priest who made a mistake in the order of the items of his ritual stopped the service at once. A misdirected stroke by a workman, a tool used on the wrong side, a hole bored in the wrong direction was enough not only to stop an operation instantly but to cause the abandonment of the construction of a house or a boat, etc., even if the accident happened at the moment of its completion.[2]

In Ashanti, where the genealogies of kings were recited on ceremonial occasions and where the kings had divine names, the historians who recited the names and events were executed if they made a mistake:

The custodians of the tribal lore, each of whom has his or her understudy, have to be absolutely "word perfect." Their memory is constantly exercised in the numerous rites they attend, at which they have to repeat correctly long lists of names and events in their proper order.

At one ceremony I attended, at which two old women had to recite the titles of the great ancestral spirits as far back as there was any record, I was informed that in the old days two executioners (*abrafo*) would have been detailed to stand behind them, and that if they made a mistake they were "taken away."[3]

Where gods and tabus are involved the solicitude for perfection is naturally increased but the *qat* dance of the Banks Islands, where the spectators shoot among the performers if a mistake is made, is an athletic dance, apparently without spiritual significance, and the indignation of the spectators seems provoked by the imperfect technique, as in the case of modern baseball fans and theatergoers who throw pop bottles and rotten eggs:

When the dancers are numerous and expert the weight and accuracy with which they beat the ground is wonderful; the island seems to shake beneath their feet. . . . A practice of three or four months is needed for this before the newly initiated performers can venture to come out and dance. In former times, when the newly taught dancers made their

[1] Boas, F., "The Social Organization and Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," *U. S. Natl. Mus. Rep. for* 1895: 433–434.

[2] Moerenhout, J. A., *Voyages aux îles du Grand Océan*, 1: 501, note.

[3] Rattray, R. S., *Ashanti*, 219 (Clarendon Press. By permission).

first appearance, the old members past their dancing days from far and near would gather round with their bows in their hands and jealously watch the steps; if they saw an error they would shoot; and if any one were hit the blame was laid on the faulty dancer; there was no quarrel with the shooter and no compensation to be made.[1]

In addition to the exaction of perfection of performance in a ritual there will be a tabu on any reproduction of the pattern outside its appropriate context in the culture. Sapir has presented a case where, under temptation, Navaho weavers have ventured to make a representation of a ritual which falsifies details of the pattern and is thus constructively not the pattern but something else:

As is well known, the Navaho Indians have of late years taken to the weaving of sand-painting blankets, that is to say, blankets in which the usual geometrical designs are replaced by more or less faithful copies of sand paintings belonging to the great curing ceremonies known as "chants," such as the Night Chant, the Mountain Chant, and the Shooting Chant. As the actual sand paintings of the rituals must be destroyed before nightfall of the day on which they are laid down in the ceremonial hogan and as, further, it is forbidden for the "chanter" to keep a permanent record of the sand paintings which are part of his curing ritual, these sand-painting blankets are, by definition, blasphemous —doubly so, indeed, for to the wrong of preserving what should be a transitory moment of holiness is added that of an illegitimate transfer of the picturing of an episode in a ritualistic origin legend from a sacred context to a mundane article of sale. The older Navaho are said to be very much opposed to these blankets but the demand of the white man appears to be more powerful than religious sentiment.

The weaver has a simple expedient for warding off the curse which follows a tampering with holy things. By deliberately changing the sand-painting design here and there she feels that she absolves herself from the charge of blasphemy. The blanket decoration looks like a genuine sand painting to the white man but to the gods and instructed Navaho the departures from ritualistic accuracy put the woven blanket into the class of profane objects. No curse need follow the weaving—at least, so it is hoped.[2]

The naïve and unquestioning compliance with patterns which have become group stereotypes may be seen to advantage in certain descriptions of their behavior by natives when brought into the courts of the white man. In the following testimony in an Italian court having jurisdiction over a Mohammedan population in North Africa it will be noted that neither father, mother, nor

[1] Codrington, R. H., *The Melanesians*, 86 (Clarendon Press. By permission).
[2] Sapir, E., "A Navaho Sand Blanket," *Amer. Anth.*, N.S., **37**: 609.

daughter raised any question as to the inevitability of the consequences of the violation of the code:

Osmar Assen . . . said to the judge who questioned him: "I was recently at the border buying giraffe skins to make shields. About a month ago I returned and my wife informed me that our daughter Fatma, still a young girl, was pregnant. I was greatly displeased and had no peace during a whole night and a whole day. In the evening I told my daughter to come and help me fetch some fodder and wood, and had her mount upon the ass. [In a retired spot] I made her dismount from the ass. I threw her on the ground first and tried to strangle her, then seeing that this did not succeed, with a quick pressure against her head I broke her neck. Before throwing her on the ground I said: 'Think on what you have done. I have brought you here to kill you.' She answered, 'I know I have done wrong. I am in your hands and God's.' After killing my daughter I set about digging the grave, and two of my cousins joined me, whom I had asked to follow and assist with the burial. . . . Before killing her I asked my daughter who had seduced her, but she would not say. When I returned I informed my wife that I had done what I had said I would do, and what is prescribed in our customs to do. Now I am sorry for what I did."

[Questioned, the mother said:] "My daughter was killed by my husband because, marriageable, she became pregnant. When my husband returned I informed him of what had happened. He assured himself of the girl's condition, and then decided to kill her, according to our custom."[1]

It will be noticed that the following statement of a native of New Guinea to a resident English judge is not a confession but an explanation to an evidently puzzled official of a shocking incident which was to the native quite regular and routine:

In the year 1909 I tried a man called Avai, a native of Baimuru, who was charged with the murder of Laura, a woman of Baroi, who was living at Baimuru; his statement of what had happened contained some curious details. He said: "Bai-i told us to kill the three Baroi people. He told us to get into a canoe. We did so, and caught the three Baroi people (Aimari and his wives Laura and Aipuru) in Era Bay. Kairi killed Aimari, I killed Laura, and Iomu killed Aipuru. I killed her with a dagger of cassowary bone. We put the bodies in the canoe and took them back to Baimuru. I did not bite off Laura's nose; it is not the custom to bite off the nose of a person whom you have killed. If I kill a man, some one else bites off his nose; Aua bit off Laura's nose, Kwai bit off Aimari's, and Omeara Aipuru's. We bite the noses off, we do not cut them off.

"Before we go to kill any one we consult the spirit of the *kopiravi;* the spirit comes out of the *ravi* [clubhouse] to the canoe; and if the expedi-

[1] *Archivio di antropologia criminale,* **37**: 71 (Unsigned).

tion is to be successful the canoe rocks. The spirit is invisible; the kopiravi does not come out. We got to Baimuru at night and left the bodies in the canoe till morning. Then we took them to the ravi and put them on the platform outside, then singed them outside the front of the ravi, cut them up into small pieces, mixed the pieces with sago, cooked them, wrapped them up in leaves of nipa palm, and distributed them. Women and children may eat human flesh.

"I eat a hand of Aipuru; I did not eat Laura, because I had killed her. It is not our custom to eat a person whom you have killed. If, after killing a man, you sit on a coconut, with a coconut under each heel, and get your daughter to boil the man's heart, you may drink the water in which the heart is boiled, and may eat a little of the heart, but you must be sitting on the coconuts all the time. Otherwise you must not eat any part of a person whom you have killed yourself. In the evening I went on to the platform of the ravi with a torch in my hand, called out the names of the kopiravi, and threw the torch on the ground; any of the village people could then have connection with my wife. I slept in the ravi. My ravi is called Kaumoro. There are ten kopiravi in it, each with a different name—five for each side of the ravi. The kopiravi are never brought out from behind the screen."

I cannot personally vouch for the truth of any of Avai's statements, but I have had independent evidence of the existence of all the customs referred to, even of the particularly grotesque one which allows the murderer to sit upon coconuts and to drink the soup made from the heart of his victim.[1]

It is not implied that these stereotypes are characteristic of savage society and not of white. The Mohammedan court testimony just cited reflects in its extreme form the recently prevailing attitude in Christendom which did not let the erring daughter "darken the door," and the following item from the testimony of Mother Waterhouse, tried and executed for harboring the devil as a "familiar" at a date when Elizabeth had reigned eight years and Shakespeare was two years old, is only less weird than the New Guinea testimony of Avai:

Mother Waterhouse, . . . of the age of sixty-four years, being examined the same day confessed as follows, and the twenty-ninth day suffered.

First she received this cat of this Francis wife in the order as is before said, who willed her to call him Satan, and told her that if she made much of him he would do for her what she would have him to do.

Then when she had received him she (to try him what he could do) willed him to kill a hog of her own, which he did, and she gave him for his labor a chicken, which he first required of her, and a drop of her blood. And this she gave him at all times when he did anything for her, by

[1] Murray, J. H. P., *Papua, or British New Guinea*. 179–180 (Charles Scribner's Sons. By permission).

pricking her hand or face and putting the blood to his mouth which he sucked, and forthwith would lie down in his pot again, wherein she kept him, the spots of all the which pricks are yet to be seen in her skin.

Also she sayeth that another time being offended with one father Kersie she took her cat Satan in her lap and put him in the wood before her door, and willed him to kill three of this father Kersie's hogs, which he did, and returning again told her so, and she rewarded him as before, with a chicken and a drop of her blood, which chicken he ate up clean as he did all the rest, and she could find remaining neither bones nor feathers. . . .

Likewise she confessed, that because she lived somewhat unquietly with her husband she caused Satan to kill him, and he did so about nine years past, since which time she has lived a widow.

Also she said that when she would will him to do anything for her, she would say her paternoster in Latin.

Item, this mother Waterhouse confessed that she first turned this cat into a toad by this means, she kept the cat a great while in wool in a pot, and at length being moved by poverty to occupy the wool, she prayed in the name of the Father and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost that it would turn into a toad, and forthwith it was turned into a toad, and so kept it in the pot without wool.

Also she said, that going to Brackstead a little before her apprehension, this Satan willed her to hie her home, for she should have great trouble and that she should be either hanged or burned shortly. More at this time she would not confess. . . .

[At a second examination] said the queen's attorney, "Agnes Waterhouse, when did thy cat suck thy blood"? "Never," said she. "No," said he, "let me see." And then the jailer lifted up her kerchief on her head, and there was diverse spots in her face and on her nose. Then said the queen's attorney, "In good faith, Agnes, when did he suck of thy blood last"? "By my faith," said she, "not this fortnight." And so the jury went together for that matter.[1]

On the Continent a notable trial was prosecuted in Württemberg, in 1615, against the mother of the astronomer Kepler:

The charges against her [says Janssen] were "that she had been brought up at Wilderstadt by a cousin who was burnt there as a witch; whereas as a widow she should have lived alone, she had gone about to places where she had no business to be, and had thus incurred the suspicion that she was a witch; she had given a girl a devil as paramour; she had killed two children of a burgher; had passed through locked doors; had bewitched cattle which she had never touched nor even seen." . . . Kepler defended his mother, and had hard work to save her from the rack and the stake. Casting reserve aside he depicted in the darkest colors

[1] "The Examination and Confession of Certain Witches at Chelmsford in the County of Essex," *Miscellanies of the Philobiblon Society*, **8**: 24–46, *passim*. (The spelling is modernized.)

the brutality of the proceedings in these witch trials. But he was himself a proof that the witch superstition governed the most intellectual and learned men of that time; he emphatically acknowledged the existence of witches and of the supernatural diseases which they produced.[1]

Nicholas Remy, a man of great integrity, after torturing, judging, and burning over eight hundred persons, retired with a troubled conscience:

He had [he said] spared the lives of certain young children and merely ordered them to be scourged naked three times round the place where their parents were burning [instead of having them bled to death in a bath of tepid water]. He is convinced that this was wrong, and that they will all grow up into witches and sorcerers. . . . He hopes his sinful clemency will not become a precedent—a fear which was quite unnecessary, for scores of children under twelve were burnt for witchcraft; and the one plea which even then respited the most atrocious murderess did not always avail a witch, since it was believed that her future child, if not the actual offspring of the devil, would infallibly belong to his kingdom.[2]

[1] Janssen, J., *History of the German People at the Close of the Middle Ages*, **16**: 440–441; 487–488 (K. Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co. By permission).

[2] Withington, E. T., "Dr. John Weyer and the Witch Mania," in Singer, *Studies in Science*, **1**: 200 (Oxford University Press. By permission).

Chapter IV

LANGUAGE BEHAVIOR

I

The physiologist Claude Bernard has emphasized a distinction between life as it is *led* in an external environment and life as it is *lived* in an internal environment. There are for the animal really two environments, an external environment in which the animal, the fish, the worm is placed, and an internal environment in which the constituent cells live and are bathed by a nourishing blood stream.[1]

The internal environment contains an incredibly complicated integration of cells, blood chemicals, hormones, enzymes, various nervous systems, chromosomes, endogenous electrical stimuli, catalytic transformations, tensional relationships, etc. The chemically generated energy of this system of organs is devoted partly to the regulation of the growth and the integration of the parts of the organism into a unity and partly to initiating and sustaining anticipatory goal reactions. The two organic drives or impulses involved in goal seeking are the hunger and sex appetites, whose satisfaction is necessary for the continuance of the life of the individual on the one hand and of the species on the other. Hull points out that the anticipation of the goal represents the concept of purpose, desire, or wish.[2]

In the higher animal forms the equipment with organs of locomotion, distance receptors (eye, ear, nose), prehension, claws, jaws, etc., the activities of pursuit, fighting, capture, copulation, care of the young, and, negatively, avoidance and flight, together with the concomitant emotions of anger, hate, love, jealousy, ambition, exultation, and despair, are derivatives of the primary impulses, supporting them or reflecting organic agitations in the struggle for their consummation.

Craig has described in psychological terms the agitations in anxiety situations representing anticipation, hesitation, apprehension, and preparation for approach or withdrawal:

[1] *Leçons sur les phénomènes de la vie*, **2**: 5–6.

[2] Hull, C. L., "Goal Attraction and Directing Ideas Conceived as Habit Phenomena," *Psychol. Rev.*, **38**: 505.

An appetite (or appetence, if this term may be used with purely behavioristic meaning), so far as externally observable, is a state of agitation which continues so long as a certain stimulus, which may be called the appeted stimulus, is absent. When the appeted stimulus is at length received it stimulates a consummatory reaction, after which the appetitive behavior ceases and is succeeded by a state of relative rest.

An aversion is a state of agitation which continues so long as a certain stimulus, referred to as the disturbing stimulus, is present; but which ceases, being replaced by a state of relative rest, when that stimulus has ceased to act on the sense organs.

The state of agitation, in either appetite or aversion, is exhibited externally by increased muscular tension; by static and phasic contractions of many skeletal and dermal muscles, giving rise to bodily attitudes and gestures which are easily recognized signs or "expressions" of appetite or of aversion; by restlessness; by activity, in extreme cases violent activity; and by "varied effort." . . .

A young bird . . . makes feints of flying before it has ever flown. . . . One of my young doves . . . looked at the perch and aimed at it with perfect definiteness, opening its wings and making feints of flying. In the evolution of birds, there can be no doubt, flying developed gradually from jumping. The new movements of flying were gradually intercalated into the interval between the initial action, leaping from the ground, and the final action, landing again upon the feet. The young dove to this day shows first the incipient end action, aiming at the perch to be alighted on, and only after it has launched itself toward this end situation does the "chain" of flight reactions take place.[1]

In human relations these internal agitations come to the surface in the emotional expressions of crying, threatening, sulking, sneering, shrugging, leering, laughing, embracing, kissing, blushing, patting, smiling, nodding, bowing, "giving the once over," which are observable releases or restraints of agitation and tension, having a social meaning, and able to be read like a language. The sneer, for example, is an incipient vomiting, the snarl an incipient biting, the bow an incipient prostration, and in some populations the varieties of the shrug form a small vocabulary.

In addition to the observable facial and physical gestures there are constant fluctuations of organic agitation, corresponding with exposure to specific environmental experiences, which do not come to the surface visibly but may be noted and measured instrumentally or by the experienced touch of the blind and deaf. Thus Helen Keller was able to read to some extent the experiences of her companions through the tensional changes accompanying these experiences:

[1] Craig, W., "Appetites and Aversions as Constituents of Instincts," *Biol. Bull.*, **34**: 91–92, 99–100.

In my account of Helen last year [says Miss Sullivan], I mentioned several instances where she seemed to have called into use an inexplicable mental faculty; but it now seems to me . . . that this power may be explained by her perfect familiarity with the muscular variations of those with whom she comes into contact, caused by their emotions. She has been forced to depend largely upon this muscular sense as a means of ascertaining the mental condition of those about her. She has learned to connect certain movements of the body with anger, others with joy, and others still with sorrow. One day, while she was walking out with her mother and Mr. Anagnos, a boy threw a torpedo, which startled Mrs. Keller. Helen felt the change in her mother's movements instantly, and asked, "What are we afraid of?" On one occasion, while walking on the Common with her, I saw a police officer taking a man to the station house. The agitation which I felt evidently produced a perceptible physical change; for Helen asked, excitedly, "What do you see?"

A striking illustration of this strange power was recently shown while her ears were being examined. . . . Several experiments were tried, to determine positively whether or not she had any perception of sound. All present were astonished when she appeared not only to hear a whistle, but also an ordinary tone of voice. She would turn her head, smile, and act as though she had heard what was said. I was then standing beside her, holding her hand. Thinking that she was receiving impressions from me, I put her hands upon the table, and withdrew to the opposite side of the room. The aurists then tried their experiments with quite different results. Helen remained motionless through them all, not once showing the least sign that she realized what was going on.[1]

Other directions of discrimination on the physiological level, certainly accompanied also by organic fluctuations, are seen in the performances of Julia Howe, who became blind and deaf at the age of four. The employment of the sense of smell in the following description is illustrative, and throws some light also on the origin of prejudices mentioned in the preceding chapter:

[In the Hartford Asylum] she has been frequently known to select her own clothes from a mass of dresses belonging to a hundred and thirty or forty persons. "Her manner is to examine each article by feeling; but to decide upon it by the sense of smell, and in regard to her own things she never errs." She has been frequently known to discriminate, merely by smelling them, the recently washed stockings of the boys from those of the girls at the Asylum. Among a hundred and twenty or thirty teaspoons used at the Asylum she could distinguish those of the steward from those of the pupils, "though a casual observer would hardly notice the difference."[2]

[1] Keller, H., *The Story of My Life*, 353–354 (Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc. By permission).
[2] Lamson, M. S., *Life and Education of Laura Dewey Bridgman*, xxiii–xxiv.

Spoken language is a form of behavior patterning which incorporates and registers the impulses and agitations in combination with conscious and rationalized elements. All animals with respiratory systems issue cries and sounds which are a revelation of the impulses and a relief of the tensions and are at the same time a rudimentary language. As many as nine cries and calls may be distinguished in the barnyard fowl, and the dog has a vocabulary of some range, including the bark of anger, the whine of supplication, and the howl of despair when the master ties him up and takes the gun.

Among humans there is not only a large explosive vocabulary, but the discriminations are registered in the tonal quality of words and even in the several intonations given to the same word. Thus the word "yes" may express half a dozen or more shades of tension and meaning—agreement, doubtful agreement, skeptical agreement, reluctant agreement, petulant agreement, rejection of agreement. In the Magyar language "*nem*" means "no" and "*igen*" "yes," but in some localities a denial which nevertheless expresses a cordial attitude is phrased as "*nem igen*," "not yes." The vocabulary of vituperation is able to define the situation by a single explosive epithet ("skunk," "bastard," "whore," "scab," etc.) containing a sentiment and establishing a conditioned reflex. In *Faust* an old woman, speaking to Margaret of another girl who was also pregnant, says, "She stinks." And if "stinks" is associated on peoples' tongues with a girl she will never smell sweet again.

These involuntary emotional reactions which may be termed impulses on the physiological level, sentiments on the social level, and attitudes when, either involuntarily or voluntarily, they act toward given goals, are the origin of behavior reactions and components of their most rationalized and calculated forms. The gesture and the spoken word have also the quality of transferring the agitation and its meaning to others, of creating attitudes, defining and spacing social relationships, determining intimacies and avoidances, and fixing social status. An elaborated language system and other behavior systems always present a close parallelism. The origin of the pattern is in emotional reactions; conscious and calculated elements are intercalated and meanings are stretched to the rational level (see Chap. XVIII).

In both language and custom innovations are not precisely unnoticed, but they are unrecorded and the memory of them lapses. There is consequently an almost complete anonymity of authorship, as shown in emergence of slang and anecdotes. At the same time the language system acquires a rather symmetrical,

extremely elaborated, and finely shaded but not completely logical character, without conscious planning and without awareness on the part of the population or of anyone in the population of what is the general direction of the schematization.

The origin of language is doubtless to be traced to a mixture of sounds and gestures and the physiological basis is perhaps seen to best advantage in the case of Laura Bridgman, the deaf and blind girl who preceded Helen Keller in point of time. She used "noises" as names for her companions and attendants in Perkins Institution, although she could not herself hear these noises. Dr. Howe says:

Laura uses . . . [sounds] for different persons of her acquaintance whom she meets, having a distinct sound for each one. When, after a short absence, she goes into the sitting room, where there are a dozen blind girls, she embraces them by turns, uttering rapidly, and in a high key, the peculiar sound which designates each one; and so different are they, that any of the blind girls can tell whom she is with. Now, if she were talking about these very girls to a third person, she would make the sign for them on her fingers without hesitation; yet I am inclined to believe that the thought of their vocal sign occurs first, and is translated, as it were, into the finger language, because when she is alone she sometimes utters these sounds or names of persons. She said to me, in answer to a question, why she uttered a certain sound rather than spelled the name, "*I think of Jennette's noise, many times, when I think how she give me good things; I do not think to spell her name.*" At another time, hearing her, in the next room, make the peculiar sound for Jennette, I hastened to her, and asked her why she made it; she said, "*Because I think how she do love me much, and I love her very much.*"[1]

This description is supplemented by Lieber's later study of Laura's vocal sounds:

Once, when reminded by one of her teachers that she ought not to indulge in her uncouth sounds, which resemble those made by deaf-mutes, [she] answered, "I do not always try not to make them." The teacher urged the reasons why it is desirable she should restrain them, and was answered, "But I have very much voice." . . . Yielding, however, to the arguments against this "voice," she will at times go into her closet, and shutting her door, "indulge herself in a surfeit of sounds."

When she perceives, by the jar produced by the peculiar step of a person entering the room, who it is, she utters the sound for that person. At other times, when she is in search of somebody, she will enter a room uttering the sound belonging to the person; and receiving no answering touch, will pass on.[2]

[1] *Tenth Annual Report of the Trustees of the Perkins Institution and Massachusetts Asylum for the Blind*, 20 (1842).

[2] Lieber, F., "The Vocal Sounds of Laura Bridgman," *Smithsonian Contrib. to Knowledge*, **3**: 10–11, 27.

The number of these "noise names" was about sixty and they represented her positive and negative appreciations of her companions. In one case she did not use the noise for a certain girl during a whole week. She then used a different noise and said (with her fingers), "That is your name." A change in appreciation had taken place. The name of one of her friends was "Pa-pa-pa," registering affection. Now "pa-pa" and "ma-ma" are among the first spontaneous, contented, and full-bellied gurglings of infants in general, with the result that fond parents the world over, envisaging their offspring, have imagined that they were recognized and given these names. Thus *mame, mamane* are names for mother and *tata, baba* names for father among African Bantu-speaking groups, but among the Australian Kariera the name for father is *mama.* A gurgling of contentment thus becomes a name and a word. Meinhof, an authority on the Bantu languages, says he learned the clicks (sounds borrowed by the Bantu from the Hottentots) not from the South Africans but from his children: "The child makes the sucking movement, presses the tongue forward against the gums, pulls it suddenly away, and you have the click."[1]

Laura's name for Dr. Howe was "Ts-ts-ts." It is a speculation, but noting that inspiration precedes activity and exhalation accompanies cessation of activity, we may conjecture that this sound represented Laura's reverential appreciation of Dr. Howe. She was able to distinguish noise from silence, she could distinguish persons by their tread though she could not hear it, and she certainly did not fail to notice that "quiet fell" in his presence. Now our word for invoking silence is "sh" or "hush," and it is not incredible that Laura's "ts" is identical with this. That she was not taught to speak a language, that is, an organized system of noises, by reading the lips of another with her fingers, as was done in the case of Helen Keller, was due to the fact that Dr. Howe's imagination did not take this direction. But from the above items and from the extended reports of Dr. Howe it is evident that Laura had initiated a language through touch, sound, and smell discriminations and was making personality ratings of her associates and acquiring intimacies and aversions on that basis.

Certain aspects of primitive languages may be outlined here as in agreement with other behavior expressions mentioned earlier and to be noticed later. It is, of course, not possible to look into the conditions determining the particular lines of structure in the various families of languages, but the initial trends were pre-

[1] Meinhof, C., "Einwirkung der Beschäftigung auf die Sprache bei den Bantustämmen Afrikas," *Globus*, **75**: 363.

sumably taken as the result of affective reactions, and we may make a conjecture as to how the trend may have developed in, for example, the Bantu family of languages. At a later point (Chap. XVIII) the complex structure of these languages will be illustrated, showing among other features a unique development of alliterative concord, and the following example (first used by Bleek) will bring out this feature clearly:

> The Zulu word for "man" is *umuntu*. Every word in the same or the following sentence having any reference to that word must begin with something to remind you of the beginning of umuntu. This will be, according to fixed rules, either *mu* or *u*, or *w* or *m*. In the following sentence, the meaning of which is "our handsome man (or woman) appears, we love him (or her)," these reminders (as I shall term them) are printed in italics: *umu*ntu *we*tu o*mu*chle *u*yabonakala si*m*tanda
>
> man ours handsome appears we love
>
> If, instead of the singular, we take the corresponding plural form *abantu*, "men, people" (whence the generic term of Bantu), the sentence looks quite different: *aba*ntu *be*tu *aba*chle *ba*yabonakala si*ba*tanda.[1]

It is possible that the initial reaction determining this type of structure was the feeling of the importance of the subject, and the repetition of the initial sound served to remind the hearer of what the speaker was talking about. Or again, there is a universal affective tendency toward concord, assonance, euphony in the employment of words, as seen in our poetry and rhyme, and in nonsense verses and refrains. Nonsense refrains like *hehe*, *he*, *hia*, *aha* and *ngililili*h, *ngililili*h, *ngililili*h, *ngililili*h are a noticeable feature in Bantu songs,[2] and attention to finished discourse is also a marked Bantu trait. Almost every Bantu man and woman is a fluent and sustained speaker, and Dr. Gordon Brown, who is working among one of the tribes, informs me that the most prevalent mental disturbance is in youths who realize that they are unable to become finished speakers. But whether the origin of the characteristic linguistic pattern lies in one of these directions or some other it evidently appeared as a shade of affect and prevailed as a fashion.

But, without inquiring further into what may have been the origins of linguistic types, we may examine certain patterns of language structure as reflecting human behavior in this field.

The following analysis by Sapir illustrates the structure of a word sentence in one of the so-called polysynthetic languages of

[1] Jesperson, O., *Language, Its Nature, Development and Origin*, 353 (London: G. Allen and Unwin; New York: Henry Holt & Company. By permission).

[2] Gutmann, B., *Die Stammeslehren der Dschagga*, 1: 87, 655.

America, and the unconscious nature of the process of language structuralization:

So great are the possibilities of linguistic patterning that the languages actually known seem to present the whole gamut of possible forms. We have extremely analytic types of speech, such as Chinese, in which the formal unit of discourse, the word, expresses nothing in itself but a single notion of thing or quality or activity or else some relational nuance. At the other extreme are the incredibly complex languages of many American Indian tribes . . . in which the same formal unit, the word, is a sentence microcosm full of delicate formal elaborations of the most specialized type. Let one example do for many. Anyone who is brought up in English, even if he has had the benefit of some familiarity with the classical languages, will take it for granted that in such a sentence as "Shall I have the people move across the river to the east?" there is rather little elbow room for varieties of formal expression. It would not easily occur to us, for instance, that the notion of "to the east" might be conveyed not by an independent word or phrase but by a mere suffix in a complex verb.

There is a rather obscure Indian language in northern California, Yana, which not only can express this thought in a single word [*yôwilausêk'ô'an*], but would find it difficult to express it in any other way. The form of expression which is peculiar to Yana may be roughly analyzed as follows. The first element in the verb complex indicates the notion of several people living together or moving as a group from place to place. This element, which we may call the "verb stem," can only occur at the beginning of the verb, never in any other position. The second element in the complete word indicates the notion of crossing a stream or of moving from one side of an area to the other. It is in no sense an independent word, but can only be used as an element attached to a verb stem or to other elements which have themselves been attached to the verb stem. The third element in the word is similarly suffixed and conveys the notion of movement toward the east. It is one of a set of eight elements which convey the respective notions of movement toward the east, south, west, and north, and of movement from the east, south, west, and north. None of these elements is an intelligible word in itself but receives meaning only in so far as it falls into its proper place in the complexly organized verb. The fourth element is a suffix that indicates the relation of causality, that is, of causing one to do or be something, bringing it about that one does or is in a certain way, treating one in such and such an indicated manner. At this point the language indulges in a rather pretty piece of formal play. The vowel of the verb stem which we spoke of as occupying the first position in the verb symbolized the intransitive or static mode of apprehension of the act. As soon as the causative notion is introduced, however, the verb stem is compelled to pass to the category of transitivized or active notions, which means that the causative suffix, in spite of the parenthetical inclusion of certain notions of direction of movement, has the retroactive effect of changing the vowel of the stem. Up to this

point, therefore, we get a perfectly unified complex of notions which may be rendered "to cause a group to move across a stream in an easterly direction."

But this is not yet a word, at least not a word in the finished sense of the term, for the elements that are still to follow have just as little independent existence as those we have already referred to. Of the more formal elements that are needed to complete the word, the first is a tense suffix referring to the future. This is followed by a pronominal element which refers to the first person singular, and is different in form from the suffixed pronoun used in other tenses and modalities. Finally, there is an element consisting of a single consonant which indicates that the whole word, which is a complete proposition in itself, is to be understood in an interrogative sense. Here again the language illustrates an interesting kind of specialization of form. Nearly all words of the language differ slightly in form according to whether the speaker is a man speaking to a man or, on the other hand, is a woman or is a man speaking to a woman. The interrogative form that we have just discussed can only be used by a man speaking to a man. In the other three cases the suffix in question is not used, but the last vowel of the word, which in this particular case happens to be the final vowel of the pronominal suffix, is lengthened in order to express the interrogative modality. . . .

Every element falls into its proper place in accordance with definitely formulable rules which can be discovered by the investigator but of which the speakers themselves have no more conscious knowledge than of the inhabitants of the moon. It is possible to say, for instance, that the verb stem is a particular example of a large number of elements which belong to the same general class, such as "to sit," "to walk," "to run," "to jump," and so on; or that the element which expresses the idea of crossing from one side to another is a particular example of a large class of local elements of parallel function, such as "to the next house," "up the hill," "into a hollow," "over the crest," "down hill," "under," "over," "in the middle of," "off," "hither," and so on. We may quite safely assume that no Yana Indian ever had the slightest knowledge of classifications such as these. . . . Yet all the while we may be perfectly certain that the relations which give the elements of the language their significance were somehow felt and adhered to. A mistake in the vowel of the first syllable, for instance, would undoubtedly feel to a native speaker like a self-contradictory form in English, for instance "five house" instead of "five houses" or "they runs" instead of "they run." Mistakes of this sort are resisted as any aesthetic transgression might be resisted—as being somehow incongruous, out of the picture, or, if one chooses to rationalize the resistance, as inherently illogical.[1]

The composition and relationship of the elements in one of these word sentences may be seen more briefly in the following example:

[1] Sapir, E., "The Unconscious Patterning of Behavior in Society," in *The Unconscious: A Symposium*, 128–132 (F. S. Crofts and Co. By permission).

We find in a language like the Cinook that modifying elements are expressed by single sounds which phonetically enter into clusters which are pronounced without any break. To give an example: The word *anialot*, I GIVE HIM TO HER, may be analyzed into the following elements: *a* (tense), *n* I, *i* HIM, *a* HER, *l* TO, *o* (direction away), *t* TO GIVE. . . . The weakness of the component elements and their close phonetic association forbid us to consider them independent words; while the whole expression appears to us as a firm unit.[1]

William Jones, himself Algonkian Indian, has made a heroic and somewhat successful attempt to convey a sense of how these sound combinations convey concrete meanings:

[The Algonkian languages are particularly characterized by the extended use of compounded verbal stems.] Every stem is stamped with the quality of abstract meaning: the notion of some stems is so vague and so volatile, as they stand in detached form, as to seem almost void of tangible sense. Some stems can be analyzed into elements that have at most the feeblest kind of sense; it is only as they stand in compound form that they take on a social meaning. It is not altogether clear how these stems, so vague and subtle as they stand alone, can convey the sensuous notions that they do when thrown together into a group; how, for example, an initial stem introduces a general notion, and forms a group complete in statement but incomplete in sense, as when in composition it terminates with only a pronominal ending. Yet such a group can be of sufficiently frequent use as to become an idiom; in that case it takes on an added sense, which is due not so much perhaps to the inherent meaning of the combined stem and pronoun as to an acquired association with a particular activity. The psychological peculiarity of the process is more marked in the wider developments, as when initial and secondary stems combine for the larger groups. *The components seem to stand toward each other in the position of qualifiers, the sense of the one qualifying the sense of the other with an effect of directing the meaning toward a particular direction. But, whatever the influence at work, the result is a specialization of meaning, not only of the single member of the group, but of all the members as they stand together with reference to one another. The stems seem charged with a latent meaning which becomes evident only when they appear in certain relations; out of those relations they stand like empty symbols.* It is important to emphasize the fact that the order of stems in a group is psychologically fixed. Some stems precede and others follow, not with a freedom of position and not in a haphazard manner, but with a consecutive sequence that is maintained from beginning to end with a firm stability.

The following examples illustrate these principles of composition:

poni is an initial stem signifying NO MORE, NO LONGER: its original sense comes out best by adding the terminal animate pronoun, and mak-

[1] Boas, F., *Handbook of American Indian Languages*, 1: 29 (*Bur. Amer. Ethnol., Bull.* 40).

ing *poniwa*. The group means that one has been previously engaged in an activity, and has now come into a state of cessation, making altogether a rather vague statement, as it stands unrelated to anything else. But travel has made a figure of speech of it, and it has come to be the particular idiom for ONE CAMPS, ONE GOES INTO CAMP. . . .

An initial stem, *pag-*, has the general sense of STRIKING AGAINST SOMETHING; *akw-* is a secondary stem denoting RESISTANCE, and so *pagakw-* is TO STRIKE AGAINST A RESISTANCE. The stem *-tun-* is a mobile secondary stem denoting the special notion of PLACE ABOUT A CAVITY, and has become a special term indicating THE PLACE ABOUT THE MOUTH; and so *pagakwituna-* is TO STRIKE AGAINST A RESISTANCE AT A POINT ON THE MOUTH. . . .

Again, *-cin-* is a secondary coordinative stem, and refers to change from motion to rest, but leaves the character and duration of the change to be inferred from the implications of the stems that precede; furthermore, it indicates that the performer is animate, and serves as a link between the terminal pronoun and what precedes; and so *pagakwitunacinwa* is a definite statement meaning that one strikes against a resistance and is brought for a time at least to a condition of rest. HE BUMPS HIMSELF ON THE MOUTH and HE BUMPS HIS MOUTH would be two ways of putting the same thing in English.[1]

It will be noticed from this passage that habit formation, the repetition of an activity in a given situation, determines the concrete meaning in the long run. "Animate-moving-stops" means eventually "to camp" because that meaning became fashionable. Similarly, "animate-moving-cavity-resistance-cessation" becomes conventionally, "he was stopped by a blow on the mouth." In the same language *kiweskwapyawa*, meaning generally "he is in a state of aimless movement in the region about the neck and head" becomes idiomatically "he is drunk."[2]

From the portions I have italicized in the passage from Jones it will be noticed also that the collective dependency among the elements in the word sentence may be compared with the "collective consciousness" in human groups which was termed "gregarious" by Rivers in the preceding chapter and is described as "mystic participation" by Durkheim and Lévy-Bruhl. But quite contrary to this, the unconscious cooperative dependency of individuals in group activity, like the dependency of sounds in groups of sounds, gets its meaning through habit formation.

In many linguistic groups there is a far-reaching discriminative particularization of meanings and relationships, with different degrees of emphasis on different aspects of the situation described

[1] Jones, W., "Algonkian (Fox)," in Boas, *Handbook* . . . , 1: 759–761.
[2] *Ibid.*, 1: 794.

and on the relation of the speaker to the situation, indicating that the attention, whether physiologically or consciously, has been engaged by this or that aspect of the total situation. And the linguistic particularization of detail in one direction will mean the neglect of other aspects of the situation.

In this connection, after pointing out that in each language only a part of the concept or mental image is expressed, Boas has given examples of emphasis and neglect with reference to the elements of time, location, motion or rest, person speaking, etc.:

> We are accustomed to verbal forms in which the tense is always expressed with perfect definiteness. In the sentence *The man is sick* we really express the idea, *The single definite man is sick at the present time.* . . . The Eskimo, for instance, in expressing the same idea, will simply say, *single man sick*, leaving the question entirely open whether the man was sick at a previous time, is sick at the present time, or is going to be sick in the future. The Eskimo can, of course, express whether the man is sick at the present time, was sick, or is going to be sick, but the grammatical form of his sentences does not *require* the expression of the tense relation. . . .
>
> In Kwakiutl this sentence would have to be rendered by an expression which would mean, in the vaguest possible form that could be given to it, *definite man near him invisible sick near him invisible.* Visibility and nearness to the first or second person might, of course, have been selected in our example in place of invisibility and nearness to the third person. An idiomatic expression of the sentence in this language would, however, be much more definite, and would require an expression somewhat like the following, *That invisible man lies sick on his back on the floor of the absent house.* . . .
>
> In Ponca, one of the Siouan dialects, the same idea would require a decision of the question whether the man is at rest or moving, and we might have a form like *the moving single man sick.*
>
> If we take into consideration further traits of idiomatic expression, this example might be further expanded by adding modalities of the verb; thus, the Kwakiutl . . . would require a form indicating whether this is a new subject introduced in conversation or not; and, in case the speaker had not seen the sick person himself, he would have to express whether he knows by hearsay or by evidence that the person is sick, or whether he has dreamed it.[1]
>
> Perhaps [says Boas] the most exuberant development of the demonstrative idea is found among the Eskimo, where not only the ideas corresponding to the three personal pronouns occur, but also those of position in space in relation to the speaker, which are specified in seven directions; as, center, above, below, in front, behind, right, left, and expressing points of the compass in relation to the position of the speaker.

[1] Boas, *Handbook* . . . , 1: 42–43.

It must be borne in mind that the divisions which are mentioned here are all *necessary* parts of clear expression in the languages mentioned. For instance, in Kwakiutl it would be inconceivable to use an expression like our *that house,* which means in English *the single house away from the speaker.* The Kwakiutl must express this idea in one of the following six forms:

The (singular or plural) house visible near me
invisible near me
visible near thee
invisible near thee
visible near him
invisible near him

while the Eskimo would express a term like *this man* as

This man near me
near thee
near him
behind me
in front of me
to the right of me
to the left of me
above me
below me, etc.[1]

In some languages there is also an extensive verbal particularization of the means by which an action is accomplished, and in others the aspect of the action is highly particularized:

In the Haida language different instrumental verbal prefixes are used to describe whether the action is accomplished by means of the back (carrying); by shooting or hammering; by pushing with the hands; by pulling; by means of a current of water (floating); by stamping or treading upon; by kicking; by chopping or clubbing; by means of the shoulder; with the fingers; by means of a stick; by means of the voice; by a stream of water pouring out (on a fire); with the lips (spitting, smacking); by means of a fire acting from without (being burned); by means of fire acting within the object ("flames came out of it"); by leading, pulling, towing; by looking (to charm); with a knife; by means of the teeth; by grasping with the hands; with the face turned toward the door; by canoe; with the arms (waving); by tying, etc.[2]

In Teton Siouan different instrumental prefixes are employed to describe whether an act is accomplished by means of the foot, by cutting, by shooting or punching, by pushing with the hands, by striking, by means of the mouth (talking, singing), and a more general form for handling in general, or not handling, as, "She let him alone."[3]

[1] *Ibid.,* **1**: 40–41.
[2] Swanton, J. R., "Haida," in Boas, *Handbook . . . ,* **1**: 219–227 (résumé).
[3] Swanton, J. R., "Siouan," in Boas, *Handbook . . . ,* **1**: 902–903 (résumé).

The Abipones of South America

call a wound generically *lalaglet.* If it be inflicted by the teeth of man or beast, they call it *naagek;* if by a knife or sword, *nicharhek;* if by a lance, *noarek,* if by an arrow, *nainek.*[1]

In the language of the West African Ewe a number of interjectional adverbial roots are associated with verbs to describe particular aspects of activity and give the effect of word pictures. Thus, "to go" is expressed in as many as 33 of its particular aspects —slowly, briskly, sauntering, hurrying, upright, stooping, shuffling, limping, waddling, slouching, staggering, stumbling, wearily, frantically, etc. In addition, the descriptive adverbs may have comparative forms, representing the subject as large or small. Undoubtedly imitative gestures as well as imitative sounds originally accompanied these expressions.[2]

Werner has phrased some of these locutions:

Zo ka ka, to walk upright.
Zo dze dze, an assured and energetic gait.
Zo tya tya, to walk quickly.
Zo si si, said of people lightly stepping along.
Zo boho boho, the heavy walk of a stout man.
Zo tyo tyo, the firm and deliberate gait of a tall person.
Zo kpudu kpudu, the quick, hurried gait of a small man.
Zo wudo wudo, a quiet graceful way of walking, said chiefly of women.
Zo gowu gowu, to walk with a slight limp, the head leaning forward.
Zo lumo lumo, running of small animals, such as rats and mice.[3]

In the Hupa language the character of the evidence for a statement regarding actions is indicated in the form of the verb, as also the hypothetical, contingent, and qualified character of actions:

Suffixes are employed indicating the source of authority for a statement. That which is perceived by the sense of hearing, for example, has a suffix for past time and another for present time. When the transaction is in sight another suffix is used. Things which are conjectured from circumstantial evidence, as the building of a fire from the remains of one, have *-xolan* added to the verb, and the word has the meaning, "they must have built a fire for here are the ashes." Future acts which are contingent on human will or outward circumstances are rendered by the suffix *-de.* Attempted but unsuccessful acts have *xow,* an adverb, inserted before the verb, while an act successful after several vain or inefficient trials has *-ei* suffixed to the verb.[4]

[1] Dobrizhoffer, M., *An Account of the Abipones,* **2**: 186.
[2] Westermann, D., *Grammatik der Ewe-Sprache,* 83, 130.
[3] Werner, A., *The Language-families of Africa,* 47–48 (K. Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co. By permission).
[4] Goddard, P. E., "Athapascan," in Boas, *Handbook . . . ,* **1**: 105–106 (résumé).

This may be compared with the refinement of meaning accomplished by reduplication in Kwakiutl:

> Reduplication is . . . used to express the diminutive of nouns, the idea of a playful performance of an activity, and the endeavor to perform an action. It would seem that in all these forms we have the fundamental idea of an approach to a certain concept without its realization. In all these cases the reduplication is combined with the use of suffixes which differentiate between diminution, imitation, and endeavor.[1]

The feeling is sometimes registered in language that objects of different kinds should not be counted with the same numerals, and we may find as many as seven classes of numerals for as many divisions of objects. "In Tsimshian one of these classes is used for simple counting. The others designate flat, round, long objects; human beings; canoes; measures."[2]

In Haida nouns are classified in groups distinguishing objects as "animate," "long," "round," "flat," "threadlike," "angular," "square," etc.:

> There are nominal prefixes classifying such objects as full sacks, and bags, pillows; cubic objects, such as boxes; objects lying on or close to the ground or grasped by the hand; flexible objects represented as crossing or coiled (wrapped in a blanket); objects shaped like spoons and feathers (*e.g.*, he licked it with his tongue); certain slender objects (canoe); ring-shaped objects (finger rings, barrel hoops); round objects (berries, eggs, potatoes); small cylindrical, and occasionally square objects (knothole); strings, ropes; hairs; long objects (sticks, paddles); shape of objects lying in a heap (driftwood); pliable materials (blankets, shawls, mats); flat but broad and thick objects (lake, reef); small objects (beak, basket); flat objects (boards); roundish objects (pieces of whale meat); the shape assumed by long flexible objects (hairs or strings) when they are tangled together; the shape assumed by a number of clams or fish with a stick run through them to hold them together, and also by a canoe with many persons standing up in it; thin objects such as boards, berry cakes; branching objects, such as bushes, combs, several hooks on one line, clothing with a coarse weave, the vertebral column, and even a very thin person; large cylindrical objects (logs, rolls of bedding); the insides of such objects as sea eggs; dumbbell shaped objects, such as the liver of a dogfish, etc.[3]

The Bantu languages have 17 or 19 categories of nouns (human beings; round things; long things; liquids and collections of people; unusual and awful things, etc.), but no classification by sex.[4]

[1] Boas, *Handbook . . .*, **1**: 444–445.
[2] *Ibid.*, **1**: 396–398.
[3] Swanton, "Haida," **1**: 227–235 (résumé).
[4] Johnston, H. H., *A Comparative Study of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages*, **1**: 19–20.

In general "animate" and "inanimate" are the primitive basis of classification rather than "masculine," "feminine," and "neuter." Beginning with "animate" and "inanimate" as fundamental concepts, it appears that an affective and comparative reaction toward animated bigness and importance in men and other males and toward animated smallness and insignificance in women and other females has sometimes resulted eventually in a masculine and a feminine class, without a neuter or things class at all, while in other cases, as noted for the Bantu above, the comparison of male and female has been disregarded in this connection, and there is no recognition of sex in the classification of nouns.

The Hamitic tribes in North and East Africa illustrate a language without a things class, and Meinhof has indicated the line of development in this case:

> For the development of grammatical sex the Badauye language affords important indications. That the "feminine" is really a things class and not connected with sex appears from the following remarkable facts. [Reference will first be made to Reinisch, who discusses the question and says:]
>
> "The distinction of the two sexes certainly originated in sex, but since in the Bedauye, as in all Hamitic languages, there are no neuter nouns but all substantives are of either the masculine or the feminine gender, the masculine, in the present state of the language, expresses size, distinction, energy, in addition to sex, while the feminine expresses mainly smallness, weakness, and passiveness. Thus, for example *sa*, 'cow,' is masculine because, as is well known, it is the main support of the household economy, while *sa*, 'meat,' is feminine because in comparison with *sa*, 'cow,' it is of less importance."
>
> In my opinion this shows, on the contrary, that the distinction is not based on sex, for in that case the cow because of her milk, that is, a specific female quality, would not have been of the masculine gender. She is, however, as Reinisch emphasizes, the basis of existence among a shepherd people, and just as in the Fulde language important animals are sometimes placed in the human class so here this animal is placed in the human class, that is, the "masculine." The flesh of this animal is a thing and naturally goes with the things class. This agress with the fact that *ando*, "the excrement of animals," is masculine when the reference is to ox, horse, camel, but feminine when the reference is to small animals.[1]

The Hamitic languages in their present condition are therefore peculiar in that presumably there has been a historical change, an original animate-inanimate shifting to a masculine-feminine classification through an identification of certain qualities with

[1] Meinhof, C., *Die Sprachen der Hamiten*, 139–140 (L. Friederichsen and Co. By permission).

male and female. It is noticeable also that where (as in American languages, with few exceptions) animate-inanimate are the basis of categories a discrimination of superior or inferior qualities may promote or demote objects from one class to the other. In Algonkian "a rigid classification of the objective world into things animate and things inanimate underlies the whole structure of the language. . . . Every verb and every noun must fall into one or the other class." Plants fall in the inanimate class but a number of important ones, such as corn, tobacco, and apples, are classified as animate, while little animals are often placed in the class of lifeless things.[1] "The Iroquois distinguish strictly between nouns designating men and other nouns. The latter may again be subdivided into a definite and indefinite group. The Uchee distinguish between members of the tribe and other human beings."[2] In Bantu the prefix *iki* denotes a class of things but it is used also to place the blind, the deaf, cripples, and simpletons in the things class.[3] In Hupa, an Athapascan dialect, one prefix is used when speaking of adult Hupa, another when speaking of Hupa children, and sometimes of very old people, of the members of other tribes and races, and of animals.[4]

In Bantu a distinction is made between persons being or acting in their own capacity and those having a subordinate or representative role. *Umu* prefixed to a verb designates such conditions as messenger, secondary wife, widow, prisoner, unmarried man, etc.[5]

European languages have not developed, or have lost, a discriminating use of personal pronouns. Sex is distinguished for "he" and "she" but not for "I," "you," and "they." We have thus an awkward situation when we wish to designate a singular person without regard to sex. On the other hand, certain languages of low culture, for example, the Hottentots, distinguish sex for all persons. And, at the other extreme, the Japanese language has no pronominal distinction of persons. Nouns are substituted for pronouns and "etiquette" determines that, for example, "contemptible worm" means "I" and "exhalted personage" means "you":

> The distinction of three grammatical persons (I, thou, he) has remained foreign to the Japanese language [and the verb has no conjugational suffixes which tend to the expression of this distinction]. All persons [other] than the speaker (the I), as well as that to which or of

[1] Jones, *op. cit.*, 761.
[2] Boas, *Handbook . . .*, 1: 36.
[3] Meinhof, C., *Grudzüge einer vergleichenden Grammatik der Bantusprachen*, 13.
[4] Goddard, *op. cit.*, 1: 117.
[5] Meinhof, *Grundzüge . . .*, 6.

which he speaks (thou, he), are considered as contents of the proposition, and thus, according to our peculiarity of language, in the third person, and etiquette, having in view the meaning of words expressive of quality, has to determine which person by one of another of these words is intended. Etiquette distinguishes only between the "I" and the "not-I."[1]

The possessive pronouns are sometimes extraordinarily developed in primitive languages, apparently because "possession" has intimate affective implications. One of the trends is in the direction of indicating the degree of intimacy and permanence of possession, and at the same time the quality of the possession may be indicated. Thus, in the Teton dialect of the Siouan language inalienable or very intimate possession is expressed by one form of the prefix (*e.g.*, his leg; their two hearts), while alienable of more distant possession (*e.g.*, his horse) is expressed by another. And, according to Riggs, still another prefix is used for inalienable possessions when referring to those parts of the body which exhibit no independent action (*e.g.*, my ears).[2]

Similarly, in Melanesia as many as four degrees of "mineness" may be expressed, including a possession which the speaker has created:

> There are [says Codrington] in Melanesian languages at least two [possessive nouns], one expressing closer, the other remoter relation; in many there are four. In Mota there is, with the first person singular suffix, *nok*, a thing belonging to me generally, *gak*, a thing belonging more closely to me, *mak*, a thing for my drinking, *mok*, a thing of my doing.[3]

In the Fijian language

> the first series [of possessives] is suffixed to nouns of relationship, parts of the body and parts of things. The second series is used with things possessed or made use of. The third series is used with things destined for, or things to be eaten. The fourth series is used with things to be drunk.[4]

When von den Steinen was collecting word stems among the Brazilian Bakairi he discovered that if, for example, he inquired about the word "tongue" the answer differed if he pointed to his own tongue, the tongue of his interlocutor, or the tongue of a third person. My tongue was *ulu*, thy tongue *alu*, his tongue *ilu*, everybody's tongue *kxulu*.[5]

[1] Hoffman, J. J., *A Japanese Grammar*, 73.
[2] Swanton, "Siouan," 946.
[3] Codrington, R. H., *Melanesian Languages*, 129.
[4] Ray, S. H., "Melanesian Possessives, a Study in Method," *Amer. Anth.*, N.S., **21**: 349.
[5] Steinen, K. von den, *Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens*, 79.

Very nice possessive discriminations have been noted by Fortune among the Melanesian inhabitants of the island of Dobu:

Linguistically there are three classes of possessive affixes which are attached to three classes of nouns according to nearness or distance of possession. The suffix *gu* is used for a part of the speaker's body, a state of his mind, a trait of his character, a legitimate relative of his. The prefix *agu* is used for an illegitimate relative of the speaker's, such as his bastard child, his name, his magical knowledge, his pubic leaf, and food intended for his eating. The prefix *igu* is used for the speaker's food which he intends to give to others to eat, his house, his canoe, his trees, his fishing and hunting gear, and in the case of a woman, for her grass skirt. We see the graduation of distance noticeably in the borderline cases, legitimate and bastard child being on different sides of the first border, food for eating and food for giving away being on different sides of the second border. Again, a man's pubic leaf is on one side of the second border, whereas a woman's grass skirt is on the other side. In fact, a man can never remove his single pubic leaf without exposure, whereas the women wear many grass skirts one on top of another, and are constantly removing an upper skirt or two in order to work more freely. Skirts are often to be seen hanging up in the house or laid aside on the ground, their owner retaining an underskirt or two. Hence suffix *gu*, prefix *agu*, and prefix *igu* express the three grades of nearness and distance of the object possessed. The personal name is in the second class. Like food for one's own eating it is not shared freely with others. When others use it, this fact is associated with more important liberties, as we have seen. The name is classed with food for eating, a man's magic, and a man's pubic leaf.[1]

Possibly because the parts of the body are the most intimate of possessions, the inhabitants of the South Andaman Islands have particularized in the direction noted by von den Steinen in an unparalleled way. In addition to other possessive pronouns they have a special set, comprising all persons and both numbers and differing when applied to the following seven divisions of the body:

1. The head, brain, occiput, scalp, neck, nape, chest, lungs, heart, etc.
2. Hand, finger, wrist, knuckle, nail, foot, toe, heel, ankle, etc.
3. Shoulder, arm, breast, face, temple, cheek, eye, gum, tear, tooth, etc. (The words for eye, eyelid, eyelash generally take an abbreviated form.)
4. The body, back, spine, thigh, calf of leg, elbow, knee, rib, stomach, spleen, liver, shoulder-blade, etc.
5. Leg, hip, loin, bladder, etc.
6. Mouth, chin, lip, throat, palate, tongue, gullet, jawbone, collarbone, breath, etc.

[1] Fortune, R. F., *Sorcerers of Dobu*, 67–68 (London: George Routledge and Sons; New York: E. P. Dutton & Company, Inc. By permission).

7. Used apparently only with the word indicating waist.

The word "his," for example, as used with any word in each of these divisions would be as follows: (1) *ot;* (2) *ong;* (3) *ig;* (4) *ab;* (5) *ar;* (6) *aka;* (7) *oto.*[1]

The name of the part of the body may even be omitted after the pronoun when the meaning is clear from the context or idiomatically usual. For example, where we should say "He is good looking" they would say "His [face is] good," "face" being understood from the form of the pronoun.[2]

In a more general way the linguistic tendency toward discrimination and perseveration may be noted in relation to the fact that the Arabic language contains about 6,000 names for "camel," including words derived from the camel, attributes of the camel nominally transferred to other objects, and names of other objects transferred to the camel. The following illustrations of the directions of naming indicate that among the Arabs the camel was an important "complex" and at the same time a field of behavior study:

Names of classes of camels according to the function to which they were devoted—milk camel, riding camel, freight camel, marriage camel, slaughter camel, sacrifice camel, etc.

Names of breeds, of different degrees of nobility of lineage, derivation from different lands, etc.

Names of camels in groups, as several, a considerable number, many, innumerable, etc., and with reference to their objectives—grazing, conveying a caravan, a war expedition, etc.

As many as 50 words for pregnant camels, stages of pregnancy, and pregnant behavior, including names for each month of pregnancy, for the stage at which movement of the fetus is first felt, for mothers who suckle and do not suckle their young during pregnancy, for those near delivery, those delivering prematurely, those bearing only once or twice, those bearing foals always living and always dead, those whose foals develop hair in the womb, those feigning or seeming to feign pregnancy, etc.

Names for young camels by years up to the age of ten, for those in various stages of dentition, for those beginning to walk.

Names for physically and mentally peculiar camels—those with large, small, slit, or hanging ears; those differently gaited; those persistently eating thorny or other injurious food; those not drinking until others leave, and those repeatedly returning to drink; those caressing the young with the nose but refusing suck and reserving their milk for some outsider for whom they have a preference.

[1] Man, E. H., "On the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands," *Jour. Anth. Inst.*, **12**: 119–122 (condensed).

[2] Portman, M. V., *Notes on the Languages of a South Andaman Group of Tribes*, 41.

Names transferred to the camel and its trappings from other objects. *Hilal,* for example means (1) a full moon, (2) a thin camel, (3) a camel with the brand of a new moon, (4) the moon-shaped iron connecting the two sides of the camel saddle.[1]

Language thus illustrates the great variety of structures resulting from the different directions taken by the selective attention in the schematization of physiological noises (the definition of the situation); the addition of conceptual elements to a physiological substratum; the perseveration of the initial pattern when the direction of development is once set; and the dependence of linguistic meaning on context, or association with other meanings, to the extent that habit eventually determines meaning.

II

We have seen that Laura Bridgman, while she had no spoken language, had begun to develop prejudices and prepossessions, to make personality ratings and define social distance among her companions, and we find also that in any spoken language the words expressing positive and negative appreciations of persons and things—the reflections of emotional tones and appraisals—will run into high numbers. Thus, a class in psychology compiled for Professor Partridge a list of words reflecting mental and emotional qualities of which the following are listed under the first letter of the alphabet:

Abandoned, abject, abnormal, abrupt, absorbed, accomplished, accommodating, accurate, active, acute, acrimonious, adventurous, affable, affected, affectionate, aesthetic, agile, agitated, aggressive, agreeable, airy, alert, altruistic, ambitious, angular, angelic, animated, anxious, appreciative, apprehensive, apathetic, apologetic, ardent, argumentative, artful, artificial, artless, aristocratic, ascetic, aspiring, assertive, assuming, assiduous, attentive, attractive, audacious, avaricious, awkward.[2]

The list is by no means complete ("asinine," for example, is not included) but it amounts to about twelve hundred words, and we may be sure that the voicing of each of them has an emotional accompaniment.

This is a language registration of personality ratings, and there is a concomitant registration of attitudes and ratings expressed in forms of etiquette, in naming and forms of address, in the classification of populations by age levels, by degrees and kinds

[1] Based on Hammer-Purgstall, S., "Das Kamel," *Denkschriften der Kaiser. Akad. der Wissensch. zu Wien (Philos.-Hist. Klasse),* **6**: 1–84.

[2] Partridge, G. E., *An Outline of Individual Study,* 106.

of kinship and affinity proximity and distance, by degrees and kinds of social and functional status, etc., and in primitive societies there is often a far-going particularization in the ranking of relationships in one or several of these respects.

The institutionalized forms of spacing social relationships will be discussed in later chapters, but expressions of agitation which are equivalents of language and the relation of personality to naming will be indicated at this point.

A gesture reflecting an agitation or a sentiment is more picturesque than spoken words, and may be more irresistible. Gutmann says that among the Chagga

when a woman is determined to have a wish granted she puts her breast to her mouth and sucks it. No man will dare deny this wish for she reminds him in this way of what she deserves as a mother.[1]

One of the early missionaries in Tahiti reports an incident which was an exaggerated demonstration of agitation on meeting a son but at the same time reminded the son of the meaning of motherhood:

[July 14, 1797.] In passing a few houses, an aged woman, mother to the young man who carried my linen, met us, and, to express her joy at seeing her son, struck herself several times on the head with a shark's tooth, till the blood flowed plentifully down her breast and shoulders, whilst the son beheld it with entire insensibility. I was not aware of this action to prevent it, but as she continued it without mercy on herself, I spoke to them angrily, and obliged her to desist. The son, seeing that I was not pleased with what was done, observed coolly, that it was the custom of Otaheite.[2]

The release of emotion in tears is notable for breaking down barriers and provoking sympathy. Not only is it a device used by children and women but in past decades tears on the stage were more freely employed and it is recorded that English parliamentarians adjusted their animosities weeping. Primitives have in some cases conventionalized the weeping pattern in place of words of welcome and rejoicing:

Relatives, after an absence of a few weeks or months, testify their joy at meeting by sitting with their arms round each other's necks and weeping and howling in a manner which would lead a stranger to suppose that some great sorrow had befallen them; and, in point of fact, there is no difference observable between their demonstrations of joy on these occasions and those of grief on the death of one of their number. The

[1] Gutmann, B., "Die Frau bei den Wadschagga," *Globus*, **92**: 30.

[2] Wilson, J., *A Missionary Voyage to the Southern Pacific Ocean*, Performed in the years 1796, 1797, 1798, in the ship Duff, commanded by Captain James Wilson, 196.

crying chorus is started by women, but the men speedily chime in, and groups of three or four may thus be seen weeping in concert, until from sheer exhaustion they are compelled to desist. . . .

A husband who is *childless* and has been absent from his home for some time, on his return to the encampment visits first a blood relation (if any), and when *they* have wept together he goes to his own hut, not in order to shed more tears but to see and talk to his spouse. The same remark applies to a wife similarly circumstanced. But in the case of a married couple who are *parents* the meeting takes place first between them. The wife hangs round her husband's neck sobbing as if her heart would break with joy at their reunion. When she is exhausted with weeping he leaves her and going to one of his relations gives vent to his pent-up feelings of happiness by bursting into tears.[1]

Klineberg has recorded an example from the Huichol of the Sierra Madre Mountains of the weeping accompanying after-dinner speeches at fiestas:

During the all-night singing at the fiestas, there is an interruption by the man who is giving the fiesta. He comes before the shaman with his wife and children, thanks him for his singing, wishes him well, and expresses the hope that all will meet again at the fiesta the year following. During this harangue the host *cries* a great deal. This appears to be a highly conventionalized crying, not expressing any particular emotion, but simply a custom under these specific circumstances.[2]

Among the Orokaiva tribes of New Guinea the individual has as identity mark a "vegetable signature," a sprig of some plant which he wears as a badge and deposits to give information. He may, for example, leave it in his neighbor's banana grove to inform him that he has taken some of his bananas, in a neighborly way. But he also uses it to indicate a disaffected state of mind, as a language of protest:

It is used by individuals as a sign of abstinence, a sort of self-inflicted tabu, whenever such abstinence has been the outcome of some quarrel or grievance. The Orokaiva is very prone when his feelings are hurt to punish himself rather than the man who has hurt him; or, perhaps better, to take revenge upon the other party by punishing himself.

Thus, if a man fall out with his wife, he will thrust a sprig of his *heratu* through his armlet, and while he continues to wear it will receive no food of her cooking. Not that he altogether starves himself into relenting; some friend will cook for him until his mood softens, and then there are interchanges of gifts between the wife's people and his own, and, as I am assured, invariable reconciliation. Similarly a wife who has been accused by her husband of sponging on him, not working for her keep,

[1] Man, *op. cit.*, 147–148.
[2] Klineberg, O., "Notes on the Huichol," *Amer. Anth.*, N.S., **36**: 459.

will advertise her grief and indignation by wearing her heratu, and will for the time being refuse to eat another taro out of his garden.

A bunch of drooping leaves may be seen tied to a coconut palm in the village. The owner has fallen out with his neighbor over the boundary of his garden. The row of tree trunks which constitutes the usual garden border has been displaced and shows an encroaching and unwarrantable bulge. Therefore he has set up his heratu to indicate that he has been imposed upon, and has broken off friendly relations with his neighbor; he will accept no hospitality from him (and give none) until the matter has been adjusted. Another man nurses some resentment against a near-by village. If he were bidden to a feast there he would go, but with his heratu in his armlet; and when the wooden dish of savory taro was placed before him, he would wave it aside, or lay his heratu upon the food to show that he could not accept the hospitality of those who had wronged him. Then the offender would be put to shame and punished, and be sorry for what he had done.[1]

The forms of etiquette, reflecting shades of positive and negative appreciation of other personalities, may be highly developed even in societies of relatively low culture. Williamson gives an example from a New Guinea group, and Rivers one from another Melanesian culture:

If *A* speaks to *B* about an article belonging to himself (*A*), he must speak of it as "our," as though it belonged to both *A* and *B*; but *B* in replying must refer to it as "your," that is, the property of *A* only.

If *A* and *B* are related, but differently so, to a third person, *A* must in speaking to *B* mention that person with reference to *B*'s relationship, and not to that of *A*. For example, if this third person is *A*'s cousin and *B*'s uncle, *A* will refer to him as *B*'s uncle and *B* will do so as A's cousin. If, however, the relationship of the third person to *A* and *B* is similar, either of them, in speaking to the other, will refer to this person as our uncle or our cousin.[2]

The Tikopians [says Rivers] attach great importance to certain forms to be observed, not only in the intercourse with chiefs, but also in the everyday behavior of the ordinary people towards one another. John Maresere had been so long on the island that he had fully acquired the idea that proper respect should be paid both to superiors and elders and he often became almost speechless with indignation at the behavior of the Melanesian boys on the *Southern Cross* who would approach and sit down without asking permission or would pass by without a word.

In Tikopia a man who wishes to pass another who is sitting down will call out as he approaches "*O mata*," *mata* meaning eye, and if the answer comes "*Poi, erau*," "yes, all right," he goes by. If there are two or more people sitting down, he will say "*Oto, mata*" and will be answered as

[1] Williams, F. E., *Orokaiva Society*, 116 (Oxford University Press. By permission).

[2] Williamson, R. W., "Some Unrecorded Customs of the Mekeo People of British New Guinea," *Jour. Anth. Inst.*, **43**: 271.

before. Several men going together ask leave to pass in the same way. A man walks by upright but a woman who is passing bends down slightly with her hands between her thighs.

If a man went by without the proper greeting it would be supposed that he was angry and he would have to return and sit down near those whom he had passed. If he explained that his behavior had been due to carelessness, he would be called a fool and his apologies would be accepted.[1]

The extent to which it is possible to concentrate on customs of courtesy as a fashion of intercourse may be seen in a South African Bantu-speaking tribe:

The Bavenda are very polite. They have a rigid code of etiquette, their method of greeting being different from that of other tribes in the Transvaal. Superiors and elders are treated with respect and reverence, the chief and his sister with obsequious adoration, while the ordinary everyday formalities between husband and wife and their children and friends are strictly defined and rigidly adhered to. *U losha* means to salute or honor, but it has a much more comprehensive meaning; the actual method of losha varies according to the sex and position of the person giving the salute; a man greets an ordinary person in one way and a chief in another, while a woman has an entirely different method of greeting. A man always sits to losha; he slightly bends his head and shoulders and with eyes looking downwards, elbows pressed to the side, and forearms extended in front of him, with finger tips touching, he claps his hands together very gently; this movement is accompanied by some word of greeting, depending on the occasion, generally "*Ndau!*" (Lion!). He must never losha standing. Today a man always lifts his hat when greeting anybody.

A woman kneels with buttocks on heels, and body bending forward, head bent and eyes on the ground; she places her hands together in the same way as the man, but instead of clapping them lifts the two forefingers up and down; she usually accompanies her gestures with a muttered "*Ah!*" On approaching anyone on the road she kneels down on one knee, with one hand on the ground and the other hand resting on her bent knee, and with head averted she waits until the wayfarer has passed or motioned her to pass on. If she is carrying a load on her head she simply holds her right hand straight up, with thumb almost touching the ear, and waits. An old woman is addressed by a man as "*Ndau! Makhulu!*" (Lion! Great one!) and she replies, "*Mukwasha!*" (Son-in-law!). If two women are passing on the road the younger generally kneels while the older bends her knee and both say "*Ah!*" A woman must always keep her eyes on the ground when talking to a superior; she would be guilty of the grossest insolence if she dared to look up into the face of the man by whom she is being addressed. She must always kneel when receiving anything from any man, and also kneel when giving.

[1] Rivers, W. H. R., *The History of Melanesian Society*, 1: 324–325 (Cambridge University Press. By permission).

To losha the chief (called *u luvha* when an inferior is greeting a superior) a man claps his hands together when at some distance, and approaches giving utterance to a number of laudatory epithets while continuing the clapping. When he reaches the chief he squats down with bent knees and leans the head to the right side, turning his hands over to the right at the same time. Occasionally a man is privileged to approach the chief on terms of equality, without doing the luvha; this is the highest honor that a Muvenda can attain, and it is only awarded to one who has shown most conspicuous bravery or wisdom. A woman kneels down with her forehead on the ground and her hands together under her face, and always shuffles on hands and knees in his presence or in his hut. The chief's sister is treated with exactly the same respect as the chief himself. Certain other people are treated in the same way, notably a woman possessed of the *molombo* spirit and a man's parents-in-law.

A man joining a party of people must losha. If he leaves the party and returns he must again losha. When on the road he must losha each passer-by, greeting a man as "Ndau!" and a woman, older than himself, as "Makhulu!" If two men are engaged in conversation the listener is continually interrupting the speaker, interjecting such words as "*Ndau!*" "*Thovela!*" "*Ndou!*" "*Kholomo!*" etc., (Lion, Great one! Elephant! Cattle! etc.). This indicates his interest in the speaker's remarks and has very much the same significance as our "Yes!" "Indeed!" or "Is that so?" If he omits to ejaculate every few seconds the speaker considers that the listener is not giving due attention to his words.

Girls, while attending the *vhusha* [girls' school], must losha continually, especially must they respect the girls who were initiated just before themselves, going . . . down on their knees, with forehead on the ground, when making obeisance to them. A bride must always crawl in the yard of her husband's home, and kneel before she enters the door of the hut, as well as doing losha before everything she touches; she continues to behave in this way until after the birth of her first child. If one woman encounters another engaged in some labor, such as smearing, she must losha the smearing. Before picking up a baby from the ground or taking it from her back she must losha and again after feeding it. Everybody is expected to losha their plate before starting food, and again at the end of the meal; this must also be done by any stranger eating with the family; the only person who need not losha at mealtimes is the owner of the house, but even he, if he is entertaining an important visitor, will, after the visitor has done losha to his plate, himself salute it.

A person wishing to take a cinder from the fire, even though nobody is present in the vicinity of the fire, is expected to losha, out of respect for the person who lit it. A girl must losha her elder brother and all married women. Children are taught to losha when quite small, but the rules of etiquette are not strictly enforced until after they have entered the *thondo* [boys' school] or *vhusha*. A group of women, approaching the chief's village, always makes a characteristic trilling noise in a high pitch;

this is made by rapidly hitting the pursed lip with the forefinger and at the same time hitting the palate with the tongue. On the entrance of the chief to any village or kraal, and again on his exit, the same trilling performance is enacted. If the chief belongs to the royal Makhwinde sib, the word "*Singo!*" (Elephant's trunk!) is interspersed between the trilling.

The giving and receiving of snuff is accompanied by strict laws of etiquette and propriety. The people who take snuff are divided into four main groups; the first comprises the boys and girls, the second the young men and women, the third the middle-aged group, and the fourth the old people. The members of each group may ask their contemporaries or their juniors for snuff, but never a member of a senior group. A senior may give to a junior, who always receives the snuff with extreme politeness. No man is permitted to ask another man's wife for snuff, as it is a favorite medium for the concealment of magical charms; for the same reason it is considered dangerous to accept snuff from a stranger.

There are prescribed sitting positions for different members of the community, and any person sitting in an unorthodox way is guilty of a grave breach of etiquette. The head of the family sits on a stone or a log of wood. Young men and boys sit on the ground with their legs on one side, tucked under them. In the presence of the chief all men sit on the ground, except the most important and influential. Women and girls always sit in a kneeling position, with the buttocks on the heels. Children, however informally they may sit amongst themselves, quickly assume the correct position on the approach of any superior.[1]

Other African tribes show a finely graduated reaction in all personality approaches. Migeod reports, for example, that on the appearance of a stranger among a group of Sierra Leone dancing girls practicing in the forest there is not confusion nor a chorus of cries, but a delicate depersonalization of the situation is effected by the group's addressing him in a singsong chorus:

If Sande girls accidentally meet a European in the road and they have not time to disperse into the bush, should he greet them, he should address himself to the old woman in charge, giving the usual common salutation of *Bua.* This is a corruption of *Bu wa* or *Bi wa,* "You come," and is the common Mende salutation. They may reply in chorus, *Ai-ye-jo.* Then if they speak further it will be also in chorus, not individually, the leader who directs being the minutest part of a second of time ahead of the others. It is a singsong reply in unison.[2]

In an East African tribe social distance is preserved in exciting legal controversies by addressing an opponent through another person:

[1] Stayt, H. A., *The Bavenda,* 157–159 (Oxford University Press. By permission).
[2] Migeod, F. W. H., *A View of Sierra Leone,* 245.

In Theraka they have a curious custom of speaking through a proxy. *A*, a plaintiff, will address his remarks and refutations to *B*, who has nothing to do with the case, and *C* will address *D*; but both *A* and *C* address *B* and *D* by the names of *A* and *C* respectively. The Theraka are remarkable for their hot temper, and it is more than likely that if the parties addressed each other they would be unable to restrain themselves, and therefore this roundabout method is used.[1]

There is occasionally found also a very exacting code of courtesy as between the sexes. Thus, in Africa, among the Ila, the whole male population may be held responsible for any disparagement of the women of the group:

Many of the rules of etiquette govern the intercourse between men and women. One of these rules is that it is a form of *matushi* [insult] for a man of one village to express his admiration for the women of another village, *i.e.*, for a Kasenga man to say, "*Babota bakaintu ba ku Bambwe!*" ("How fine the Bambwe women are!"). Nor may women express admiration for the men of another community. It is called *kusho-mausha*, or *kushomezha*, and regarded as a very serious breach of decorum. As we were told, *mbulowe bobo, malweza, ku babele kwamb'obo* ("it's like witchcraft, a terrible atrocious thing for them to talk like that"). If they hear of a man speaking in that way the women give him a rough time. "How are they fine?" they demand. "What have they got that we haven't? You have slighted us by comparing us to our disparagement with our fellow women. You *tuka* us." And they make him wish he had never been born. He has to pay heavily to all the women of his village.

In cases like this—offenses against the sex—the women stand solidly as one against the men. It is not an affair of individuals; a member of one sex has blackguarded the other sex, and the whole of the males in the village are regarded as participating in the offense. It is woman against man. The women have a simple way of asserting the rights of the sex, at once simpler and more efficacious than the methods of some of their civilized sisters. They go on strike. They down tools, hoe and pestle, grinding stone and cooking pot; and the helpless men, faced with starvation, speedily surrender. The women refuse to be appeased until all the men of the village come and apologize for the one man's fault, and bring gifts.[2]

In Japan, under the laws of Iyeyasu, who was a contemporary of Shakespeare, the regulation of social distance in forms of etiquette reached an extreme expression. It was required that an inferior when reproved should not only not sulk but should show

[1] Dundas, C., "The Organization and Laws of Some Bantu Tribes in East Africa," *Jour. Anth. Inst.*, **45**: 250.

[2] Smith, E. W., and A. M. Dale, *The Ila-speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia*, **1**: 376–377 (The Macmillan Company. By permission).

pleasure. He must smile but not broadly and familiarly; to show his molars was worthy of death. And the general legal definition of rudeness deserving death was "other-than-expected behavior":

> At what period it first became a mark of disrespect to betray, by look or gesture, any feeling of grief or pain in the presence of a superior, we cannot know. . . . But there was gradually developed . . . a most elaborate code of deportment which exacted very much more than impassiveness. It required not only that any sense of anger or pain should be denied all outward expression, but that the sufferer's face and manner should indicate the contrary feeling. Sullen submission was an offense; mere impassive obedience inadequate; the proper degree of submission should manifest itself by a pleasant smile, and by a soft and happy tone of voice. The smile, however, was also regulated. One had to be careful about the quality of the smile. It was a mortal offense, for example, so to smile in addressing a superior, that the back teeth could be seen. In the military class especially this code of demeanor was ruthlessly enforced. Samurai women were required, like the women of Sparta, to show signs of joy on hearing that their husbands or sons had fallen in battle; to betray any natural feeling under the circumstances was a grave breach of decorum. . . .
>
> What such discipline, as regards politeness, must have signified for the mass of the people, may be inferred from the enactment of Iyeyasu authorizing a Samurai to kill any person of the three inferior classes guilty of rudeness. Be it observed that Iyeyasu was careful to qualify the meaning of "rude": he said that the Japanese term for a rude fellow signified "an other-than-expected person"—so that to commit an offense worthy of death it was only necessary to act in an "unexpected manner"; that is to say, contrary to prescribed etiquette.[1]

The designation of the individual by a name is in its most general meaning no more than a form of the abstract process we have examined in language, where sounds are identified with objects and qualities, but in several ways the personal name becomes associated with character traits, kinship relations, and social ranking, and this will vary according to the feelings, concepts, and values which prevail or come to the front in different societies.

Among the American Indians

> the possession of a name [says Swanton] was everywhere jealously guarded, and it was considered discourteous or even insulting to address one directly by it. This reticence, on the part of some Indians at least, appears to have been due to the fact that every man, and every thing as well, was supposed to have a real name which so perfectly expressed his inmost nature as to be practically identical with him. This name might

[1] Hearn. L., *Japan: An Attempt at Interpretation*, 191–193 (The Macmillan Company. By permission).

long remain unknown to all, even to its owner, but at some critical period in life it was confidentially revealed to him [in a vision]. It was largely on account of this sacred character that an Indian commonly refused to give his proper designation, or, when pressed for an answer, asked someone else to speak it. . . . Names could often be loaned, pawned, or even given or thrown away outright; on the other hand, they might be adopted out of revenge without the consent of the owner.[1]

The Indian [says Mooney] regards his name, not as a mere label, but as a distinct part of his personality, just as much as are his eyes or his teeth, and believes that injury will result as surely from the malicious handling of his name as from a wound inflicted on any part of his physical organism. This belief was found among the various tribes from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and has occasioned a number of curious regulations in regard to the concealment and change of names. It may be on this account that both Powhatan and Pocahontas are known in history under assumed appellations, their true names having been concealed from the whites until the pseudonyms were too firmly established to be supplanted. Should his prayers have no apparent effect when treating a patient for some serious illness, the shaman sometimes concludes that the name is affected, and accordingly goes to water, with appropriate ceremonies, and christens the patient with a new name, by which he is henceforth to be known. He then begins afresh, repeating the formulas with the new name selected for the patient, in the confident hope that his efforts will be crowned with success.[2]

Since two individuals are two personalities, the bearing of the same name is regarded as an inconsistency in many parts of the world:

When [among the Eskimo] two persons meet who happen to have the same name, one of them will relinquish his name, and be given a present in return.[3]

It has always been the custom of the Tahitians not to give two persons the same name at the same time, as so doing would be considered a grave offense, like giving the same present to two persons living apart.[4]

Associated with this sensitiveness and circumspection regarding personal names is the feeling that names reflect degrees of intimacy, equivalence, and distance within kinship groups, that they define group claims, obligations, and distinctions, that they symbolize the integrity of the tribal divisions and incest groups, and in some cases signalize and cultivate relations with the spirit world.

Among the Indians the widespread practice of not addressing an individual by his name has usually been interpreted as respect

[1] Swanton, J. R., "Names and Naming," in Hodge, F. W., *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico* (*Bur. Amer. Ethnol., Bull.* 30, rearranged).
[2] Mooney, J., "The Sacred Formulas of the Cherokees," *Bur. Amer Ethnol., Ann. Rep.*, **7**: 343.
[3] Boas, F., "The Eskimo of Baffin Land and Hudson Bay," *Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., Bull.*, **15**: 117.
[4] Henry, T., "Ancient Tahiti," *Bernice P. Bishop Mus., Bull.*, **48**: 29.

for his personality. But Miss Fletcher, in a statement which recognizes this, gives more importance to the interpretation that relationship terms are used among the Indians instead of personal names because they express relationships:

Mention has been made of the custom of never addressing an individual by his personal name; etiquette demanded also that a person's name should not be mentioned in his presence. It may be recalled that a man's name referred to the rites in charge of his gens or to some personal experience—a dream or a valorous deed. The personal name sustained therefore so intimate a relation to the individual as to render it unsuitable for common use. It is doubtful, however, whether this characteristic was the fundamental motive for the custom under discussion; it is more likely that the benefits to be derived from the daily emphasis of kinship as a means to hold the people together in peaceable relations had to do with the establishment of the custom, which was strengthened by the sanctity attached to the personal name. This interpretation seems to accord with the comment made by an aged Omaha on the custom of the white people of addressing one another by name, particularly members of the same family: "It sounds as though they do not love one another when they do not use terms of relationship."[1]

A peculiar recognition of family relationship is seen in the practice of teknonymy, in America most pronounced among the Zuñi, by which parents are named in terms of their children:

Oyye [says Kroeber] is wife and *oyyemci* husband. These are however explanatory or descriptive terms. A Zuñi woman appears to call her spouse "oyyemci" to his face as rarely as an American wife addresses her mate as "husband." Occasionally husband and wife will call each other *okkyatsi* or *okkyatsikyi*, old woman, and *laccikyi*, old man, especially if their first child has not yet been born. In conformity with the prevalent teknonymic practices of the Zuñi, the universal form of address, and apparently of reference also, after the birth of a child is: *an tsitta*, its mother, and *an tattcu*, its father; and the housemates know the couple by the same term. One informant, asked how a childless husband addressed his wife, replied that he "does not call her anything." . . .

The commonest way of designating people among the Zuñi, either in reference or address, is to state their relationship to a younger person. As one informant put it, "the child always comes first." Thus 1 is commonly known either as *Luis an tattcu* or *Bili an nanna*, father of 7 or grandfather of 13. Often this leads to a nonusage of the term denoting the immediate relationship between the speaker and the person in question; for instance between husband and wife, as mentioned above. The basis of the practice, however, seems to be a very strong inclination to avoid using a person's name. A child's name, which has no religious

[1] Fletcher, A. C., and F. la Flèsche, "The Omaha Tribe," *Bur. Amer. Ethnol., Ann. Rep.*, **27**: 334–335.

participation, and at present preferably his American name, are used more freely. Even for adults the Zuñi employ their American or Spanish names, when they have them, and so far as they can pronounce the sounds; these designations are conveniences, but they are not real names to the native. A Zuñi name is far too intimately personal and sacred a thing to be bandied about. It is less a label than a part of the man, which one no more thinks of handling without specific reason—at least to his knowledge—than his body or his private god mask.

When 7 and 35 were first married, 1 and 3, the parents of 7, called him *aktsekyi*, boy, and her *kyattsekyi*, girl, that is, son and daughter. The couple addressed 7's older and childless sisters as *kyawwu*. As soon as 11, the oldest child of 7 and 35 was born, 1, 3, and 5 all spoke to and of 7, their son and brother, as *an tattcu*, her father, *i.e.*, the baby girl's father. 35 similarly became *an tsitta*, her mother, and 5 *an kukku*, her father's sister. This terminology continues to the present day, though with the birth of subsequent children the implied reference may be to younger brothers of 11. The appellations are used both in reference, and vocatively: 35 and 7 habitually address each other as *an tattcu* and *an tsitta*. 35 in speaking to 1, her father-in-law, refers to her husband 7 as (*Bili*) *an tattcu*, (Billy's) father.

A newly married childless man calls his wife *an tsitta*, "its mother," referring to her sister's child in the same house: literally, "(her sister's child) its maternal aunt." If his wife has no married sister or sister's child, but has younger brothers or sisters, the husband speaks of her as *an kyawwu* or *awan kyawwu*, "his (or her or their) older sister."

5, who is childless, lives with her husband in the latter's natal home, though this is contrary to Zuñi custom. The inmates of the house call her *awan tsillu*, "their mother's younger sister," referring to the children of her husband's sister, to whom the husband of course is *kyakkya*. When the couple come to the house of 7, the younger half brother of 5, the husband calls his wife *awan kukku*, "their father's sister," with reference to the children of 7.[1]

Among the Bahau of Borneo names denoting family relationship are changed in accordance with specific changes in the composition of the family:

As soon as a child is born, parents and grandparents assume the child's name, with a prefix denoting the degree of relationship. Thus, a Kayan father whose child is named Obong is called Tama Obong Djau, the last term being the original name of the father. The whole name means, thus, "the father of Obong, Djau." The term for grandfather in teknonymous usage is *laki*. If the child dies, our hypothetical father becomes Oyong Djau. If a younger child dies, he adopts the name Akam Djau. If he becomes a widower, he is called Aban Djau. If his brother dies, he may also be referred to as Hawan Djau. Each of these terms is

[1] Kroeber, A. L., "Zuni Kin and Clan," *Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., Anth. Pap.*, **18**: 70–73.

descriptive and carries a definite connotation. Thus, *oyong* is comprehended as meaning "father who has lost his oldest child,"[1] *akam* as meaning "father who has lost one of his younger children," and so on. There are analogous terms for orphan children. It can be seen that many of these terms often overlap in application. Evidently, in such a case any one of them which applies to the individual may be used in addressing or referring to him.[1]

The teknonomy practice is carried a step further in the South Andaman Islands, where parents are called by the name of a child in anticipation of its birth. In this group there are twenty sexless names ("Cries," "Gropes blindly," "Stone," etc.) and when a mother is pregnant one of these names is given to the unborn child and before its birth parents are often addressed by that name:

Let us suppose the name chosen in advance to be *dora;* should the infant prove to be a boy he is called *dora-ota,* or, if a girl, *dora-kata* [the additions signifying the male and female genitals respectively]. These terms (*ota* and *kata*) are used only during the first two or three years, after which, until the period of puberty, the lad would be addressed as *dora-dala* and the girl as *dora-poilola* until she arrived at womanhood when . . . she receives a "flower" name as a prefix to her proper or birth name. . . .

Seniors often address young married persons in a (to us) strange fashion, *i.e.,* calling the husband by the wife's name and prospective designation; for example, in speaking to a man whose name is *ira,* and who had married a woman called *tura;* if the wife were *enceinte* the child's name would be used beforehand to denote its parents; thus, assuming *wologa* to be the name of the yet unborn child, the father would be called by that name and the expectant mother *wologa-bud* [*bud* meaning house, habitation] until after the birth of the infant, when, for several months, the former would still bear the same appellation among his seniors, but would receive from his juniors the more dignified title of *maia wologa;* while the latter would be addressed by her seniors as *wologa-ota* (or *kata* in the case of her child being a girl) and by her juniors as *chana wologa-ota* (or *kata*).[2]

It may thus happen that the name expresses no more than a feeling of relationship, but more frequently the name implies a ranking among kindred and affinities. Among the Melanesians of the Banks Islands

a man may address his wife by her personal name though the wife should not take this liberty, but should speak of her husband as *I gene* if he has no children, or as the father of his child, "*taman X*" if there have been

[1] Kennedy, R., *The Ethnology of the Greater Sunda Islands,* 376 (manuscript).
[2] Man, *op. cit.,* 128–129.

children of the marriage. For a wife to address her husband by name shows a great want of respect, and it would seem as if at the present time this custom is used by women to flout their husbands. I was told that there are no less than three women in the district of Veverau alone who address their husbands by name, thus showing that they do not respect them. There is little doubt that this is the result of external influence, and that in former times the usual signs of respect would have been enforced.

Though a man may speak of his wife by name, he usually calls her either *ro gene;* the mother of his child, *"veve X";* or *irananatuk,* his children being *iranatuk.* Irananatuk was translated as meaning "my children," so that one of the ways of speaking of a wife is as if she were equivalent to her children. The explanation given by my informant was that the usage showed the superiority of the husband, the wife standing in a relation to her husband similar to that of his children, she being subject to his command while he is responsible for her behavior. It was clear that a distinction is made between irananatuk and iranatuk, and that it would not be right to apply the latter term to the wife. People often speak of a woman as *amen* followed by the name of the husband, *"amen X."* There are thus five different ways of referring to a wife: (1) by name, (2) as *ro gene,* (3) as the mother of her children, (4) as the children themselves, or (5) as the wife of her husband.[1]

In the island of Dobu three degrees of social distance are designated by names, the names are changed with change of status, and are inherited like property:

After a person's death his or her personal name and skull are inherited by the heir to the village house site. This former inheritance is made exclusive and is safeguarded by its being prohibited for any person not of the dead's own immediate *susu* to utter the name of the dead or the name of any common object which is also the name, or includes as a part, the name of the dead. Thus if a man dies his sister's son inherits his name. The man's own son is prohibited from using the name of his dead father. Only the true sisters of the dead, their children, and their daughters' children are allowed to use the name in addressing the dead man's sister's son. Thus the name descends within the susu, the ringed groups in my various diagrams above. Every person has two personal names. One, the name of a dead person of the susu, is used within the susu alone to designate the heir of the dead. The other personal name is used by the other susu of the village, owners of the village outside own immediate susu, and by a father to his child. A relationship term only, as we have already seen, is used by Those-resulting-from-marriage to owners except in the case of father to child. We have thus three grades of distance of relationship clearly demarcated in the use of terms of address. Not only does the sister's son inherit a dead mother's brother's

[1] Rivers, *The History of Melanesian Society,* 1: 40–41 (Cambridge University Press. By permission).

name, but he also takes over his mother's brother's status in regard to terms of address used to the biological descendants of his mother's brother. Thus a man will call his dead mother's brother's son, my son. Reciprocally a man calls his dead father's sister's son, my father (if anyone wishes to refer back to Fig. III (*b*) calls (*c*) my father, after (*a*)'s death for (*c*) inherits (*a*)'s village land, (*a*)'s skull, (*a*)'s name, and (*a*)'s status; (*c*) calls (*b*) my son; see p. 8).

Previous to (*a*)'s death (*c*) called (*b*) *nibagu*, my cross-cousin, and (*b*) called (*c*) my cross-cousin also, *i.e.*, a man calls his mother's brother's son cross-cousin until his mother's brother's death, the term being reciprocal. After his mother's brother's death a man succeeds to his mother's brother's property and status and calls his mother's brother's son, my son, instead of my cross-cousin. This change in terminology of address, as we shall see later, governs the entire mode of address, for all the near relatives of both the cross-cousins who change so, also change their terminology, the one party to the other accordantly.[1]

Among the Polynesian Tonga, where class distinctions are excessively developed, there is a corresponding change in the vocabularies of the classes, the use of terms depending on the rank of the person addressed or referred to, and it is possible by listening to a conversation to tell whether those conversing are of equal rank. There are three vocabularies, for leading chiefs, middle chiefs, and the people. A speaker may also emphasize the superiority of the person addressed by using the vocabulary above that of his rank, or his inferiority by using that of the rank just lower. Gifford obtained a list of these vocabularies from a court attendant and the following are selections from this list:

Leading Chiefs	*Middle Chiefs*	*People*	*English*
angavalea	tuutamaki	kovi	Bad (2, dangerous)
ei	koe	ee, aa	Yes, in assent to what is said. Koia is the term used to an active matapule
feitaumafa	halofia	fiekai	Hungry
hala	pekia	mate	Dead
hoko	vala	fatei	Skirtlike garment (sarong)
houhau	tupotamaki	ita	Angry
langi	tauolunga	mata	Eye or face
lika	misi	mohetuu	To dream; a dream
maafu	mofia	vela	To burn or scald; a burn
sinifu	unoho	ohoana	Spouse (1, wife, or, perhaps more correctly, concubine)
tofusi	lele	puna	To run (3, to fly).[2]

In Java as many as five vocabularies are employed in connection with the system of social ranking:

[1] Fortune, *op. cit.*, 13–14 (London: George Routledge and Sons; New York: E. P. Dutton & Company, Inc. By permission).

[2] Gifford, E. W., "Tongan Society," *Bernice P. Bishop Mus., Bull.*, **61**: 120–121.

Another unusual feature of the Javanese language [says Kennedy] is its possession of several carefully graded idioms, each used under different circumstances. They are as follows:

1. *Ngoko,* used by an individual of low status in talking to his equals, and by one of higher status in addressing his inferiors.

2. *Kromo,* used by a person of inferior rank in addressing his superiors, and by individuals of the higher classes in talking to each other. The former belief that *kromo* contained more Sanskrit terms than *ngoko* has been disproved. There are approximately forty more Sanskrit words in the former than in the latter, while the latter contains one Sanskrit term which does not occur in the former.

3. *Madyo,* a mixture of *kromo* and *ngoko,* with the addition of some terms peculiar to itself. It is used by persons of low status in talking to each other formally, that is, when *ngoko* seems too informal and *kromo* is not applicable. It is also employed by persons of superior rank in addressing older individuals of lower status, and by merchants and servants of nobles in addressing each other.

4. *Kromo-inggil,* consisting of about three hundred words, used by persons who are speaking either *ngoko* or *kromo* in referring to the personal attributes or property of god or of a very superior individual. In speaking *kromo,* one uses *kromo-inggil* terms in certain cases, to show one's respect for the superior whom one is addressing. Only a ruler may use *kromo-inggil* terms in referring to himself.

5. *Boso-kedaton,* the idiom of the royal courts, used by all men of the court in addressing each other or when referring to the ruler, but never in addressing the latter. They address the ruler and the Crown Prince in *kromo.* The ruler speaks to all his subjects in *ngoko,* but refers to himself in *kromo-inggil.* The women of the court use *kromo* or a combination of *kromo* and *madyo* in addressing each other. They speak to the men of the court in *boso-kedaton,* to the ruler and Crown Prince in *kromo.* The usages applying to the ruler apply also to his chief status wife, the *ratu.*

Kern believes that the complicated development of special idioms is an outgrowth of tabus on words. A possible source also is the Hindu caste system, which existed in Java during the Hindu period and still flourishes in Bali.[1]

The Bantu-speaking tribes of Africa have highly developed forms of showing respect and recognizing status in naming and addressing. Among the Ila

there are various kinds of names. The birth name is the one given to a child soon after birth, when by the aid of the diviner it has been ascertained of which of its forebears it is the reincarnation. As the ancestor has come back to earth he naturally bears the name he had during his previous sojourn. The name is termed *ndikando, ndi a muzhimo* ("the

[1] Kennedy, *op. cit.,* 706–708.

great one, the one of the divinity"). It is *tonda* [tabu], not to be lightly used, and though it remains with him all his life, it is strictly tonda for him to pronounce it. To call anyone by his birth name is to *shokolola* him, and that is an offense, except on the part of his father, mother, brothers, and sisters. The child is therefore given another name for everyday use, and this either describes some circumstance in the birth or points to some characteristic in the child itself.[1]

Among the Bavenda

the respective importance of different members of a family or of different people in the tribe is reflected in the person used in addressing them. For instance the word *tshimbila!* (go!), second person singular, is used in speaking to a little child. The second person plural, *tshimbilani!* (go ye!), may be used (*a*) in giving a command to an inferior; (*b*) by a father or mother, to a young boy or girl; (*c*) in addressing a company of people. This form seems, in most cases, to be used in addressing inferiors. The third person singular, *kha a tshimbile!* (let him go!), is also used in addressing an inferior, *e.g.*, by a father to a grown son. It is more polite than the second person plural. The third person plural, *kha vha tshimbile!* (let them go!) is the form used by a child to its parents; a subject to his chief or petty chief; a man addressing a woman and wishing to be polite; a wife addressing her husband; and in most cases where one person wishes to be particularly polite to another. A husband might use the third person singular in speaking to his wife. A child might say *mmpheni!* (give ye me!), the second person plural, to its mother, and *kha vha mmphe!* (let them give me!) in speaking to its father. The different forms are used interchangeably, except in speaking to a father or chief, when the polite third person plural is always used.[2]

Among the Xosa

the word *uku-hlonipa*—to respect, to reverence, to be bashful . . . is usually applied to the custom whereby a married woman is debarred from using the name of her father-in-law . . . and must avoid all words, whose initial syllable is the same as the initial syllable of her father-in-law's name; or indeed, any word that includes the whole or part of the father-in-law's name. A husband has to *hlonipa* his mother-in-law . . . as well as the names of her mother, that is, his wife's grandmother, and all female progenitors on his wife's side. The wife in like manner has to *hlonipa* all male progenitors on her husband's side.[3]

The Africans go to extremes also in claiming and conferring "strong" names, in addition to usual and tabu names. Among the Ila

[1] Smith and Dale, *op. cit.*, 1: 365 (The Macmillan Company. By permission).
[2] Stayt, *op. cit.*, 159–160 (Oxford University Press. By permission).
[3] Soga, J. H., *The Ama-Xosa*, 208.

the third great class of personal names are . . . the "praise-titles" by which a person is lauded. On occasions when he garumphs (to use Lewish Carroll's word; the Ba-ila say *fumba*) he shouts these titles aloud: "I am *Lubabankofuntakutuzhiwa*" ("a stinging plant that is not to be touched"); "I am *Chaboshakutika-mafua-asekelele*" ("he who gladdens by spilling that the hearthstone may rejoice"), etc. etc. They are bestowed upon a man by his fellows, or sometimes a man will boastfully entitle himself, in allusion to personal characteristics and exploits. Their use is a not very subtle form of flattering chiefs and others, when on occasion their followers hail them by these titles. We, in common with other Europeans, have had such names given to us, and as modest men have blushed when on entering a village at the head of our carriers they have shouted at the top of their voices for the edification of the inhabitants, "Here comes *Shilangwamunyama-owakamu-langa-wakafwa* ('he who is not to be looked at by a wild animal, for the one who looks at him falls dead'); *Munene ntwizha-midimo* ('the great one who greets you, not with food, but with word about his work')" . . . "Here he is, *Chitutamano* ('the silent, cunning devil'); *Shalumamba* ('the man of wars'); *Mukumbwanzala* ('the one stirred to pity by the sight of hunger'); *Mutubankumu* ('he who is white on the forehead'); *Mulumi-a-Namusa* ('the husband of the mother of kindness')," etc. etc.

Some other names we have known are worth quoting as illustrations of the kind of qualities and deeds the Ba-ila esteem in their chiefs and fellows, and also to show their powers of expression. A hunter or warrior may be entitled *Chilosha* or *Chitikaisha* ("the great spiller of blood"); *Kabange-mukolabantu* ("little hemp, intoxicator of men") *i.e.*, he can overcome those far greater than himself; *Mukulubala* ("he who does not seek shelter, but stands in a clear space, facing the foe"); *Inzokamuchile* ("a snake in a bundle of wood"), *i.e.*, dangerous; *Lufungula-tunyama* ("great weaner of little animals"); *Kankolomwena* ("the rinderpest"), *i.e.*, destroyer of animals and men; *Kawizulula* ("the famine breaker"), *i.e.*, in famine time he feeds people on the game he kills; *Ikunikualumuka* ("like a great log in transformation"), *i.e.*, in ordinary times he can be handled with impunity, but on occasion he flares up like a burning log. Mungaila of Kasenga has these among other titles: *Chele* ("porridge"), *i.e.*, cool on top, but hot beneath the surface; *Kaambanamazwa* ("he talks like a heap of demons"). Sezongo I of Nanzela was named *Shimuchinka-uchinka-buleza* ("the great thunderer, who thunders like *Leza* himself"); *Tandabala-munzhilamukadi-a-kudiate* ("he stretches out his legs across the road, so that a brave man may tread on them"), *i.e.*, he is beyond being afraid of offending the bravest of men. Kakobela has the title *Ibuluminabantuowakadya'ze-obukadi-kumwizhi* ("roarer at men, and let him who eats with him not forget his fierceness"). Other names are *Kaludimutanganinwa-owabulea* ("a little roof that requires a host of men to hoist into position"), *i.e.*, he is not easily overcome; *Luvhunabantu* ("savior of men"); *Shikuboni* ("he doesn't see you"), *i.e.*, takes no notice of things done against him; *Chitwizhamanumbwa* ("generous giver of

food to the hungry"); *Mwendakuseka* ("he who goes about smiling"); *Chozha* ("the cooler-off"), *i.e.*, like one who leaves his food to cool, he does not speak while in a temper; *Katangakalula-kuluzha-matanganina*, ("a sour melon which sours its fellow melons"), *i.e.*, like a warlock who makes his friends warlocks, he is to be dreaded; *Kubushandwazhi* ("he rises with sickness"), *i.e.*, he does not allow sickness to keep him in bed when there is anything on; *Mutantabantu* ("jumper on men"), *i.e.*, he is a fierce man who fights without provocation.

To hail anyone by these names is an act of great politeness, but in regard to other names it is necessary to be circumspect.[1]

A claim to distinction may be made by assuming the name of one you have slain and thus perpetuating the memory of the exploit. In the Marquesas

the warrior who brought home a victim for sacrifice, or part of one, was thereafter called by the name of his victim [and the spear killing the victim was called afterward by his name].[2]

Among the Orokaiva of New Guinea

there is a very common practice . . . of adopting the name of the slain. A man, originally named Koga, for instance, has killed another named Amburi: henceforward he, the slayer, is known by the name of Amburi, the slain. This custom is very common, and has been noted by others, so that it is unnecessary to give a succession of examples. It does not follow that the slayer entirely abandons his original name, which, I am told, may still be used occasionally by his more immediate friends; but his ordinary name is certainly that which he has taken from his victim. When a warrior of distinction has accounted for a number of slain he does not take the name of each in turn, but continues, as a rule, to be known by that of the first. This, however, cannot be an invariable rule, for a certain Ehari of Wasida, who can name no less than seven victims of his own hand, is known by the name of the second. His original name was Ata; his first victim was Asi and his second Ehari. He is now called Ehari though he has since killed five others. . . . Although the stoutest warrior does not disdain to take the life of a woman, he does not assume her name. I have one case, however, in which the slayer gave the name of his woman victim to his infant daughter. The habit of bestowing the victim's name upon the child of the slayer (sometimes born subsequently) is again a common one.[3]

An extension of this practice is seen among the tribes of the northwest coast of America, where rank is very elaborately graded and the slayer assumes all the titles and prerogatives of the slain.

[1] Smith and Dale, *op. cit.*, **1**: 365–367 (The Macmillan Company. By permission).
[2] Handy, E. S. C., "The Native Culture in the Marquesas," *Bernice P. Bishop Mus., Bull.*, **9**: 139.
[3] Williams, *op. cit.*, 175–176 (Oxford University Press. By permission)

Names and all the privileges connected with them may be obtained, also, by killing the owner of the name, either in war or by murder. The slayer has then the right to put his own successor in the place of his killed enemy. In this manner names and customs have often spread from tribe to tribe.[1]

An interesting case of name adoption [among the Tlingit] occurred at Klukwan. It happened that a Chilcat Indian was engaged by Lieutenant Schwatka as a guide when he made his famous trip into the interior. Schwatka promised the Indian a certain sum of money which, it is said, he did not pay. The Indian promptly took Schwatka's name, which is still in use among the people of Klukwan.[2]

In New Guinea the individual may identify himself with his ancestors at the moment of an exploit, and among the Lango of East Africa he may utter the name of his beloved:

It is by no means unusual for a man to identify himself by the name of his parent or ancestor as well as by his own. An interesting example of this is seen in the cries of triumph uttered by the warrior or the hunter. As he drives his spear into the victim or the pit he shouts, not his own name, but some such expression as *Embogetahije!* (*Ahije*, or descendant, of Emboge); *Hositamei!* (literally, "Son of Hosi," though in the case in point Hosi is the paternal grandfather); or *Kaiepa-ta-bijari!* (begotten of Kaiepa). A woman making a big haul of fish might be elated enough to cry *Handau-ta-du!* (sister of Handau, who is the "big man" of her clan). In other cases the successful hunter cries out his clan name, *e.g.*, *Jagasitahije!*, or *Sarahu-ta-bijari!*, in which Jagasi and Sarahu are the names of the clans rather than of any definite or well-remembered person.[3]

The *nying me agwong* (name of invocation) is used by himself, and is not utterable by anyone else. It is the name of his beloved (*apayo*), and is used only as an invocation on the successful cast of a spear in hunting or fighting. Should anyone but the man himself use this name, a serious quarrel would ensue, possibly resulting in bloodshed.[4]

Among the Indians of North America more than elsewhere there is a movable character of names which gives the person an opportunity to rate himself and his status progressively and enables his kindred, friends, and enemies to rate him higher or lower at different points of his life in accordance with his performance and character. The naming system is thus a progressive personality rating scheme. The occasions for changing names were at certain critical periods of life and in connection with significant incidents—puberty, the first war expedition, some notable feat, a vision

[1] Boas, F., "The Social Organization and Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," *U. S. Natl. Mus.., Rept.* for 1895: 335.

[2] Oberg, K., "Crime and Punishment in Tlingit Society," *Amer. Anth.*, N.S., **36**: 151.

[3] Williams, *op. cit.*, 103 (Oxford University Press. By permission).

[4] Driberg, J. H., *The Lango: A Nilotic Tribe of Uganda*, 151 (Ernest Benn. By permission).

granted by a guardian spirit, during a sickness, or upon retirement from active life, when the man sometimes adopted the name of his son if this had become an honorable one.[1]

There was among the Indians a unique development of conversational and persuasive techniques employed by older persons to bring the younger into conformity with social ideals, including the desirability of acquiring better names. This is very well illustrated by the advice of the father of Bull-chief in stimulating his son to acquire a better reputation and name:

At birth Bull-chief was named "Bull-weasel" by a father's fellow clansman, because the latter had received a vision from a weasel. However, when he had grown up he did not enjoy a good reputation because he had returned from a war expedition emptyhanded. One day his own father had a vision of a buffalo, called [him] in . . . made incense, and said to him, "I will make a man of you." He bade his son take a bath and smoke himself with the incense on coming in again. Then he painted his son all yellow, put a red eagle feather on his head, and drew two slanting lines across the arms, one line to bring luck in striking coups, the other for similar luck in taking away the enemies' guns. "These two things," said Bull-chief's father, "are what we like among our people. If you perform these deeds I will rename you. The first time you strike a coup that is not disputed . . . and also get a gun, either at the same time or later, I will give you a new name. 'Bull-weasel' is not a good name for you, so you had better have it changed." My informant went out with the first war party and actually took an enemy's gun and counted coup on him. When he got back his father called him "Bull-chief," and my informant became a war captain and was esteemed a very brave man.[2]

Family and sib distinction was also influential in naming. Frequently a distinguished relative was requested to confer a name and did this in commemoration of one of his own exploits. Thus, according to Lowie:

Bull-chief was once requested by a girl's father to name her after the hardest fight he had ever been in. Before formally conferring the name, my informant made some incense of *ise* root, as the Crow had been instructed to do on such occasions in ancient times. Then he raised the infant aloft, this being a symbol of his wish that she might grow up, and finally called her "Takes-the-medicine-pipe." . . . This was in commemoration of an encounter during which Bull-chief had rushed up towards the enemy and plucked away a medicine pipe that was protruding from their fortifications. . . . Bull-chief also named his own grandson. He had once struck a coup under such dangerous circumstances that no

[1] Swanton, "Names and Naming," 16.
[2] Lowie, R. H., "Social Life of the Crow Indians," *Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., Anth. Pap.*, **9**: 216–217.

other Crow had struck after him, and accordingly he called his grandchild, "His-coups-are-dangerous."[1]

Names of ancestors are also employed and of deceased, unrelated, distinguished persons. Among the Nez Percé

the right to use a name not belonging to the family could be purchased from the family owning it. Such names with marketable value were those that had belonged to some famous chief or warrior, and the right to use the name was usually purchased soon after the former owner had died and before the luster of his renown had faded.[2]

Among many Siouan and other sibs there was a traditional stock of male and female names which were assigned to the children in the order of their birth. Where the totemic system prevailed the names sometimes represented the habits or peculiarities of the totemic animal, and a distinction was also made for sex. Thus among the Wyandot a man's name of the bear sib was "Long claws," a woman's name "Grunting for her young"; a man's name of the wolf sib, "One who goes about in the dark," a woman's name "Always hungry"; a man's name of the snake sib, "Sitting in curled position," a woman's name, "One who ripples the water," etc.[3] In groups of this kind an effort was made to keep all the traditional names in use lest the totemic ancestors should be offended, and the capture and adoption of children so prevalent among the Indians was partly motivated by this:

The Wyandot supposed that to increase the size of the clan to which he belonged would please the animal-god from which it was descended. He made every effort to keep his clan full; that is, keep the full list of names belonging to it all in use. For this purpose he made war to secure women and children for adoption; warriors were often captured for adoption. The old Wyandots have often told me that their tribe made war on the Cherokees for the express purpose of securing women and children with which to make good the wasting clans. To allow a clan to become extinct was sure to call down the displeasure of the animal-god for which the clan was named and from which it was supposed it was descended.[4]

For one tribe, the Mohave, it is reported that a child born out of wedlock was not given one of the regular names but an ancient one no longer usually used.[5]

In these items there is evident a desire to symbolize the identity of the group, of the individual with the group, and of both with the

[1] *Ibid.*, 215.
[2] Spinden, H. J., "The Nez Percé Indians," *Amer. Anth. Assn., Mem.*, **2**: 247.
[3] Powell, J. W., "Wyandot Government," *Bur. Amer. Ethnol., Ann. Rep.*, **1**: 60.
[4] Connelley, W. E., *Wyandot Folk-lore*, 36–37.
[5] Swanton, "Names and Naming," 17.

totemic protectors, and also to give distinction to both group and individual.

In Australia naming is not employed for the development of personality as among the Indians but is one feature in a social system which seeks to place the individual in a fixed and immovable relation to other social units. This is a general characteristic of primitive societies but is singularly pronounced in Australia, where an extreme form of gerontocracy prevails and the old men subordinate the young men, exclude them from marriage for a time, and depend on them for heavy food contributions. In the Tiwi tribe

while a woman goes to live with her husband at about the age of thirteen a man is lucky to get his first wife under the age of thirty-five. It follows that in the great majority of cases the father of children dies long before the mother. Therefore as a woman without a husband is unknown amongst the Tiwi, a woman passes through the possession of quite a number of different men during her lifetime and does not remain in an unmarried state for more than a day or two. . . . When a man marries a widow he becomes to the tribe not the foster father of her children but the actual father. It cannot be pointed out too often that the Australian blackfellow does not distinguish physiological and social fatherhood. The new husband is married to the widow, he therefore must be the father of her children. Her children change their position in the tribe, and the function of the changing of their names is to show this change and the new social relationships that have been imposed upon them by it. It will be remembered in this connection that the husband changes the names of *all* the woman's children whether of her last husband or not. . . .

[Certain other relatives have also the right to confer names on children as a sign of their relationship and claims.] The father may always bestow names upon his own children, and the father's brothers, who are of course the classificatory fathers of the child, have the same power. The mother's brothers may also bestow names upon a child, should they so desire, and less frequently children will be found bearing names given to them by the older men of their own totem clan. . . . By the time that a child reaches puberty he is the possessor of several names since by then some at least of the people entitled to bestow names upon him will have exercised that privilege. . . .

It must also be understood that it is impossible for any two people to have the same name. Should a father inadvertently bestow upon his child a name already in use he is guilty of a gross breach of etiquette, and to prevent such a possibility a man will refrain for a long time from coining a name until he is fairly certain that the one he decides upon is neither already in use nor was held by any person recently dead. Although the Tiwi number nearly eleven hundred people at the present time, and each one of these has on an average three names, a careful

study of these three thousand three hundred names fails to reveal any two as being identical.[1]

The only self-determination in naming among the Tiwi is where a youth whose father is dead and who has been renamed by his mother's new husband assumes his father's name after a sufficient time has passed to remove the tabu from it. He does this of his own accord, or the older men, contemporaries of his father, begin to address him by his father's name, thus indicating that they approve his use of it.

The treatment of the dead (to be discussed in Chap. XI) frequently involves the complete avoidance of their names. Thus among the Tuareg of the Sudan

> they never pronounce the name of the dead in order that they may disappear from the presence of the living. They never call their children, as in the case of the Arabs, *son of so and so;* they give them a name that will live and die with them. There is no exception to this rule except in the families of the marabouts or in the principal families, where the name is intimately bound up with the tribal history. This real or apparent forgetfulness of the dead has its origin in the fear of their return, a general fear which causes the avoidance of anything that might be taken as an evocation.[2]

The Australian Tiwi regard their dead as discontented, malignant, and dangerous, and the avoidance is marked by never naming the dead nor giving their names to children. The use of personal names in this tribe, instead of kinship terms, is resented, and even more circumspection is required in connection with the dead. Not only must the name of the dead man not be pronounced but no word resembling it:

> It must be pointed out that after the death of a man his spirit does not go with his body to the region of the dead, but wanders about the world in a form both invisible and malignant. Just as an individual when alive would resent the use of his name so too will his spirit and will be much more dangerous an enemy on account of his supernatural form. Spirits are not only malignant, they are also unreasonable, and whereas a live man would not quarrel with you for using an ordinary word resembling his name, his ghost is quite likely not to appreciate the difference. Hence the prohibition against similar words.[3]

More usually in Australia the reason for the name avoidance, at least as explained by the natives, is the danger of recalling the spirit. According to Roth, who made inquiries on the point

[1] Hart, C. W. M., "Personal Names among the Tiwi," *Oceania*, 1: 280–289, *passim* (rearranged).
[2] Duveyrier, H., *Exploration du Sahara: Les Touareg du Nord*, 431.
[3] Hart, C. W. M., *op. cit.*, 288.

among the Queenslanders, they state that for this reason they do not pronounce the name of the dead nor give the same name to a child for many years.[1]

Injunctions laid on widows following the death of husbands are always particularly severe, and in some Australian tribes they are not permitted to speak at all, either out of respect to the dead or because their voices would recall them. This prohibition may last for years, during which these women communicate in a sign language, and, becoming habituated to this, never speak again:

> Amongst the Warramunga especially, it is no uncommon thing to find that the greater number of women in any camp are prohibited from speaking. In the case of the widows, mothers, and mothers-in-law, this ban extends over the whole period of mourning, and even at the expiration of this the women will sometimes voluntarily remain silent, preferring to use the gesture language, in which they become most remarkably proficient. At the present moment there is a very old woman in the camp at Tennant Creek who has not spoken for more than twenty-five years, and who will probably, before very long, pass to her grave without ever uttering another word.[2]

Among American Indians the naming of the dead was frequently avoided, but in some cases this was alleged to be out of respect for their families. Morgan gives this interpretation for the Iroquois:

> After the mourning period had expired, the name of the deceased was never mentioned, from a sense of delicacy to the tender feelings of his friends.[3]

Whether this was the origin or whether there was originally some fear in the avoidance is immaterial, but the emotional resistance to the violation of the custom is represented by Morice, who after long residence among the Carriers was shocked to hear the deceased called by name during a white funeral ceremony:

> We must not [he says] forget the law of Carrier onomatology, similar to that which prevailed among most other American aborigines, which sternly forbade the naming of a person dead within the memory of the late generation. So-and-so's father or mother, that man's daughter or wife, such and such a woman's child or husband, etc., must absolutely replace the names of the departed ones, unless you want to insult most grievously their living relatives and provoke a copious flow of tears.

[1] Roth, W. E., *North Queensland Ethnog., Bull.*, **5**: 20.

[2] Spencer, B., and F. J. Gillen, *The Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, 525–526 (The Macmillan Company. By permission).

[3] Morgan, L. H., *League of the Hodenosaunee, or Iroquois*, 175.

And when you live a number of years with the natives, speak their language like themselves, daily associate with them as if you were not a white man, you get to be so identified with them that you come insensibly to imbibe their reverential fear of uttering the name of the dead, to such an extent that this tabu seems quite natural to you.

I, for instance, distinctly remember how, after many years spent in the closest intimacy with my Carriers, having gone to attend the funeral of my Bishop, I was indescribably shocked at the freedom with which his name was pronounced by the mourners and others, and felt prone to consider that *sans gêne* as something little short of sacrilege.[1]

Choctaw claimants [says Lowie], knowing that they thereby lost title to extra land, refused to enumerate their deceased children; and the Yurok fined a person two or three strings of shell money for referring directly to a man no longer living.[2]

Beveridge and Gatschet have pointed out that the avoidance of naming the dead practically excludes the development of tribal history, and Beveridge mentions that not even songs composed by the dead are mentioned in certain Australian tribes:

Tchowies [songs] are not transmitted from one generation to another, because, when the maker of a *tchowie* dies, all the songs of which he was author are as it were buried with him, inasmuch as they, in common with his very name, are studiously ignored from thenceforward, consequently they are quite forgotten in a very short space of time indeed.

This custom of endeavoring persistently to forget everything which had been in any way connected with the dead entirely precludes the possibility of anything of a historical nature having existence amongst them; in fact the most vital occurrence, if only dating a single generation back, is quite forgotten, that is to say, if the recounting thereof should necessitate the mention of a defunct aboriginal's name.[3]

The Klamath people [says Gatschet] possess no historic traditions going further back in time than a century, for the simple reason that there was a strict law prohibiting the mention of the person or acts of a deceased individual by *using his name.* This law was rigidly observed among the Californians no less than among the Oregonians, and on its transgression the death penalty could be inflicted. This is certainly enough to suppress all historical knowledge within a people. How can history be written without names?[4]

That language tabus are not necessarily limited to groups of low culture but may arise anywhere is shown by the fact that an

[1] Morice, A. G., "Carrier Ontomatology," *Amer. Anth.*, N.S., **35**: 645.

[2] Lowie, R. H., *An Introduction to Cultural Anthropology*, 276.

[3] Beveridge, P., "Of the Aborigines Inhabiting the Great Lacustrine and Riverine Depression of the Lower Murray, Lower Murrumbidgee, Lower Lachlan, and Lower Darling," *Roy. Soc. of New South Wales, Jour. and Proc.*, **17**: 65.

[4] Gatschet, A. S., "The Klamath Indians of South-western Oregon," *Contrib. to No. Amer. Ethnol.*, **2**, Part 1: xli.

extreme and inconvenient tabu exists in the highly civilized Sweden of today on the use of the plural personal pronoun *ni* (you). In general it is necessary to name the person addressed or use his title and avoid *ni* completely. Thus the strictly proper form of a question to Miss Gustafsson is, "Does Miss Gustafsson recall where Miss Gustafsson left Miss Gustafsson's bag when Miss Gustafsson left?" "Director" is the most prevalent "title" in the Swedish business world, and the proper form of inquiry of such a person is, "Will director Svensson permit me to take director Svensson's automobile?" not, "Will you let me take your automobile?" (*Tillåter ni att jag tar er bil?*) In the place of Miss Gustafsson's name it is permissible to substitute "her bag" at one point, and another means of simplification is, "Does *fröken* [the young lady] recall where *fröken* put her bag when *fröken* left?" But you cannot say, "Do you recall where you put your bag when you left?"

When unknown persons are addressed circumlocutions are used to avoid the use of *ni*, for example, "Was a hat forgotten?" "Is it known where there is a drugstore?" Among the unpretentious classes and in some regions the evasion is made by substituting *han* (he) and *hon* (she) for the name ("Will he come tomorrow?") thus avoiding *ni*. Historically *han* and *hon* were used to express more respect than *du* (used to inferiors) and less disrespect than *ni*. An upper servant in a titled family could be addressed as *han* but not as *du*. At present *han* and *hon* are sometimes used among the proletariat as an escape from *ni*.

The singular *du* is used somewhat as in German and French to children and among intimates, but among friends there is more or less ceremony in the "laying aside of titles." One of the parties will eventually make the proposal in a serious way and in some cases one of them may be sounded out by an intermediary from the other to make sure that the proposal will be agreeable.

Ni is a language corruption derived from the coalescence of the old plural form *I* (you) and the final *n* of the preceding verb (*saden I; sade ni*). Following this, *I* had two opposite fates. On the one hand it was preserved as a very distinguished form of address, and is still so employed. "You (*ni*) young princess" were the opening words of an address to Princess Sybilla in the chapel of the royal palace on her arrival in Stockholm as a bride, and in the Swedish Academy every new member is addressed as *ni* on his reception.[1] In the other direction, beginning about 1650, *ni*

[1] Wellander, E., *Tilltalsordet "Ni,"* 11 (1935).

became progressively associated with disrespect, especially from higher standing to lower standing persons:

This development [says Wellander] is a quite natural consequence of the conditions of the development of our speech habits in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. If members of aristocratic circles addressed and wrote one another as *ni* it excited no surprise and was far from being offensive. On the contrary *ni* was recognized as the equivalent of the French *vous* and was so employed. Like the French they refrained from the continuous repetition of titles. No feeling of inferiority arose so long as the form of address was reciprocal. But if persons in a socially prominent position, possessing more or less distinguished and high-sounding titles, used the word *ni* to persons of lower standing and without a title the prerequisite of reciprocity was not in the language of the day. A person with a title, whether hereditary, official, or academic, addressed an untitled person as *ni*, but he, according to prevailing usage, responded by using the appropriate title, for example, *Herr Greven*, and at that point the fat was in the fire. Reciprocity was out of the question. *Ni* was used from above downward, from high to low positions, from officials to the general population, etc., *but not contrariwise.* *Ni* as term of address from an official or a lady of the nobility to an untitled person contained in itself no more disrespect than the French *vous*, but when custom demanded that the one so-called should reply, not with *ni* but with a title, the consequence was that *ni* was felt as a mark distinguishing the one so addressed as belonging to the great mass of the untitled. From that standpoint the feeling of inferiority grew among the untitled and a feeling that whoever used *ni* to another assumed that he himself was one of higher standing.

Under these conditions it is intelligible that *ni* sank in social value. As early as the eighteenth century, according to Linder, this went so far that persons were taken to court for *ni*-ing their neighbors. He quotes from a collection of church annals: "He made the most serious outburst against the bishop shortly before Christmas 1707 . . . when he became quite wild, shook his fist in the bishop's face, called him *ni*, and threatened to make a complaint to the archbishop." . . .

It is the one-sided use of *ni*, from above downward . . . which has led to the feeling of injury in *ni*, which "works like a blow in the face," "sticks like an awl in the nose," especially among those who are not acquainted with a corresponding usage in other cultures. And it is this affect which sometimes calls forth the characteristic retort, "You are *ni* yourself! I am not *ni* for you!"

In a communication to a newspaper the writer complains bitterly that in our hospitals the physicians and nurses address the patients as *ni*. "One would think more consideration would be shown toward these sufferers, who are, in fact, with reference to the hospital personnel, employers. Should not at least the term *min herre*, *min fröken*, or *min fru* be advocated in certain cases? . . . It should be remembered that a

patient is in a high degree sensitive to unkind treatment and may take the word *ni* or *er* as an expression of contempt or irritation on the part of a physician or nurse, or as a wish to show him his place. Thus, I once heard a poor man react to the house-physician's *ni* as follows, 'Herr doctor, call me *Johansson* or *Anders* or *han* or *du*, but don't call me *ni*.'"[1]

For many years organizations have worked to break down the prejudice against *ni*, but there is great resistance. One proposal was that reformers should wear a button reading, "*Ni* is used here." The pamphlet of Wellander quoted above is propaganda for *ni* and its publication and circulation were subsidized by the Swedish parliament.

In the following chapter it will be seen that naming and refraining from naming are among the devices for fixing claims and obligations in the larger kinship and affinity group resulting from marriage, and in regulating status in the community.

[1] *Ibid.*, 9–11, *passim.*

Chapter V

KINSHIP BEHAVIOR

In the chapter on habit formation the reciprocal conditioning of mother and child was illustrated, and originating in this physiologically and socially profound intimacy based on the hunger contractions of the child a solidary familial and kinship habit system is developed, involving the father in a provident and protective way and including eventually aunts and uncles, grandparents, and different ramifications of consanguinity and affinity. And in this situation there is elaborated a code of obligations, claims, and prohibitions defining the situation of every individual with reference to every other, and a classification of kindred and affinities into divisions whose members are to some extent equivalents from the standpoint of behavior reactions.

Lowie has generalized the tendency of primitive groups to arrange personalities in classes on the basis of degrees and kinds of obligations and claims, and to regulate social intercourse on this basis, and Radcliffe-Brown has pointed out that among the Australian Kariera the individual is not able to undertake any relationship whatever with those for whom the behavior reactions have not been thus stereotyped:

> In primitive communities . . . a specific mode of behavior may be rigidly determined for each and every possible form of relationship. From the point of view of any individual this means that his tribesmen are classified into certain categories, each one of which implies an altogether special set of social rules to be observed by him. He is bound to render services to an individual of one class; with a member of another he may jest and take liberties; with persons of a third category he must have nothing to do except through intermediaries; and so forth. Proximity of relationship may or may not count; usually, as Mr. Brown has explained for the Kariera, a savage owes the same type of conduct to a more remote as to a closer kinsman addressed by the same relationship term, but the intensity of the obligation is greater for the nearer relationship. As this author further remarks, a native may be at a complete loss how to treat a stranger who falls outside of the established rubrics. What most frequently happens is that by a legal fiction, or it may be by marriage with a member of the community, the new arrival comes to occupy a definite status. Thus, in a Plains Indian myth a young boy

finds a strange girl whom he adopts as his sister; automatically she becomes the sister of his brothers, who accordingly are prohibited from marrying her. In real life these implications are consistently carried out, so that the stranger would be a daughter to her adopters' parents, a sister-in-law to their wives, and so forth. In short, she would be classified for the entire family circle and her social relations would be regulated thereby.[1]

Among the Australian Kariera, as reported by Radcliffe-Brown,

the relationship system . . . is based on actual relations of consanguinity and affinity that can be traced by means of the genealogical knowledge preserved by the old men and women. The recognition of relationships is so extended that everyone with whom an individual comes in contact in the ordinary course of social life is his relative. It is impossible for a man to have any social relations with anyone who is not his relative because there is no standard by which two persons in this position can regulate their conduct towards one another. I am compelled to treat a person differently according as he is my "brother," "brother-in-law," "father," or "uncle." If I do not know which of these he is, all intercourse is impossible. . . .

When [for example] a stranger comes to a camp that he has never visited before, he does not enter the camp, but remains at some distance. A few of the older men, after a while, approach him, and the first thing they proceed to do is to find out who the stranger is. The commonest question that is put to him is "Who is your *maeli?*" (father's father). The discussion proceeds on genealogical lines until all parties are satisfied of the exact relation of the stranger to each of the natives present in the camp. When this point is reached, the stranger can be admitted to the camp, and the different men and women are pointed out to him and their relation to him defined. I watched two or three of these discussions in West Australia. I took with me on my journey a native of the Talainji tribe, and at each native camp we came to, the same process had to be gone through. In one case, after a long discussion, they were still unable to discover any traceable relationship between my servant and the men of the camp. That night my "boy" refused to sleep in the native camp, as was his usual custom, and on talking to him I found that he was frightened. These men were not his relatives, and they were therefore his enemies. This represents the real feelings of the natives on the matter. If I am a blackfellow and meet another blackfellow that other must be either my relative or my enemy. If he is my enemy I shall take the first opportunity of killing him, for fear he will kill me.[2]

The Australian interest in the food supply was mentioned above in connection with naming and age levels, and the claims on

[1] Lowie, R. H., *Primitive Society*, 80–81 (Liveright Publishing Company. By permission).
[2] Radcliffe-Brown, A. R., "Three Tribes of Western Australia," *Jour. Anth. Inst.*, **43**: 157, 151.

food as between relatives is illustrated by Howitt's description of the division of game among the Kurnai, where each member of the family and sib receives a predetermined part of an animal and the divisions moreover follow different lines in the case of different animals:

A native bear is divided in the following manner: Self, left ribs; father, right hind leg; mother, left hind leg; elder brother, right forearm; younger brother, left forearm. The elder sister gets the backbone, and the younger the liver. The right ribs are given to the father's brother, a piece of the flank to the hunter's mother's brother, and the head goes to the young men's camp.

An emu was divided as follows: The backbone to the hunter; left leg, left shoulder, and left flank to his father. The neck and head, right flank, and right ribs to his mother. To his elder brother, the left ribs; younger brother, part of the backbone; elder sister, part of the right thigh; younger sister, the right shin. The left thigh and left shin went to the young men's camp. The father and mother shared their part with their parents.[1]

As missionary on the African Gold Coast Father Gallaud was much puzzled by the replies he received when inquiring about parentage and kinship:

If you wish to know of anyone who is his father and who is his mother you must put the question to him in these terms: "Who is the father that begot you? Who is the mother that bore you?" If you ask him simply, "What is the name of your father? What is the name of your mother?" it may be that he will give you successively four or five fathers and as many mothers without including the authors of his being in the number. Those whom he will give you as his fathers will be his uncles and his old male cousins who live in the same house with him, and his mothers will similarly be his aunts and his old female cousins. . . . If you understand also that every old person is called "my father" or "my mother" you will have an idea of the extension of these terms.[2]

This is a description of the so-called classificatory system of relationships in its simplest terms. Members of the same generation and within certain degrees of kinship and affinity are given an identity or equivalence by a common name. Thus in Melanesia the elementary steps may be seen in the employment of the term *tamai* for father, father's brother, the husband of mother's sister, and of *veve* for mother, mother's sister, the wife of father's brother, and father's sister, the latter taking the honorific form of *raveve*.[3]

[1] Howitt, A. W., *The Native Tribes of South-eastern Australia*, 759–760. (The Macmillan Company. By permission.)

[2] "A la Côte d'Or," *Les Missions catholiques*, **25**: 284.

[3] Rivers, W. H. R., *The History of Melanesian Society*, **1**: 28 (Cambridge University Press. By permission.)

In extension, however, the system becomes very complicated and apparently inconsistent, and varies from group to group, partly because the inclusion of individuals is dependent on definitions of the situation arising momentarily and circumstantially in affective appreciations and partly as recognition of distant relationships which are nevertheless tied together, as when grandfather and grandchild are regarded as the extremes of a unity, included in the same class and addressed by the same term.

Any one of the classes bearing the same name may therefore present an unexpected assortment of individuals, and the acquisition and feeling of identity are evidently, as was noted for the language systems, dependent to some extent on habit formation. Thus, among the Nilotic Shilluk the term *ora* (man speaking) is applied to the following persons:

> Wife's father, wife's father's brother, wife's mother, wife's mother's sister, wife's brother, daughter's husband, wife's brother's wife, sister's husband; also the husband of all cousins, the wife's mother's mother, the mother of any *uwa* [*uwa* = brother (son of father) or classificatory "father's" brother's son].[1]

Among the South Andamanese the term *dia chanola* includes

> father's sister, mother's sister, father's brother's wife, mother's brother's wife, grandmother, grandaunt, father's father's sister's daughter, mother's mother's sister's daughter, husband's grandmother, wife's grandmother, husband's sister (if senior and a mother), elder brother's wife (if a mother).[2]

Among the Haida the term *kwuna* (primary meaning, "father-in-law" and "son-in-law")

> is employed by a woman for her husband's father, her husband's father's own brother, her husband's mother's father, her daughter's husband, her daughter's daughter's husband, and the husband of any clanswoman of the first descending generation. By men it is used—always reciprocally—between wife's father and daughter's husband, wife's father's own brother and own brother's daughter's husband, and wife's mother's father and daughter's daughter's husband. The plural, used only by married men and women, is extended to all the men of the father-in-law's clan and associated clans of the same moiety.[3]

An individual may be classified and cross-classified from various standpoints, as kin, classificatory kin, kin of classificatory kin, as member of the mother's line, as member of the father's

[1] Seligman, C. G. and B. Z., *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, 51 (George Routledge and Sons. By permission).
[2] Man, E. H., "On the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands," *Jour. Anth. Inst.*, **12**: 422.
[3] Murdock, G. P., "Kinship and Social Behavior among the Haida," *Amer. Anth.*, N.S., **36**: 373.

line, as member of a hereditary sib and as member of a parallel totemic group, etc., with the result that from the classificatory standpoint, as Lowie points out below for the Hidatsa Indians, a man may be the "grandchild" of a woman and at the same time her "father," or the son and at the same time the "father" of his father, or a woman may be at the same time the daughter and the "mother" of a man:

One of the most interesting features of the Hidatsa kinship system is the fact that the same individuals may stand to each other in two or more relationships. The concrete cases are too few to permit generalization as to the preferential use of one of the possible terms in actual practice, and I must accordingly content myself with describing the facts.

Hairy-coat is Buffalo-bird-woman's "grandchild." But he is also a member of the same clan as Buffalo-bird-woman's father, hence he is her "father." According to my informants, both appellations might have been used, but as a matter of fact Buffalo-bird-woman and her brother Wolf-chief only called Hairy-coat "father" when they received a sacred bundle object from him.

Still more instructive are the relations between Packs-wolf and Goodbird. From diagram 2, it appears that Packs-wolf is Goodbird's mother's father's sister's son's daughter's husband = mother's father's daughter's husband = mother's sister's husband = father. On the other hand, Packs-wolf's father was a member of Goodbird's clan, whence the relationship would be reversed, Goodbird becoming Packs-wolf's father. But this is not all. Mrs. Goodbird's sister adopted Packs-wolf's brother, Crow-not-knowing, as her brother, whence Mrs. Goodbird likewise became sister to Crow-not-knowing, all his brothers simultaneously becoming her brothers as well. Thus, Packs-wolf is a brother of Goodbird's wife and accordingly Goodbird's brother-in-law. As a matter of fact, Goodbird never called Packs-wolf *tate* but *batse ec* or *batse ecia* because of the clan relationship, which thus took precedence here but for some reasons not in the case of Hairy-coat. Packs-wolf called Goodbird tate, but they might treat each other as brothers-in-law and Mrs. Packs-wolf in speaking to Goodbird about her husband would say, . . . "Your father your brother-in-law my spouse."

Son-of-star was Goodbird's own father. On the other hand, Goodbird was Son-of-star's father because Goodbird is of the Prairie-chicken clan to which Son-of-star's own father belonged. Goodbird never actually called his father "son"; he was, however, entitled to his share when Son-of-star gave presents to his clan fathers.

Poor-wolf belonged to the same clan as Buffalo-bird-woman's father, and she belongs to Poor-wolf's father's clan. Accordingly, he was both her clan father and also her clan son. Actually, she only called him "father." This may have been due either to his age or to his functioning as a ceremonial father towards her. . . .

Buffalo-bird-woman looked upon Cherry-necklace as her brother-in-law because her brother, Painted-yellow, was his brother-in-law. But when another brother, Bear's necklace, married Cherry-necklace's daughter, Buffalo-bird-woman henceforth regarded him as her father-in-law. In such cases, my informant explained, the relationship of father-in-law takes precedence and thereafter she would not joke with Cherry-necklace any more.[1]

There are furthermore groupings of greater and less size within kinship relations, involving different intimacies, functions, claims, and obligations. In Sumatra, for example,

every Minangkabau is a member of five groups, in order of increasing size as follows: (1) The *sa-mandeh,* the ultimate family unit, composed of the mother with her children, whether they are of the same father or not; (2) the *djurai* or house group, composed of all the close relatives in the female line who live in a single large dwelling, thus including several *sa-mendeh;* (3) the *sa-buah-parui* or extended family, composed of all relatives living in a definite section of the village, thus including several *djurai;* (4) the *suku,* said by some authorities to be an administrative unit, composed of several *sa-buah-parui;* (5) the *nagari* or village complex, composed of four or more *sukus,* living in one or more villages called *koto.*[2]

The incest concept (to be examined in Chap. VII), originating in the blood family, was extended from that situation and resulted in a division of the population into incest groups. At the same time the classificatory (nominal) kin within incest degrees were treated as blood kin, and the incest barriers became very numerous. Warner has pointed out that a great deal of effort is expended among the Australians in preserving distance between incest groups. In the Murngin tribe it is as if a genealogical bureau were established to trace and record the lineage of every individual for generations back. The old men and women act, in fact, as such a bureau and as a court of decision in doubtful cases. A mother's mother's mother's brother's son's son's son's son's daughter, for example, stands in a certain relation to a father's father's father's father's father's sister's daughter's daughter's son, and the two may or may not marry, according to the traditional definition of the situation. As in our law courts, there are doubtful cases and conflicting opinions. The ramifications of the prohibitions are so complicated that there have been cases where individuals were left with no one suitable to marry, and a special ruling was necessary:

[1] Lowie, R. H., "Notes on the Social Organization and Customs of the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Crow Indians," *Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., Anth. Pap.,* **21**: 37–38.

[2] Kennedy, R., *The Ethnology of the Greater Sunda Islands,* 123 (manuscript).

The most interesting result of a study of Murngin kinship morphology [says Warner] is the "urge" for symmetry. One feels this in the native mind, too. There is always an unconscious and frequently a conscious desire to "keep the *gurratu* [kinship system] straight."[1]

The very fact that the classificatory system involves a definition of prohibitions and permissions with reference to incest promotes the feeling that all men have claims to some degree of intimacy with all women who are not of their incest group. Codrington has made a classical statement on this point regarding the Melanesians, referring in the first place to premarital liberties between nonincest groups and again to the fact that marriage is not so strong a barrier against sexual license as incest feeling:

Speaking generally, it may be said that to a Melanesian man all women, of his own generation at least, are either sisters or wives, to the Melanesian woman all men are either brothers or husbands. . . . It must not be understood that a Melanesian regards all women who are not of his own division as in fact his wives, or conceives himself to have rights which he may exercise in regard to those women of them who are unmarried; but the women who may be his wives by marriage, and those who cannot possibly be so, stand in a widely different relation to him; and it may be added that all women who may become wives in marriage and are not yet appropriated, are to a certain extent looked upon by those who may be their husbands as open to a more or less legitimate intercourse. In fact appropriation of particular women to their own husbands, though established by every sanction of native custom, has by no means so strong a hold in native society, nor in all probability anything like so deep a foundation in the history of the native people, as the severance of either sex by divisions which most strictly limit the intercourse of men and women to those of the section or sections to which they do not themselves belong.[2]

The behavior aspect of this general feeling of equivalence as between women of a class and men of a class frequently appears in connection with marriage, where the equivalents of the married are in some degree participants in the marriage:

Every man in a clan had the right to use the wife of any of his clan brothers and this was so completely taken for granted that the matter was seldom even mentioned. No husband would think of making any complaint on the subject and no one would think of blaming a woman for allowing her husband's clan brothers to share her bed any more than for allowing her husband to do so. . . . The woman was, however, restricted to men of her husband's clan, though to them she could only deny herself

[1] Warner, W. L., "Morphology and Functions of the Australian Murngin Type of Kinship," *Amer. Anth.*, N.S., **32**: 211.

[2] Codrington, R. H., *The Melanesians*, 22–23 (Clarendon Press. By permission).

on the plea that she was unwell. Her husband in the same way was restricted to the wives of his clan brothers, and if he took any other woman he was guilty of adultery.[1]

A Shilluk may have intercourse with the wife of any man whom he calls *uwa*, that is to say, his own brother by another mother, his father's brother's son, or his clansmen of his own generation. He may claim the same privilege from the wives of his own father (except his mother) and of all those men whom he addresses as *wa*. A father will know that his son is consorting with his wife, and will go to another hut and say nothing about it. The attitude of our informants could be expressed thus: "Why should the father object? Surely it is better that his son should do this than go to other women, when he would be obliged to pay the fine for adultery?"[2]

Though before marriage a [Banyankole] girl was most strictly guarded and kept from any contact with men, after marriage it was accepted as an essential part of the entertainment of a visitor that he should sleep in the same bed as his host and his wife and have the use of the wife. If the visitor was the husband's father, the husband left the bed and his wife entirely to him and went to sleep with a neighbor who would share his bed and wife with him as long as the father was there. When, however, a man visited a friend whose wife was the visitor's sister, his mother's sister, or his mother's sister's daughter, the visitor slept on another bed. Even unmarried boys were allowed this right as soon as they became of an age for sexual intercourse, and when a boy visited his married brother he had the use of the wife.[3]

Liberties to the extent of including father with reference to son's wife and contrariwise are prevalent only in Africa and even so in a group of this kind there are usually specific restrictions in other directions. Thus among the Shilluk it is reported that

any attempt towards intimacy with the wives of *uma* [son of mother's sister], *umia* [brother; wife's brother], *una* [son of mother's brother], *oka* [sister's son], or *kwa* [father's father; mother's father, etc.] would be considered worse than adultery, and it was believed that the partners in guilt would die. Mr. Heasty states that intercourse with the wife of an *ora* [father-in-law] would be looked upon in the same way.[2]

There may be also a conflict between classificatory claims on the one hand and individual claims on the other, leading to precisely opposite definitions of the situation. Thus while the access of father to the wife of son is mentioned above among the Banyankole numerous African tribes prohibit this and in some cases go so far

[1] Roscoe, J., *The Bakitara or Banyoro*, 239–240 (Cambridge University Press. By permission).
[2] Seligman, C. G. and B. Z., *op cit.*, 69, (George Routledge and Sons. By permission).
[3] Roscoe, J., *The Banyankole*, 123–124 (Cambridge University Press. By permission).

as to give the son's wife a name ("daughter," "mother") which is an incest barrier to the father:

There is, among all these tribes [of the Ashanti hinterland], a peculiar horror of a father ever having sexual intercourse with a son's wife. This idea is seen reflected in the terminology employed to designate the latter's relationship to her father-in-law, and vice versa. . . . [Among other designations of son's wife are "child," "mother," "grandmother."] "She is not [they say] your wife; she is not your lover; you may not even sit together on the same mat; she is the same as your daughter; you would be killed by the Spirits if you had sexual intercourse with her; if you even ever dream you do so, you must give a sheep or goat to the Spirits and confess."[1]

It will be noted also that among the Banyankole just mentioned classificatory claims yield to incest concepts and that mother's sister and mother's sister's daughter are excluded from these relationships as equivalents of mother and daughter.

Within the classificatory system marriage and sexual relations may take a particular direction in view of feelings of personal equivalence. Thus there is a universal feeling of a degree of equivalence as between sisters or between brothers, and this may influence marriage patterns. From this standpoint the wife's sisters may be treated as actual wives, they may be married along with the wife or married successively, or treated with sexual familiarity short of cohabitation.

Among the Nama Hottentots, according to Hoernlé,

to his wife's sisters a man behaved much as he would to his wife, and even at the present day intercourse with them is common, if they are unmarried or widowed. Such relations are the cause of much trouble. A woman considered her husband's younger brothers as her husbands, and used in the old days to be inherited by one of them. In the early missionary records there are numerous instances of a younger brother taking over his elder brother's widow.[2]

From Australia Roth reports of Queensland tribes that there is

the right of marital relation between a husband and his wife's blood sisters on the Pennefather and Tully Rivers and between a wife and her husband's blood brothers on the Tully River.[3]

Fison and Howitt refer to a case of elopement among the Kurnai where the parents of the girl, after being pacified, handed her sister over to the man also:

[1] Rattray, R. S., *The Tribes of the Ashanti Hinterland*, 1: 6 (Clarendon Press. By permission).
[2] Hoernlé, A. W., "The Social Organization of the Nama Hottentots of South Africa," *Amer. Anth.*, N.S., **27**: 23.
[3] Roth, W. E., *Austral. Mus. Rec.*, **7**: 3.

It is said to have often occurred that, where a man's wife had an unmarried sister, the father would, when the first elopement had been condoned, give the second sister to his daughter's husband—the alleged reason being that the parents would then have a double supply of food.[1]

In his study of Western Australian tribes Radcliffe-Brown records a socialized adjustment between brothers of claims on sisters:

Where there are several sisters of a family, they are all regarded as the wives of the man who marries the eldest of them. He may, if he chooses, waive his right in favor of his younger brother, with the consent of the father of the girls. If a family contained four girls and a man took the two eldest, but permitted his younger brother to marry the third, the youngest daughter thereby also becomes the wife of the younger brother, and the older brother cannot claim any right to her. When a man dies his wives pass to his younger brother or to the man who stands nearest to him in the relation of *margara* [younger cousin]. This man marries the widow and adopts the children.[2]

Among the Haida of the American northwest coast the term *thlno*, meaning primarily "sister-in-law" (man speaking) and "brother-in-law" (woman speaking),

is applied by a man to his brother's wife and his wife's sister and by a woman to her husband's brother and her sister's husband. It is also extended (man speaking) to all women of the wife's clan and generation and (woman speaking) to all men of the husband's clan and generation [and in some groups it is still further extended]. Between *thlno* and *thlno* there prevails a joking relationship of great intimacy and considerable license. They wrestle and play together very freely. They make fun of, laugh at, and play practical jokes on each other, and maintain an attitude of mutual banter and good fellowship. They are also privileged to carry on sex relations, at least if they are of similar age, and particularly if one is unmarried. Thus a man regards his wife's younger and unmarried sister, who is of course usually a housemate, almost as a secondary wife. Such affairs are only partially, not fully, sanctioned by the mores. They are regarded much as drinking is in a country under prohibition, namely, as something technically wrong perhaps but nevertheless to be expected, human nature being what it is. If they are carried on clandestinely, as is usually the case, it is to avoid the winks and smiles of tolerant amusement rather than the scowls of an outraged moral sense. A husband or wife is not infrequently jealous of his wayward spouse, but he usually keeps his eyes closed to avoid the ridicule in

[1] Fison, L., and A. W. Howitt, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, 202–203
[2] Radcliffe-Brown, *op. cit.*, 158.

which a public exposure would involve him. In any case he is powerless to take action, for he has no redress against a clansman.[1]

In America sororal polygyny was widely practiced and even preferred:

The approved way of marrying [among the Crow] was for the lover to present horses to the young woman's brother. . . . If a man had bought the oldest of a number of sisters in this way he had the right of marrying the younger girls without making an additional payment. Sometimes a wife and husband would part on account of some disagreement, and in such a case a man generally married the next oldest sister. If the difficulty was smoothed over both women remained as his wives.[2]

Very generally primitive women are glad to have cowives in the family because of companionship and the sharing of labor, and in America the women frequently urged their husbands to marry their blood relatives. Among the Omaha

sometimes the wife will make the proposition to her husband, "I wish you to marry my brother's daughter, as she and I are one flesh." Instead of "brother's daughter" she might say her sister or her aunt. . . . [Or] when the wife is dying she may say to her brother, "Pity your brother-in-law. Let him marry my sister."[3]

Lowie says of the Hidatsa:

The orthodox form of polygamous marriage was for a man to marry his first wife's younger sisters, this term being sometimes used in a classificatory sense. The native theory is that two wives who were not so related were likely to quarrel. The special term *irikuats* is used for fellow wives who do not get along with each other. . . . Yellow-head and Cherry-woman, who were not sisters, were both married to Small-ankle. One day they quarreled. Yellow-head asked her mother to give Small-ankle her younger sisters for wives. "Then," she said, "I am sure Small-ankle will throw Cherry-woman away." Accordingly, Small-ankle married four younger sisters, three of them being full sisters and the fourth her mother's adopted daughter. Bears-looking had five wives, Otter, Root, Large, June-berry, and Corn-woman, of whom the first four were sisters. All of them stayed together for a long time. Sisters who are fellow wives do not dispute but help one another.[4]

When a man does not marry his wife's equivalents (her sisters) and sex relations are not permitted he will nevertheless emphasize his potential claims on them as "distant wives" by liberties of speech and action in a particular form of the "joking relationship,"

[1] Murdock, *op. cit.*, 375–376.
[2] Lowie, R. H., "Social Life of the Crow Indians," *Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., Anth. Pap.*, **9**: 222–223.
[3] Dorsey, J. O., "Omaha Sociology," *Bur. Amer. Ethnol., Ann. Rep.*, **3**: 261, 258.
[4] Lowie, "Notes on the . . . Mandan, Hidatsa, and Crow Indians," 46.

and in some cases there are the same liberties toward the wife of a brother, owing to the equivalence of brothers:

> There is . . . [among the Blackfoot] a curious social custom still in force by which a man and his distant wives are expected, on meeting, to engage in bold and obscene jests concerning sexual matters. This is often carried to a degree beyond belief. Thus, there is not only the same freedom here as between man and wife, but the conventional necessity for license. As practically all other relatives by marriage are forbidden the least reference to such subjects, the force of the exception is greatly magnified. For example, a man will not even relate the obscene tales of the Old Man and other tales containing such reference in the presence of his brothers-in-law nor before their immediate relatives. If we add to this an equal prohibition against the presence of his sisters and female cousins, we have marked out the limits of this tabu. Thus, it appears that with respect to this tabu, the distant wives are placed in an exaggerated sense in the category of real wives. Other familiarities of a man with his distant wives are strictly improper.[1]

Among the Crow, according to Lowie,

> a man has the privilege of treating with the greatest license his brother's wife and his wife's sister, even if the latter should be married. He might raise his brother's wife's dress, exposing her, and she might do the same to him. A woman might also take liberties with her elder sister's husband. In the summer of 1916 I spent considerable time in the camp of an informant, who was continually teasing and fondling his wife's younger sister, while she returned this treatment in kind. They took the greatest liberties without regard to my presence or that of my informant's wife or that of his adult son by another marriage. According to Gray-bull, this type of familiarity ceases, however, when the wife's sister marries another man. For example, he himself continued speaking, but no longer played and joked with a certain woman after her marriage to Horn.[2]

In Melanesia the wife's sister and the brother's wife are regarded as distant wives and

> the important feature of the relation [of these women] to a man is that they are his possible wives, and in Mota we find them sharing a name *mateima* in common with another potential wife, the wife of the maternal uncle, while the women have a reciprocal term, *welag*, for their potential husbands. . . . There is a definite difference in the various islands of the group in the attitude towards these relatives as shown by the *poroporo* custom. In Rowa a man would never *poroporo* [chaff] his wife's sister or his brother's wife but in Mota he might do so, though in the case of the former relative I was told that he would only do so to a small extent.

[1] Wissler, C., "The Social Life of the Blackfoot Indians," *Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., Anth. Pap.*, **7**: 12.
[2] Lowie, "Notes on the . . . Mandan, Hidatsa, and Crow Indians," 80.

He must *poroporo* in a respectful manner, this probably meaning that definitely sexual references must be avoided. It is said that if a woman carried the *poroporo* custom too far she would have to be taken as wife by her sister's husband.[1]

In Africa, especially among the Bantu-speaking tribes, the relationship with distant wives and their relatives is complicated by considerations of property. Junod has described the spacing of relationships with distant wives among the Thonga:

> One of my informants said, "*Bakonwana* are those persons who produce wives for you; *tinamu* are those persons who produce children for you, because they are your presumptive wives. Even if you do not marry them their children will call you father."
>
> My *tinamu* are those who follow my wife, who have been born after her, her younger sisters in particular. They are my *presumptive wives*, therefore I can play with them with the greatest freedom; I eat together with them from the same plate. They go so far as to smear my face with ashes . . . and afterwards wash it with water. I have the right to pat their shoulders gently, to snatch something from their hands, to force them to give me something to eat; and, if they refuse, I will say to them: "How dare you stint me, you, my wives!" . . . Nevertheless sexual relations are not allowed. Should a man commit this sin, and should his sister-in-law become pregnant, he will have to pay a fine, or rather he will go to his father-in-law and say: . . . "*Ndi dlele ku dya*," "I have killed in order to eat," which means: I have committed a bad action but with the intention of repairing my wrong by marrying the girl. He brings five hoes when he makes the announcement and will remit the remainder of the *lobola* later on. . . .
>
> The right of marrying one's wife's sisters is by no means an obligation. I am not in any way forced to do so if I do not like them. Most probably, even if I wished to marry them all, I should not have enough oxen to lobola them all. On the other hand, the bakonwana are not obliged to give them to me. If I am not a good husband to my wife, if she complains that I ill-treat her, her parents will not consent to receive my oxen for her sisters. Should my tinamu marry other men . . . I can no longer allow myself the intimacy I previously had with them. But if they have children by these men, they will call me *tatana* and I shall call them *bana*, because I might have been their father, having a prior right of marrying their mothers.
>
> My wife's elder sisters are not tinamu to me. Why so? Because when I married my wife her elder sisters were already married, according to the law that an elder sister must always marry before the younger. A father would never consent to give away the younger before the elder. Therefore I have never had the opportunity of playing with my wife's elder sisters and considering them as possible wives.

[1] Rivers, W. H. R., *The History of Melanesian Society*, 1: 45 (Cambridge University Press. By permission).

By extension the term *namu* is also applied to my wife's younger brothers. They are bakonwana in fact. Their daughters are my potential wives. However, the relations I have with them are easier than with the elder brothers and with the father of my wife, as these are her natural protectors.

In this first category is included the daughter of my wife's brother (Shaputa versus Mboza [two informants]). With her the relations are perhaps even more free than with my wife's younger sisters. I call her *nsati*. The intimacy is so great that I can hold her breasts. . . . I can do so even in the presence of my wife, who is her paternal aunt. She will be pleased to see that I am disposed to avail myself of my right to marry her, because her niece will thus become her *nhlampsa, i.e.*, a second wife by the side of her father's sister. But I dare not take such a liberty with the girl if her father is on the spot and sees me. I probably do not possess the oxen to pay for her, and the father looks chiefly to the oxen.

As already pointed out, all the girls belonging to my bakonwana are in the same position towards me. I can marry them all if I am rich enough to lobola them. The granddaughter of my wife's brother is a namu, a nsati. She will probably be a baby whilst I am a grown-up man. Never mind! If I meet her, a little girl on her mother's back, I go and take her in my arms and say to her: "Good morning, my wife!" As regards my wife's cousins, those whose father is a brother of my wife's father and who bear the same family name as my wife, they are also tinamu, but here a distinction must be made. Should the father of one of these girls be younger than my wife's father, I can marry her; but should he be older I must not do so. Why is this? Because the girl, belonging to an elder branch of my wife's family, takes precedence of my wife; she is her *hosi*, her chief. On the other hand, my wife, being my first wife, is the mistress of the house; this cousin of hers ought therefore to obey her. But she is her chief! That would not be right. The natural family relations would be disturbed. Such a union is not tabu . . . but must be avoided.

The *second category of tinamu* includes those women whom I might marry, not on account of the prior right of a group to the women of another group, but because I might *inherit them.* They are the wives of my elder brothers. If their husbands die I am their legal heir. Relations with them are easy. We joke together, but there is more reserve towards these tinamu than towards those of the first category. Sexual intercourse with them is a great tabu, and a man daring to commit such a sin would be likened to a wizard: he has killed his brother. . . . My younger brother's wives are not tinamu; we call each other *nwingi*. I do not inherit them except in the extraordinary cases when the deceased has no brother younger than himself.

There is still a *third kind of bulamu* [*tinamu*]. I also call tinamu the cousins of my wife who are the daughters of my wife's mother's sisters. These girls do not belong to my wife's clan; they bear the family name of their father. Therefore I have no right to inherit them: "*A hi delani*

ndjaka," *i.e.*, "we do not inherit from each other." The relations with these tinamu are agreeable, but there is no hope of marriage between us.[1]

With reference, however, to intimacy with wife's sisters we find, as in the case of intimacy of father with son's wife, precisely opposite patterns. Among the Trobrianders, for example, "a strong tabu is placed on the wife's sisters."[2] And among the Masai of East Africa two wives may not even be from the same subfamily:

When a man marries it is not lawful for him to marry two wives out of the same subfamily of the *gilat* [sib]. If, for instance, a Molelyan marries two Logumai women, he could not marry two Parseroi women, but could take one say from the Parseroi and the other from Tootu.[3]

An interesting variety of sister equivalence is reported by Lowie. In America the avoidance between brother and sister was never of the extreme form. They could usually at least converse and frequently exhibited a deep sense of responsibility for each other. Among the Hidatsa there was a transfer of this responsibility pattern to the relation of brothers-in-law, each regarding the other as a sister equivalent:

Brothers-in-law love each other. A man will present his sister's husband with a gun and horses, and on the other hand receives game from his wife's brother, as well as horses captured on a war expedition. When a man recites his coups, he will say, "I captured a horse and gave it to my brother-in-law."

As already noted, a man may jestingly refer to his wife's brother as his wife and is in turn called husband. This mode of address is used on the battlefield. If a wounded man catches sight of his sister's husband, he will say, "Husband, I am getting killed." Then his brother-in-law, if a brave man, will give help or even die with his wife's brother. Unless he did so, his brother-in-law would jeer at him for his cowardice, saying "My husband is like a woman, he left me alone." A man who has captured a horse will say to his wife's brother, "My wife, take this horse." Otherwise his brother-in-law will say, "My husband got enemy's horses but did not give me any, he is bad!" If a man's wife's brothers capture horses while he himself does not, he is ashamed because his "wives" are braver than himself. If a man is sent out by his war party to get water of a dark night, his wife's brother may say, "He calls me 'wife,' yet he is more afraid than I am." When sent for water by one's "wife," a man cannot refuse to go.[4]

[1] Junod, H., *The Life of a South African Tribe*, 1: 237, 245–248 (The Macmillan Company. By permission).
[2] Malinowski, B., *The Sexual Life of Savages*, 531.
[3] Hobley, C. W., *Ethnology of the A-Kamba and Other East African Tribes*, 122 (Cambridge University Press. By permission).
[4] Lowie, "Notes on the . . . Mandan, Hidatsa, and Crow Indians," 48–49.

The practice known as the levirate, or marriage to the widow of a deceased brother, has quite different meanings, and these will be dependent on matrilocal or patrilocal residence, on the laws of inheritance, on the economic value of women, etc., and the equivalence of brothers may signify either a duty or a privilege. Dorsey's note on the Omaha practice shows an attitude not necessarily different from adoption:

A man takes [in marriage] the widow of his real or potential brother in order to become the stepfather (*icadi jinga*, little father) of his brother's children. Should the widow marry a stranger he might hate the children, and the kindred of the deceased husband do not wish her to take the children so far away from them. Sometimes the stepfather takes the children without the mother if she be maleficent. Sometimes the dying husband knows that his kindred are bad, so he tells his wife to marry out of his gens.[1]

In general the feeling of the equivalence of sisters from the standpoint of affection for related children is prominent in marriages of this kind among groups of a low cultural level and where the property value of women is not emphasized, as among the Veddas of Ceylon:

Second marriages are . . . frequent, a man often marrying a sister of his deceased wife and a woman marrying one of her dead husband's brothers. We believe that such unions were regarded as both a privilege and a duty, though according to Handuna of Sitala Wanniya a man married his dead wife's sister principally because if he married anyone else his children would not be looked after so well. If a widow does not marry one of her dead husband's brothers she may return to her parents, though it seemed that if these were no longer living she would generally stay with her late husband's group, whose duty it would then be to look after her and her children.[2]

Among the Siberian Gilyak a brother or classificatory brother of the dead man is selected by the sib to provide for the widow, but whether or not he may live with her as wife depends on the relative ages of the deceased and his surrogate:

The wife of the deceased one goes over to one of his *ruvn*, usually to a younger one, according to a decision of the clan. *Ruvn*, in Gilyak, are named brother's and sister's children of all degrees of relationship. . . . When the woman is given to a *ruvn* who is older than the deceased one, he must support her, but has no right to live with her as with his wife.[3]

[1] Dorsey, "Omaha Sociology," 258.
[2] Seligman, C. G. and B. Z., *The Veddas*, 68 (Cambridge University Press. By permission).
[3] Bogoras, W., "The Chukchee," *Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., Mem.*, **11**: 608, quoting L. Sternberg.

Among all the native races Africa exhibits the most sophisticated and complicated institutional organization, including highly elaborated legal codes, especially among the Bantu. Negotiations for wives frequently begin at or before their birth, partial payments are made over a period of years, the concept of chastity is subordinated to that of fertility, the wife may be divorced and the bride payments claimed if she does not bear children, etc. There is also a pressing religious necessity for male offspring who may make the indispensable sacrifices for the propitiation of ancestors. And, according with this definition of the situation, the wife and her children are the property of the husband or of his equivalents like any other property. She is inherited by the brothers of her dead husband, by his son, or by a sib equivalent. This situation among the Bantu-speaking groups has been represented by Torday. His account shows also that the Bantu practice is not strictly a levirate marriage. If the husband is impotent the wife may be impregnated by one of his equivalents. If she is barren during his life she may provide him with one of her equivalents. After his death, if the marriage is childless, she may complete her function as wife by returning to his family a child born from her union with any man as his equivalent or from a union of any equivalent of herself provided by her to any one of his equivalents:

> A childless woman . . . must contract a levirate marriage to provide the dead man with the heir she has failed to give him during his lifetime. If we use the term of levirate in the biblical sense, *i.e.*, that the deceased's brother takes the widow to himself to raise seed for him, we must qualify it by the difference that "brother" will have to be taken in the very wide sense the Bantu give to this word. The Bantu do not consider such a union as a marriage. Their conception of the "levirate" is exactly similar to that of the Nilotic Dinka so clearly stated by Captain O'Sullivan: "No widow may marry again. It is the duty of a widow to raise children to her dead husband's name" by cohabiting with his brother. The Bantu widow is not considered the "brother's" wife; she remains the dead man's wife, and the "brother's" role is similar to that which he would have assumed if the deceased had become impotent in his lifetime. "If a Yaka woman does not bear a child for some time after her marriage, her husband may arrange for his brother to visit her in secret." An impotent Chagga husband "lets his brother cohabit with his wife." It is not always stated that it is a brother who renders this service. . . . Among the Bechuana, in the case of the chief wife of a chief not bearing a son to her husband, but bearing one to another man some years after his death, this son is regarded as the rightful heir of the deceased chief. Even the illegitimate son of a Chagga widow receives the clan name of her deceased husband. Should the widow bear no son, she will pay

earnest for a girl, who is then supposed to be the deceased's junior wife attached to the widow's house and as such will bear him and her an heir who may succeed to the chieftainship. It must be remembered that the desire for offspring is not limited to men; women too wish for someone who after their death will perform the necessary rites for them. For this reason, when an Ila woman dies the widower is entitled to one of her sisters, and should one be alive, although married and with children, she must take the dead woman's place. Among the Bakongo a younger sister has to replace the deceased. In Useguha the husband has an absolute right to marry his deceased wife's sister without any payment. In the cases mentioned above the reason for these unions is not stated, but there are others where it is made perfectly clear. They apply both to the living woman who is barren and the woman who dies childless. A sterile Ngala woman takes her sister to her husband that she may have children by her; a barren Zulu wife finds a substitute in a younger sister or niece. It is the woman herself who asks her people for such a girl "to be attached to her hut as a new rafter" in order that she may bear issue for her. The same procedure is followed in case of the death of a childless woman. Among the Ovaherero sterile women also get a girl to bear children for them and their husbands. A Chagga widower may take to himself a *mkla o kjoren, i.e.*, a heritor woman, who will impersonate the deceased wife so that she may bear her a son who will inherit from her house.[1]

Captain O'Sullivan first pointed out the employment of the interesting legal fiction by which an heir is secured for a man who dies childless among the Dinka without near male relatives, leaving only widows beyond the age of childbearing. One of his widows or his daughter will "marry" a girl in his name, who as his "widow" will bear a child by any man whatever as his heir.[2] Recently the Seligmans have confirmed this report, although the situation is, of course, a rare one.[3]

In another direction the family of a deceased wife may be obliged to promote the continuity of fertility in the surviving husband's line. There is in some tribes a superstition placing a man in a tabu situation on the death of his wife. The condition among the Baholoholo is called *makia*, meaning "set down," and does not permit sex relations with anybody. In this case the mother-in-law of the man sends one of the dead wife's sisters, even a married one, as an equivalent, to spend a night with him and thus lift the tabu. Even if the girl sent is an infant the sexual act is imitated. The man may then marry anyone except this girl.[4]

[1] Torday, E., "The Principles of Bantu Marriage," *Africa*, **2**: 285–287.
[2] O'Sullivan, H., "Dinka Laws and Customs," *Jour. Anth. Inst.*, **40**: 173.
[3] Seligman, C. G. and B. Z., *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, 164–165.
[4] Schmitz, R., *Les Baholoholo*, 227–228.

In a number of African tribes childless women are not divorced. There is always a chance that they will bear in one way or another. But if a childless widow returns to her group her people must return the bride payments. If, however, she is married again the payments must again be returned to her family:

No claim can be made for restitution of purchase cattle, whether there is issue of the marriage or not. Hence it comes that we find young women of twenty or under married to octogenarians as minor wives, having children with the same regularity that is expected when both husband and wife are young. The "fancy man" is a recognized institution among the younger wives of old men. . . . Should a childless widow return to her own people, and the cattle be restored to her late husband's representatives, and she remarry, the restored cattle must again be handed over to her friends. In this last case it is not she who failed as a wife, as is evidenced by another man marrying her.[1]

The above examples are taken mainly from Africa, but the levirate pattern may take almost precisely the same shape independently in widely separated cultures. Von Haxthausen gives a parallel among the Ossetes of the Caucasus, and Codrington one from Melanesia, where the pattern follows more closely than the African examples the classificatory definition of the equivalence of personalities:

A woman who has borne children cannot, after the death of her husband, marry again out of the family: she has been purchased, and is their property. The father or brother of the deceased may marry her, which, indeed, the Ossetes consider a matter of duty, a point of honor: they look upon it as a continuation of the first marriage, which is indissoluble. [The children of the second marriage rank as children of the first and inherit the name and property in the same manner.] This idea is carried out still further. If the deceased husband has left no brother or father surviving, and the widow is thus obliged to remain unmarried, she is not on that account prevented from living with other men; and any children which may result from such connections are considered the legitimate offspring of the first marriage. We had . . . an example before us: our hostess was a widow, and had three daughters by her deceased husband; he had been dead five years, but she was nursing a child less than twelve months old. This boy was the heir to the farm, bore the husband's name, and supplanted in the inheritance the daughters born in wedlock, who received nothing of their father's property, but would be eventually sold for the profit of this bastard.[2]

[1] Macdonald, J., "Manners, Customs, Superstitions, and Religions of South African Tribes," *Jour. Anth. Inst.*, **19**: 272–273.

[2] Haxthausen, A. von, *Transcaucasia. Sketches of the Nations and Races between the Black Sea and the Caspian*, 403–404.

The levirate obtains as a matter of course [in Melanesia]. The wife has been obtained for one member of a family by the contributions of the whole, and if that member fails by death, some other is ready to take his place, so that the property shall not be lost; it is a matter of arrangement for convenience and economy whether a brother, cousin, or uncle of the deceased shall take his widow. The brother naturally comes first; if a more distant relation takes the woman he probably has to give a pig. In Lepers' Island if a man who is a somewhat distant cousin of the deceased wishes to take the widow, he adds a pig to the death feast of the tenth or fiftieth day to signify and support his pretensions, and he probably gives another pig to the widow's sisters to obtain their good will. If two men contend for the widow she selects one, and the fortunate suitor gives a pig to the disappointed. In fact a woman, when once the proper payment has been made for her, belongs to those who have paid—the family generally; hence a man . . . will set up his sister's son in life by handing over to him one of his own wives; not because the young man has a right to his uncle's wives, but because the woman is already in the family.[1]

But in this situation, as so frequently, we find a difference in points of view and patterns, and instances like the following could be multiplied where the levirate practice is tabu:

There is [among the Manobos of Mindanao] absolutely no trace of a levirate system by which the nearest male kinsman must marry his deceased brother's widow. On the contrary, a marriage with any relative's widow is absolutely tabu, and this tabu, as far as my observations warrant the assertion, is never violated.[2]

In the Himalaya Mountains there is a notable marriage arrangement known as Tibetan polyandry, whereby a woman is married to the eldest son in a family and shared by his younger brothers who remain otherwise unmarried. The practice resembles the levirate as a device for the conservation and continuity of property and in the sharing of wives among equivalent persons, as was pointed out by Grenard[3] in a comparison of the Turkomans and the Tibetans. The practice of both, he says, has the effect of handing women on from one family member to another, but among the Turkomans the rights of junior brothers were suspended until the death of the eldest brother while among the Tibetans they were not suspended at all.

In connection with the inheritance of property in land there are two contrasted definitions of the situation. The most prominent practice is based on primogeniture, whereby the eldest son

[1] Codrington, *The Melanesians*, 244–245.
[2] Garvan, J. M., "The Manobos of Mindanao," *Natl. Acad. Sci., Mem.*, **23**: 109.
[3] Grenard, F., *Tibet*, 252–253.

retains the land and is made responsible in some way for the welfare of the younger children. On the other hand, the history of the settlement of America shows that it was an ideal of fathers to acquire more and more land and endow each child (including daughters) with a farm on marriage. This was possible with an abundance of free and cheap land, and there was consequently a tendency for the youngest son to remain with the parents until their death and then retain the homestead—a practice called "borough English."

Tibetan polyandry represents a concept of property adjustment and a more thoroughgoing application of the primogeniture pattern than is usual. In European peasant communities the eldest brother sometimes retains the land and buys the shares of the younger children, and in other cases the land is divided on some basis. But around the year 1870 the first plan became difficult and the second impossible. With division of land through generations the holdings were in some cases approaching the size of bed blankets. The escape from this was emigration in the first place and later industrialism. If under these conditions in Europe daughters had been salable but not so profitable an economic investment as among the Bantu, if there were nunneries to receive superfluous sisters (as in Tibet), and if the policy of accommodating the family to a given bit of land had taken the hard direction of keeping only one wife for all the brothers, we should have the Tibetan form of polyandry. Polyandry means by no means the freedom of a woman to have all the husbands she pleases, but represents a minimum satisfaction of the claims of men:

> It is a custom among the Sudras, such as Kanaits, that the eldest of four or five brothers marries a wife according to the customs of the country. The wife thus married is told that all the brothers shall treat her as their common wife, and the wife also agrees to this and takes every one of them as her husband. Thus the woman is considered the common wife of all, provided the husbands are own brothers.[1]
>
> When a Jat is well-to-do he generally procures a wife for each of his sons, but if he is not rich enough to bear the expenses of many marriages he gets a wife for the eldest son only, and she is expected to, and as a rule does, accept her brothers-in-law as cohusbands. There is no attempt to conceal the fact and it is even a common thing when women quarrel for one to say to the other, "You are one so careless of your duty as not to admit your husband's brothers to your embraces."[2]

Polyandry, or the custom of a woman having more husbands than one at one time, is peculiar to the Himalayas. It exists in the Kulu

[1] Mian Durga Singh, "A Report on the Panjab Hill Tribes," *Indian Antiquary*, **36**: 277.
[2] Kilpatrick, C. S., "Polyandry in the Panjab," *Indian Antiquary*, **7**: 86.

subdivision, the Bashahr state (Simla Hill States) and to a smaller extent in the Nahan, Mandi, and Suket states. The custom is common among the Kanets of the higher hills, but the lower castes also practice it and the Rajputs and other castes residing in the tracts where this custom is prevalent, also appear to have been influenced by it.

The polyandry practiced is generally of the fraternal type, known as Tibetan. All the brothers in a family have usually one joint wife. But only full brothers can do so, although in some cases, stepbrothers and cousins who are on as intimate terms as full brothers are allowed to share the common wife. In rare cases, persons belonging to different families marry a joint wife by agreement and merge their separate properties into a joint holding.

The wife is married by a ceremony resembling marriage by capture. . . . The rule about access to the wife is different in different places. The elder brother usually has the preference, and it is only in his absence that the younger brother can enjoy her company. But where the younger brothers go out for trade or on other business and one of them comes back periodically, the eldest brother allows him the exclusive use of the wife during his short visit. Where, however, all the brothers stay at home, the wife not unfrequently bestows her favors on all of them equally, by turn, one evening being reserved for each. The house usually has two rooms, one for the wife and the other for the husbands. When one brother goes into the wife's room, he leaves his shoes or hat (*topu*) at the door, which is equivalent to the notice "engaged," and if another brother wishes to visit the wife, he has, on seeing the signal, to return to the men's apartment.

All the sons of the wife by whichsoever husband begotten, are generally called the sons of the eldest brother, but the son calls all the husbands of his mother as his fathers. Indeed, the larger the number of fathers, the prouder the son feels. In some places, the first son is supposed to belong to the eldest husband, the second to the second, and so on, even though the second husband may have been absent at the time of conception of the second son. In other cases, the wife is permitted to name the father of each boy, and if she is not particularly scrupulous, she names each time the richest of the brothers as the father of the boy. The brothers may, if necessary, marry a second or a third joint wife or one of the brothers who may have gone out may marry a separate wife there. When he returns home, it depends on the choice of the wife whether she will remain the exclusive wife of the husband who married her or become the joint property of the family. Cases are known in which a family of three brothers has three or as many as four joint wives.[1]

This is not, in fact, a morally irresponsible system. Only brothers younger than the husband have claims on the wife, and their claims cease when they remove from the family property. There was usually a restriction of the practice to the sons of the

[1] *Census of India*, 1901, **14**, Part 1: 287.

same father. In case of the death of the eldest brother the wife may or may not remain with the younger ones, but if she leaves she must be divorced from the dead man, which is accomplished by uniting her to him with a string and then breaking the string:

The custom of several brothers making one woman their common wife to keep the ancestral property entire and undivided is said to have had its origin in Khams, where it is to this day extensively practiced. . . . The wife is claimed by the younger brothers as their wife only so long as they continue to live with the eldest one. When they separate from their eldest brother they cannot ask him to pay compensation for their share in the wife, and she remains the lawful wife of the eldest brother.[1]

At the time of the last census polyandry as practiced in Sikkim and Eastern Tibet was inquired into by Mr. Earle, then Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling, on the basis of a set of questions drawn up by me in 1891. The information collected was carefully verified and may be regarded as substantially correct:

"If the eldest of a group of brothers marries a woman, she is regarded as the common wife of all the brothers. It does not, however, necessarily follow that she will cohabit with all the younger brothers. She exercises much liberty in this respect, and it will depend upon her pleasure as to whether she will cohabit with any particular younger brother. If the eldest brother (*i.e.*, the real husband) dies, the wife passes to one of the younger brothers according to her own selection. Should her choice fall on the next brother, she will still be the common wife of the younger brothers. Should, however, she select any of the younger brothers, she will be the common wife only of those younger than him, and, if he be the youngest, she will be his wife only. If the eldest brother of a group of brothers does not marry, but the second or third brother does so, then the wife will be the common wife of such second or third brother and his younger brothers only. Elder brothers, in such cases, will separate and leave the family, having no claim on the wives of the younger brothers. Cousins, both on the father's and mother's side, and half brothers may be admitted as members of the group of brothers only if the husband agrees and has no brothers of his own. Several cousins cannot take a wife between them except in the instance just quoted. There are instances in the Darjeeling district, but apparently not in Sikkim or Tibet, of a number of men, not brothers or near relations, taking a wife between them, but this appears to be a novel practice introduced for purposes of economy. There appears to be no tradition of any such custom in Sikkim and Tibet in former times."[2]

[In Ladak] if the elder brother dies, the wife, provided she has no children, can rid herself of his brothers, who are her minor husbands, by a simple ceremony. One of her fingers is attached with a thread to a

[1] Sarat Chandra Das, *Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibet*, 327.

[2] Risley, H. H., *The People of India*, 211 (London: W. Thacker & Company; Calcutta: Thacker, Spink and Co. By permission).

finger of her dead husband. The thread is then broken and by this action she is divorced from the corpse, and consequently from the two surviving brothers at the same time.[1]

It has been argued that polyandry in Tibet and also among the Todas living in the Nilgiri Hills of southern India is due to a scarcity of women, but this is not confirmed for Tibet by British officials responsible for taking the census of India:

I have never [says Risley] heard it assigned to a scarcity of women, and there is no reason to believe that the proportion of the sexes in Sikkim and Tibet is not fairly equal. Religious zeal, however, encourages professed celibacy especially among the men, and according to Mr. Earle "superfluous women become nuns or prostitutes or remain single."[2]

On the other hand, the Toda practice seems definitely correlated with scarcity of women on account of female infanticide. Rivers reports that

there is no doubt whatever as to the close association of the polyandry of the Todas with female infanticide. As we have seen, the Todas now profess to have completely given up the practice of killing their female children, but it is highly probable that the practice is still in vogue to some extent. It has certainly, however, diminished in frequency, and the consequent increase in the proportion of women is leading to some modification in the associated polyandry.[3]

If this assumption of Rivers' is correct we have in the Toda and Tibetan practices a case of convergent evolution, where the same pattern is reached by different routes.

In the statement of Sarat Chandra Das above we have an indication that the Tibetan practice spread from a place of origin to neighboring groups. In a Russian volume on the Gilyaks of Siberia we find an unorganized and sentimental relationship capable of becoming organized and fashionable:

Sternberg met in the village of Tangi a family in which two brothers lived regularly with one wife, the union being based only on sentiment, for the younger brother was rich and could buy a wife for himself.[4]

In the African levirate and in Tibetan polyandry we find an extreme subordination of the marriage concept to the utility concept and we may find the same extreme subordination in other marriage patterns. In several localities an infant boy may be married to a grown girl, the practical aspect of the arrangement

[1] Knight, E. F., *Where Three Empires Meet*, 139.
[2] Risley, *op. cit.*, 212.
[3] Rivers, W. H. R., *The Todas*, 518 (The Macmillan Company. By permission).
[4] Czaplicka, M. A., *Aboriginal Siberia*, 101, n.

being that the services of the girl are thus secured for some years in advance of the physical maturation of the husband:

A father, when his son is at the age of six or eight, sometimes purchases for him, as a wife, a girl of fourteen or sixteen, and cohabits with his so-called daughter-in-law; she becomes perhaps the mother of a son, for whom, when about six years old, the nominal father again purchases a wife, and in turn lives with her.[1]

Bogoras describes the same situation among Russian peasants and mentions a case among the Siberian Chukchee where the husband was only two years old and was nursed by his bride:

I was told of a boy of two, who was still being nursed, and who had lost his mother. She had died of influenza. Since the family wanted a woman worker, the infant boy was almost immediately married to a full-grown girl. In due time the bride bore a child from a marriage companion. When she was nursing her own child, she also nursed her infant husband. Chukchee boys often are nursed until five or six years old.[2]

Kinship behavior may take accentuated directions as between certain relatives in the way of greater dependence and liberties. Uncles and aunts in particular may tend to become active father and mother surrogates, and frequently the relationship becomes highly specialized. The nephew, for example, among the Hottentots,

could take, without asking, any of the specially fine animals among his [maternal] uncle's herd, and the uncle had no redress but to take misformed, ugly animals from his nephew's herds. This exchange is called ||*nuti* ||*as*, and is still practiced by the Nama today.[3]

The extreme indulgence of the sister's son is typical for groups that were once matrilineal, with inheritance from the maternal uncle, and the "stealing" expresses the persistence of a claim that is not valid under patrilineal organization:

A man does not inherit from his [maternal] uncle, but he cannot "steal" from him; that is, he may help himself to his uncle's things and, with regard to such things as fowls and guinea fowls, this license extends to the whole of the uncle's clan settlement.[4]

The same situation is described by Rivers with reference to Melanesia:

[In Mota] the relationship between a man and his mother's brother is very close throughout the Banks Islands. In the old days there is no

[1] von Haxthausen, *op. cit.*, 402–403.
[2] Bogoras, *op. cit.*, 578.
[3] Hoernlé, *op. cit.*, 23.
[4] Rattray, *The Tribes of the Ashanti Hinterland*, 1: 273.

doubt that the sister's son would have been the heir of his uncle and would have taken all his property, including any objects of magical value, but at the present time this has been much modified. There are even now complicated regulations enjoining certain payments from the children of a dead man to his sister's children, but at the present time when these payments have once been made, the sister's children have no further right to the property of their uncle. In addition to this potential right to the property of an uncle after his death, any of his goods may be taken by his sister's son during his lifetime, a right which is the source of many quarrels. It was said that even the most valuable possessions, such as pigs or canoes, might be taken in this way, but there is little doubt that this is a prescriptive right which is not put into practice. The difference in the status of the uncle and father is brought out very clearly in one way. If a man imposed on his sister's son a difficult task which resulted in his death or injury, no compensation could be demanded, but if a man put his own son to such a task compensation could be demanded by the mother's brother of the boy. If a man who is fighting is told to stop by his mother's brother he will do so at once, and it was said that if he had refused in the past he would have been killed by his uncle, but a man told by his father to stop would only do so if he felt inclined. A man treats his mother's brother with far greater respect than his father and may not put his hand above his head. If the uncle were sitting down in the house and something his sister's son wanted were hanging above his head, the nephew would not think of taking it but would wait till his uncle had gone. A man is usually initiated into the *sukwe* by his mother's brother, and directly after the birth of a first child a ceremony takes place . . . in which the maternal uncles of the child take part. Before a child has been initiated into the *sukwe* he may go into the *gamal* but only into that of his uncle, not into that of his father.

The sister's son always goes in his uncle's canoe; it would not be necessary for a man to ask his nephew but the latter would take his place naturally, and if he refused to go he would be a despised man and if young he might be thrashed by his uncle.

Various objects which possess power connected with different kinds of magic are usually inherited even now by the sister's son and the latter may be called on to help in any ritual which his uncle is carrying out.

At the death of a man his sister's son can *naro* or tabu any food he chooses. The result of this is that the widow may neither eat this food nor cook it. Other relatives can thus naro food but it seems to be especially the privilege of the sister's son.[1]

These claims on the maternal uncle reach their climax among a Polynesian group in the Island of Tonga:

As the sister is superior in rank to the brother, so also are her children, both male and female. Moreover, the sister's children are superior to

[1] Rivers, *The History of Melanesian Society*, **2**: 136–138 (Cambridge University Press. By permission).

the brother's children. The sister's children are *fahu* (Fijian *vasu*) to their mother's brother. They have the privilege of taking their uncle's goods, also the goods of his children, either during his life or after his death. Even one of the uncle's wives might be appropriated. At the wedding of a man's child, his sister's children may help themselves to the presents. The brother's children must show respect (*fakaapaapa*) to the sister's children. The institution of fahu is a one-sided, nonreciprocal affair. The victims never have a chance to retaliate, but they exercise similar privilege towards their own mother's brother and his offspring. Towards one's fahu only respect and acquiescence must be shown. To appropriate the property of the fahu would be a serious breach of custom.

One chiefly informant remarked to me that he was lucky in having no closely related fahu, as he had no sister. He had, however, female cousins, whose children were fahu to him to a certain extent, but not like a real or great fahu. One such remote fahu visited this chief while I was with him, his father's brother's daughter's daughter. She did not have the privilege of a near fahu but must ask his permission before taking his property. . . .

Modern Tongan dictionaries describe the fahu as "one that is above the law," and the verb *fakafahufahu* as "to act as an outlaw." In actual practice the fahu (or *ilamutu*, to use the term of relationship) often did appropriate the property of his mother's brother (*tuasina*), who as a rule did not protest. At the kava ceremony the fahu ate the relish presented to his mother's brother. The grandchildren, also referred to as fahu, had the same privilege. . . .

A striking example, if true, of the attachment of a man to a relative who was probably his sister's son is afforded by the tradition of the murder of the Tui Tonga Havea I, who reigned about 1350. Havea was assassinated while bathing and his body cut in two. Only the trunk was recovered. When Lufe, the chief of the dead Tui Tonga's mother's family, learned of the king's death, he said: "The Tui Tonga is dead. He has died a bad death, for he is cut in two. Come and kill me and join my buttocks and legs to the Tui Tonga's trunk, so that the corpse may be complete." His relatives obeyed him. They slew him to make the Tui Tonga's body complete and then buried the remains.[1]

There is, however, evidence that certain claims on mother's brother and father's sister are expressions of kinship intimacy without regard to whether descent and inheritance are in the one line or the other. Both mother's brother and father's sister are kinship equivalents, the maternal uncle behaving somewhat as a male mother and the father's sister as a female father. Radcliffe-Brown says in a communication to Gifford:

The behavior pattern of mother's brother and sister's son is determined very frequently by regarding the mother's brother as a kind of male

[1] Gifford, E. W., "Tongan Society," *Bernice P. Bishop Mus., Bull.*, **61**: 22–25.

mother. (In Tonga and here in South Africa he is actually called "male mother.") Since the mother is the person from whom care and indulgence is expected, the same may also be expected from the mother's brother by his sister's son, but in an even greater measure, since they are of the same sex. Inversely the father's sister is a sort of female father, and where, as in Polynesia and Africa, the attitude to the father is one of respect and obedience, it is this same attitude that the brother's son must adopt to his father's sister, but very definitely emphasized by the difference of sex. So we get license towards the mother's brother and excessive respect towards the father's sister associated together in Polynesia and Africa, because they are both the product of the same factors, factors that only seem to be completely active in patrilineal societies.[1]

Lowie, basing a statement on a letter from Swanton, says:

The father's sister was a very significant personage in Pawnee life. She and the household which she belonged to, all of whom were known as "fathers" and "mothers" . . . had a very vivid concern for the welfare of her brother's children and their descendants, and she looked after them in case anything happened to their own father. If any of these children visited her or her people and merely expressed a wish for something, it was immediately handed over, and therefore it was not etiquette to visit her very frequently. Murie says he was once punished by his mother for doing so. The feeling, or obligation, was not reciprocal.[2]

In Melanesia the relation of father's sister to nephew resembles that of a father. She arranges his career and receives extraordinary respect from him:

The relation between a woman and her brother's child is one of the utmost importance in the Banks Islands. She is called *veve vus rawe* in Mota and corresponding terms in other islands, this name being due to a ceremony in which she takes a leading part. When a man is initiated into the division of *avtagataga* in the *sukwe* a number of women assist, who by this ceremony come to stand in the relation of veve vus rawe to the initiate, the name being connected with a ceremony in which the initiate strikes (vus) the head of a tusked pig of the kind called rawe. In this ceremony the leading part is taken by the father's sister.

The father's sister may also be called *maranaga*, a name used for one of high rank and now adopted as the word for king or queen. She receives the greatest respect from her nephew who will not say her name, though he will take food from her and will eat with her from the same dish. It is a sign of the times that children now sometimes call their father's sister by name in order to annoy her, and I was told of a case where a woman was made to cry by her nephews and nieces treating her in this unceremonious fashion. If there is any rumor about a man or if it is known that anyone is desirous of injuring him, it is his father's sister who

[1] *Ibid.*, **61**: 24.
[2] Lowie, R. H., "Hopi Kinship," *Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., Anth. Pap.*, **30**: 385.

tells him of it, and she will always keep her ears open for any news which would concern her brother's child.

It is in connection with marriage that the role of the father's sister becomes of the most importance. She arranges the marriage of her nephew in the ordinary course, and if the latter chooses for himself, she may forbid the match. A man would never marry against the will of his father's sister. It seemed also that if an unmarried woman wished to have sexual relations with a man she would first approach his father's sister, it being usual in Melanesia for such a proposal to come from the woman. . . .

There is a certain amount of community of goods between a man and his father's sister. The latter could take her nephew's things but only those which he had received from his father. If a man wants any of the possessions of his father's sister, it is customary first to ask her son but they may be taken without his permission.

This account applies to Mota. In Motlav a definite contrast was pointed out in the behavior towards mother and father's sister. The mother may be spoken to strongly (*maremare, i.e.*, emphatically and with assurance), but this is not permissible in addressing the father's sister. In Rowa it was said that the father's sister would not choose a wife for her nephew but would forbid a match of which she did not approve and in such a case she would always be obeyed. Here it was said that a woman would not speak "boldly" to her nephew, *i.e.*, in the way which in Mota is called *wuwang*. On the other hand, however, a man will never speak to his father's sister till she has first spoken and this was definitely said to be a sign of respect. In Merlav the father's sister arranges her nephew's marriage or forbids one arranged by himself. It was especially said here that a man would not *poroporo* [chaff] his father's sister and that if he does so, she has to give a feast, all the expenses of which have to be paid by her nephew. This custom probably holds good of the other islands. In Vanua Lava the father's sister was said to find part of the money paid by her nephew for his wife.[1]

In the same connection the position of the husband of the father's sister is defined by her nephew in terms of contempt, as indicating his unworthiness of an association with the aunt:

The special feature about [the husband of the father's sister] . . . who is called *usur*, is that he is continually the subject of chaff from his wife's nephew. People will poroporo this relative continually, and will use special words in speaking to him which are called *usur-gae*. As examples I will take the special case . . . in which Virsal is the usur of my informant John. If John or his sister were to see a pig wallowing they would say, "There is Virsal." If they heard a flying fox in the night and met Virsal next morning, they would say, "We heard you last night." If they heard a kingfisher, they would say, "Your food is the body of

[1] Rivers, *The History of Melanesian Society*, 1: 38–40 (Cambridge University Press. By permission).

Virsal," and anyone hearing this would know how they were related to Virsal. If they see Virsal going to the beach, they will say that he is going to eat *manvat* (a wormlike creature) or the sea slug. If people are talking about Virsal and inquire where he is, John will say that he is in *Panoi* (Hades) or in some sacred place which he will name. If a dance is about to take place, and John knows that Virsal is to be there, he will go too, rush up to his uncle and threaten him with a club; he will seize him and will only relax his hold when he has been given money, which Virsal will have brought with him, knowing quite well what is about to happen. According to our informant the idea of all this is to emphasize the importance of the father's sister. Before Virsal married, John would have heaped all sorts of opprobrious epithets on him because he would not think him good enough to marry his father's sister, and John thought that the chaff and usur-gac are a continuation of this mode of conduct after the marriage, intended to magnify the importance of the father's sister.[1]

The governmental aspect of the influence of the father's sister is seen in Africa, among the Bavenda:

A chief is succeeded by his son, whose appointment lies in the hands of the *makhadzi* (father's sister) and the *khotsimunene* (father's brother), subject to certain regulations. . . . All the respect and obedience which was due to the father by his son is transferred on his father's death to his female father and his little father, and until their deaths they have the right to command the person of their late brother's son whom they have appointed to represent their family. . . . All vital matters connected with the state must be referred to her [his female father] and if her desires do not coincide with those of the chief he is supposed to follow her judgment.[2]

A feeling of the equivalence of brothers and other close relatives is seen in Lowie's description of the mode of recruiting members among the Crow military societies:

If a member of a society had been killed by the enemy, his fellow members offered presents to a brother or other close relative of the slain man in order to make him fill the vacancy. This was done even if the brother was already a member of some other organization. If the brother of the slain man was but an infant, his parents themselves might say, "When this child grows up, we will have him join the Fox society." No matter how young he was, the boy was then considered a Fox. If the parents made no such declaration, the Foxes (or other societies) nevertheless kept the boy in mind, and when they considered him old enough, they went to his lodge in a body and said, "We wish you to replace your relative, So-and-so, who was a member and was killed."

[1] Rivers, *The History of Melanesian Society*, 1: 40 (Cambridge University Press. By permission).
[2] Stayt, H. A., *The Bavenda*, 195–196 (Oxford University Press. By permission).

This seems to have been by far the most common way of joining a military organization. More rarely, a man who liked the songs and dances of a society or had brothers who were members simply joined without any formality or any payment from or to members. Sometimes, Bell-rock informed me, a society would give presents to a man to make him join even without his brother's being killed. . . .

Bear-gets-up had four Lumpwood brothers who were killed by the Dakota when he was a little boy. The Lumpwoods gave him presents to make him take the place of his brothers, and he joined at the age of twenty-three or twenty-four. Later, when the Hidatsa introduced the Crazy Dog society, Bear-gets-up joined it without giving up his membership in the Lumpwood society. When his Hidatsa comrade died, Bear-gets-up left the Crazy Dogs. Lone-tree's uncle, a Crazy Dog, froze to death; the Crazy Dogs met and gave property to Lone-tree, then about twenty years old, in order to make him join. He consented, and never joined any other organization. Arm-round-the-neck and an anonymous informant had Lumpwood brothers who were killed, and were accordingly taken in by the Lumpwoods to fill the vacancy. For a corresponding reason Shot-in-the-arm and Sitting-elk were made to join the Fox society. One-horn had been offered presents by the Foxes as an inducement to join their society, but when a Fox brother of his had been killed, One-horn joined without accepting any gifts. When One-horn was 26 years old, one of his brothers, a Fox, was killed in battle. Sharp-horn originally entered the Fox society, because one of his brothers, a member, had been killed. When another brother who was a Lumpwood had been killed, he joined the Lumpwoods. Bear-ghost's father had been a Muddy Hand; upon his death Bear-ghost took his place. The history of Child-in-the-mouth's affiliations is especially instructive. As a boy he joined the Foxes, of which organization several of his brothers were members. When another brother, who belonged to the Muddy Hand society, had been killed, Child-in-the-mouth became a Muddy Hand. Later still, one of his Fox brothers was killed, and he accordingly rejoined the Foxes. Bull-chief had an uncle belonging to the Big Dog society and accordingly also joined. Later one of his maternal uncles who was a Fox was killed, and then the Foxes gave Bull-chief presents, thus making him join their number. Shot-in-the-hand was also taken into the Fox society to fill a slain uncle's place, and never changed his affiliations. Gros-ventre-horse at first was a Lumpwood from choice, but when a Fox brother of his had been killed, the Foxes gave him presents and he became a Fox. Old-dog, when a young man, was taken in by the Foxes, but later a Lumpwood was killed who resembled him so closely that the other Lumpwoods wished to have my informant take his place and accordingly made him join by presenting him with gifts. He always remained a Lumpwood. All of Black-bull's brothers were Foxes. Several of them died and one was killed, so the Foxes asked Black-bull to join, which he did, remaining with them all his life. Fire-weasel was at first a Fox. When he was about thirty years old, the Dakota stole all his horses. His fellow Foxes

refused to help him, but the Big Dogs offered him horses and property, and thus made him join their society, to which he always remained faithful. Old-alligator first joined the Big Dogs to take a dead brother's place, later another brother who was a Lumpwood was killed, so the Lumpwoods took in my informant. Bear-crane joined the Lumpwoods because he liked the way they hallooed and sang.[1]

The "joking relationship," referred to above and reported from parts of America, Africa, Melanesia, and Australia, is a peculiar expression of kinship and affinity intimacy. It varies in character but in general consists of mocking, ridicule, obscenity, and sex allusions. It corresponds somewhat with our practical joking, horseplay, and exchange of coarse epithets among friends. It is always a recognition of social proximity, defines claims and obligations, and regulates behavior in terms of abuse:

Among the Ila of South Africa

the most important socially of [certain] friendships is that called *musela* ("the age grade"). The parties to this are all men, and all women, born in the same year; and those who have been through the initiation ceremonies in the same year. There is a special term which these people apply to each other, *musama*. To address a person by that title who is not of your musela is a fault. A man's, or a woman's, particular friends, then, are those of his or her age grade; the outward sign being in the case of men the simultaneous growth of the *impumbe*, and in the case of women the similar stage of development in the breasts. But it is also reckoned that as a secondary musela a man or woman counts all those who belong to his or her father's and mother's age grade. The members of a musela have certain privileges in the way of liberty of speech. . . . Ba-ila have a fine sense of personal dignity, and it is a grave fault to speak to a man in such a way as to bring him into ridicule, or to curse him. Now these rules are in abeyance when one man is addressing another of the same musela. As one of our informants expresses it: "The members of a musela will curse each other always with bad curses. They will run each other down. If one of them becomes poor or a coward or a lazy person, they will always deride him; if he is brave (*mukadi*) his fellows will love him very much. But a lazy one, no, they do not love him. He who brings them into disrepute, how can they love him? The musela must always be strong in this way. . . . "

The musela of your father is yours also; you may curse him just as his fellows curse him, saying: "You lay with your mother. You lay with your sister." You need not be afraid; not a bit. Even if it be a chief of the same musela with your father or mother, you may curse him just as you curse one of your own age grade. That is how a musela is strong in not being scrupulous about elders. As your father's and

[1] Lowie, R. H., "Military Societies of the Crow Indians," *Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., Anth. Pap.*, **11**: 151–152 (rearranged).

mother's age grades are also your own, you will curse all their members as you curse your own—with curses, calumnies, derogations, ridiculings, and mockings at them and their belongings. There is a saying: *Misela, misela* ("There are age grades, *and* age grades"); one may be of energetic people, another of lazybones; others again hardhearted, or courageous; one may be of lazy vagabonds, people with nothing (*bapushi bapapa*), like bare trees stripped of their bark, and another may be all of chiefs, having many possessions. These last when one of their fellows gets into trouble, perhaps because he has cursed those of another age grade, will help him to pay. This is the social function of the musela: it is a mutual-aid society, giving assistance to its members when needed. It is possible for a man to get into an age grade not his own properly, but only by making presents to the members.[1]

In West Africa a similar relation has been reported among numerous tribes. Cousins, allied clans, and representatives of different tribes have the privilege of insulting one another and at the same time are pledged to mutual aid.[2]

Thomson has reported a form of the joking relationship in Australia which is definitely organized, extreme and obligatory, and contains obscenity and good-natured insult:

> Among the native tribes of Cape York Peninsula, North Queensland, the use of swearing and obscenity is of frequent occurrence and plays an important part in social life. In each of the tribes discussed in the present paper there is a well-defined joking relationship: by which is understood an organized type of behavior between relatives of a certain order in which it is customary, even obligatory, to make use of or to exchange, obscenities of a set and restricted nature, generally in public. As far as I am aware, the existence of this organized obscenity, which is well known in African, Melanesian, and many other primitive societies, has not been recorded hitherto in Australia. . . .
>
> When a man swears, it is not a question of what he says so much as to whom he says it, and an offense against etiquette, against the customary norm of behavior, even if unintentional, as in a *lapsus linguae* or a *faux pas*, in the presence of a *kintja* [tabu] relation, necessitates ritual purification. The behavior that is obligatory not only towards certain relatives, but sometimes, even in their presence, amounts in certain instances to the use of an almost completely different language that must be spoken in an unnatural voice, and *at*, rather than *to* the person really addressed, *i.e.*, to a third person, generally a child, and sometimes to a dog, within the hearing of the first. . . .
>
> This obligatory type of behavior is carried out in the presence of the entire camp and is often given free rein on the *nartji kintja* (the tabu ground, or sacred initiation place) during the prolonged preparations

[1] Smith, E. W., and A. M. Dale, *The Ila-speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia*, **1**: 308–310 (The Macmillan Company. By permission).

[2] Labouret, H., "La Parenté à plaisanteries en Afrique occidentale," *Africa*, **2**: 253–254.

for the ceremonies of the *okainta*, when the nartji kintja becomes a kind of men's club. . . . During preparations for a ceremony, I have heard two men . . . who were squatting on the ground engaged in making spears and ornamenting a drum, exchange a running fire of obscenities for hours on end—each preserving throughout the greatest good humor in the face of insults that in other circumstances would have been intolerable. . . . There is no doubt that the exchanges under the joking relationship do provoke genuine mirth, as well as a ritual state of well-being, that counterbalances, relieves, and gives point to, the austerity and restraint that characterize much of the behavior under the kinship system.[1]

For America the regulatory character of this relation among Plains tribes has been described by Lowie:

Individuals [of the Hidatsa] whose fathers belonged to the same clan were "joking-relatives" (*makutsati*). The basic notion of this relationship in its more serious aspects seems to be that of licensed and unrestricted criticism for an infraction of tribal custom. When a man had committed some reprehensible or improper deed, *e.g.*, married a clan mate, or shown jealousy, it was not the function of his fellow clansmen but of his makutsati to reprove him or make fun of him. They would spread the news of the wrongdoing and throw it in the offender's teeth and he was obliged to take all this in good part as the prerogative of makutsati.

These practices began even in childhood. A girl would reproach another for not knowing how to build an earth lodge, while one boy would say to another, "I have some honor marks, you have nothing." Sometimes makutsati played against each other in games.

Joking-relatives addressed one another as brothers and sisters. According to Buffalo-bird-woman, they gave one another presents; for example, Sitting-owl, whom she called younger brother, gave her horses. If a man is wounded in battle, his makutsati is expected to dismount and save him, otherwise he will get the reputation of a coward.

If a woman had been honorably bought in marriage while her makutsati had merely eloped with her sweetheart, the former would twit the latter with this difference, saying "You are a bad woman, no one knows where you sleep with this man, no one knows who your first husband was," or, "You are bad, I am a good woman for I have been bought." If a woman is expert at porcupine quillwork and her makutsati is not, the former will scoff at the other for her ignorance, saying *di watskiwits*, "I sew you up," which is the word applied to the sewing up at the end of a piece of quillwork. Similarly, if one woman has done a great deal of tanning, she will make fun of another of inferior skill by saying, "I scrape your back."

[1] Thomson, D. F., "The Joking Relationship and Organized Obscenity in North Queensland," *Amer. Anth.*, N.S., **37**: 460, 465, 477.

Among male fellow jokers certain peculiar usages were in vogue. A man who has scalped a slain enemy has the right of cutting a makutsati's hair, provided the latter has no like feat to his credit or has performed it less frequently. In such a case the haircutter pays a horse to his joking-relative. Sometimes the one whose hair is threatened will say: "Give me your wife," then the joker desists, for otherwise he would have to surrender his wife. One who has struck an enemy may whip his makutsati, always granting that the latter has not done likewise. Hairy-coat said that since he had performed this greatest of war deeds he was exempt from having his hair cut and might knock down with his pipe anyone attempting to cut it.

Wolf-chief said that one who has struck an enemy, if angry at his joking-relative, may strike him, prefacing the act with the statement, "Over there I struck an enemy." One who had taken a scalp and cut off his makutsati's hair would say . . . "A man of this size his hair I got." Then he summoned his father's clansfolk, saying, "My fathers (or aunts), come and bury this enemy I have killed, and receive one of my horses." Some clan father or aunt would then come and give a blanket to the man whose hair had been cut. Before the haircutting, the man who is to suffer the indignity designates a horse belonging to his fellow joker and says, "That's the one you will pay me, and you will give up your wife too."

The other replies, "I'll give you a horse." The one whose hair was to have been cut then takes a stick, strikes his makutsati and says, "I am using your honor mark because you love your horse and your wife." Then he pays a horse to the man struck. All the other makutsati deride the one who was afraid to lose his wife and his horse. They say, "Everyone urinates on him, he is no good, he loves his wife. If anyone took her away, I am sure he would try to recover her." This alludes to the very fundamental notion that a man of standing must not be jealous. If his makutsati asked him for his wife, he was supposed to give her up, or they would jeer him all his life. If he should give her up and take her back again after a few years, he likewise became a laughingstock.

The relations between male and female fellow jokers are illustrated by some of Wolf-chief's experiences. When he was a young man, Corn-stalk and Many-women made fun of him. Both of them had made tipi decorations, which accomplishment corresponds to a man's honor marks, while my informant had not yet struck the enemy as first-coup man. Corn-stalk sent him a message, saying "I have finished my tent now and want to pitch it. Wolf-chief is a heavy man, so I shall let him be on the edge of the tent lest the wind blow it away." She made this remark because on account of his war record she considered Wolf-chief inferior to other makutsati. He sent back word to this effect: "They are right. I'll be glad to weight down their tent. They will give me a horse for that, then I'll take my honor marks on them." Once he went on a war party, which killed two women. He took off their dresses and put their bodies together. "I am going to do this to Corn-stalk and Many-

women," he declared, "then I'll give them whatever presents they may name." Wolf-chief did this to the women of the hostile camp. The two fellow jokers sent back this message: "Brother, we don't want you to do that, we'll never bother you any more." According to old Indian custom, Wolf-chief would have been permitted to carry out his threat.[1]

Among the neighboring Crow, where the same custom prevails, one of the men's societies distinguished itself by stepping up the custom to the trying level of concentration of the joking on the deaths and infirmities of the joking relatives' relatives:

The custom of *batbatue* (literally, "joking with each other") was originally a characteristic of the Big Dogs. But at one time the Lumpwoods bought it from this society and have practiced it since then. . . . Batbatue simply consisted in the privilege of members to jest about the recent loss of another member's relatives to the mourner's face. The mourner might not get angry, provided the jesters were fellow Lumpwoods. According to Bear-gets-up, no jokes were made about the death of a wife's brother or of a sister's husband.

If a member had lost a half-witted brother, some other member, as soon as he had discovered the fact, would address the mourner, saying, "Your brother has died, you will not be able to get another like him." If the half-witted person had any peculiarities of action, the joker imitated them. The mourner was not permitted to get angry, but was expected to laugh at the jests. Recently, when the Indians were going to the Agency for a Fourth of July celebration, a half-witted boy named Eating-fish died. His brother, Yellow-face, said that he was having bad luck and turned back. Thereupon a Lumpwood asked another in Yellow-face's presence, "Why is Yellow-face turning back?" The other replied, "He is going back *to eat fish.*" On the Little Big Horn Charges-strong was driving Bear-wolf's (his brother's) corpse to the burial site. Bear-wolf had been a noted leader in war. Charges-strong was met by a Lumpwood who had already been informed of his fellow member's loss. This Lumpwood said, "Stop, I wish to talk with you. How much will you take for your apples in this box?" Charges-strong laughed and made no reply. "Why do you not answer? What have you in this box?" "A man." "Who is this man?" "Bear-wolf." "Oh, I thought it was a box of apples." This joking may be kept up for as long a period as the members please. A similar story was told by Fire-weasel. A Lumpwood who had lost his mother was going to bury her on a hill. Accordingly, he packed the corpse on a horse's back, and followed behind, crying. Another Lumpwood met him, and called out to the leader of the horse, "*He!* Why don't you stop? That young one is after his mother, he wishes to talk with his mother." Sitting-elk narrates that the jester might say to the mourner, "Your sister (or mother, etc.) is dead." The mourner would reply, "I eat the flesh," *i.e.*, "The flesh

[1] Lowie, "Notes on the . . . Mandan, Hidatsa, and Crow Indians," 42–44.

of the dead person is still fresh." The mourner could not get angry at the mocker's speeches, on the contrary, he liked to hear them.

Several instances were recounted by Bear-gets-up: "At one time all the members of the Lumpwoods were motherless except Two-whistles and White-buffalo. These two generally made fun of the others for not having a mother. When we had moved to a new camp site, White-buffalo asked the first man he met whether he knew of any Lumpwood lodging with his mother. The man repeated the question to the first Lumpwood he met, and that evening one of the Lumpwoods told his fellow members about White-buffalo's query. Then all waited for a chance to make fun of White-buffalo whenever his mother should die. One night she died, and White-buffalo came into the society's lodge looking for two men to help him bury her. Then I told him, 'It is very good for you not to have any mother. You will never more say, "*Iga.*" I am very glad your mother is dead; you will be like myself, motherless.' Thus I got even with him.

"Another Lumpwood lost his wife. Two or three fellow members helped him bury her. Then they sat down with him for a while, and one of them said, to the mourner, 'You will not have a wife today, shall you?' Thus they joked at that very place, but the mourner did not mind it."[1]

Among the Haida the term *athlnungkas* (meaning primarily "child of the father's clansman"),

refers to a person of either sex whose father belonged to the same clan as the speaker's father, but is never used for a member of the speaker's own clan. . . . Between two men the relationship is one of excessive intimacy and license. Like two brothers, they hunt and fish together, and have the right to ask each other for articles of property. When one is in trouble, the other comes to his assistance. If one contemplates an adventure or lark of any kind, *e.g.*, to keep a tryst with a pair of unmarried girls, he will ask his athlnungkas to accompany him in preference to anyone else. The most striking feature of the relationship is the license it permits. The two men play practical jokes upon one another. Like college roommates amongst ourselves, they heap insults and scurrilous language upon each other without ever taking offense. One will even, in jest, employ the most potent rites of black magic against the other in the latter's presence. The joking does not cease even on the deathbed. In one reported case, for instance, a younger man, while visiting his aged athlnungkas as the latter lay seriously ill, happened to notice some attractive food and immediately offered aloud a prayer for his friend's speedy demise so that he himself might enjoy the victuals. In Skidegate this license, though prevalent, does not go to quite such extremes as in Masset and Hydaburg.

[1] Lowie, "Military Societies of the Crow Indians," 167–168.

Between women the relationship is much less prominent, but a similar license in a milder form does prevail. Between a man and a woman liberties are inhibited between the puberty and marriage of the latter by a tabu similar to that between brother and sister. After the woman's marriage, however, at least in Masset, a moderate amount of joking, unconventional language, and even physical intimacy is allowed.[1]

A somewhat similar custom among the Fijians is recorded by Hocart:

Tauvu is a relationship between two groups, whether tribes or subdivisions of a tribe. Two groups that are tauvu to each other exercise in their mutual relations certain privileges of appropriation and ill manners, called *veitauvutaki*. These privileges are thus described by Liwake of Lakemba: " . . . If a man goes to another place, where he is tauvu, he can slaughter pigs for his own use without asking leave; *veitauvu* may abuse each other and not resent it." . . . A Lomaloma man says that if a stranger goes into a village and jokes, strokes or ruffles the head of a villager they know he is their tauvu because the head is "a respected part." . . . Keni Naulu of Lomaloma says tauvu use bad language to each other and are not aggrieved by it; it is just the same between men and women as between people of the same sex; on meeting they will say: "Where does this son of dead parents come from," or "this dead body." . . . Enare Ravula, of Namata, tells me that if their men go to Namara, their tauvu, the women of that place will pull off their good kilts and appropriate anything they fancy, and for that reason Namatans never put on good kilts when they go to Namara.[2]

In New Guinea

the Mundugumor [says Mead] divide the kin up into those persons with whom one jokes, those whom one avoids in shame, and those whom one treats with varying shades of ordinary intimacy. A joking-relative is not a person with whom one may joke if one wishes, but rather a relative towards whom joking is the correct behavior, a kind of behavior that is as culturally fixed as shaking hands.

Perhaps it will make the matter clearer to imagine what it would be like if one were taught in America to shake hands with one's uncles and kiss the hands of one's aunts, while when one met a grandparent, one took off one's hat, threw away one's cigarette or pipe, and stood rigidly at attention, and upon meeting a cousin the correct behavior was to thumb one's nose. Imagine further that in a small, inbred rural community, relationships were traced a very long way in every genealogical line, and so not only one's mother's sisters and one's father's sisters but all of their first and even second cousins of the female sex were called "aunt," until there were some twenty or thirty relatives of varying ages

[1] Murdock, *op. cit.*, 369.
[2] Hocart, A. M., "The Fijian Custom of Tauvu," *Jour. Anth. Inst.*, **43**: 101.

in the community, all of whom had to have their hands kissed, and an equal number at whom one thumbed one's nose. It will be seen also that in such a large group, one's "aunts" and "uncles" and "cousins" would be of all ages, and would occur in the same school or the same play group. This approximates the normal condition in a primitive society that insists upon different treatment for different classes of relatives. In Mundugumor everyone must be continually on the alert and ready to respond with the appropriate behavior. A failure to joke is more serious than a failure of an American to greet properly an acquaintance upon the street. It may easily be as serious as a failure to salute a superior officer, or to acknowledge a possible employer's friendly greeting. . . .

So a Mundugumor child is taught that everyone who is related to it as mother's brother, father's sister, sister's child of a male, brother's child of a female, and their spouses, is a joking-relative with whom one engages in roughhouse, accusations of unusual and inappropriate conduct, threats, much bullying, and the like. If a man meets his father's sister—and this applies not only to his father's own sister but to all the women whom his father calls sister, and whom we should call first, second, sometimes third cousins of his father—he slaps her on the back, tells her she is getting old, will probably die soon, has a frightful-looking bone ornament in her nose, and he tries to pull some areca nut out of her carrying basket. Similarly when a man meets a brother-in-law, any man whom his wife calls brother or any man married to a woman whom he calls sister, he must be shy and circumspect, not ask him for an areca nut or offer to share food with him, but greet him with great coolness tinged with embarrassment. The world is early presented to the child as one in which there are a large number of such fixed relationships, with a separate behavior pattern appropriate to some and highly inappropriate and insulting to others, a world in which one must be always upon one's guard, and always ready to respond correctly and with apparent spontaneity to these highly formal demands. . . . Even gaiety is not in any sense a relaxation for a Mundugumor; he must always be gay on the right occasions and addressing the right persons; he must always be watchful that none of the persons towards whom, or in the presence of whom, such behavior would be incorrect are anywhere about. This gives a tight-rope quality to all jest and laughter; Mundugumor laughter is bright, but not happy; it has a harsh sound as it crackles in its defined tracks.[1]

Some of these joking relationships extend beyond the limits of kinship, as in the tauvu relation just mentioned, and take the form of rivalry and license between divisions and neighbors. Notably among the Crow Indians two societies, the Foxes and Lumpwoods, were in a friendly rivalry which expressed itself in insults connected with war honors and in the periodic kidnaping of one another's wives: Thus,

[1] Mead, M., *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies*, 200–202 (William Morrow & Company, Inc. By permission).

between the Fox and Lumpwood organizations [says Lowie] there obtained a feeling of rivalry that was quite free from any personal hostility. Th s feeling was principally revealed in two ways: in war, and in the attempt to steal the wives of the other society's members. . . . Theoretically a Fox or Lumpwood was entitled to kidnap a woman only if he had been previously on terms of intimacy with her. If she had had nothing to do with her supposed lover, she would tell him he lied and refuse to go. But if she untruthfully denied her former relations, at the same time abusing her onetime lover, he and his comrades seized her by force. In practice it is obvious from various statements that men often alleged intimacy though it had never obtained and wrongfully abducted women by force. Whether a woman had any children, was of no account so far as her abduction was concerned. . . .

Least of all might a woman's husband offer resistance to the kidnaper or show any grief or resentment at her abduction. Such cases are indeed on record, but the husband invariably lost prestige, was derided in song, and was liable to have his blankets and property destroyed by the rival organization. Most disgraceful of all was it for a man to take back a woman as his wife after she had been kidnaped. Such a man was nicknamed a "holder of a crazy woman." He immediately lost caste. No matter how high his standing had been before, he was looked down upon for the rest of his life. Gray-bull said that after a man had had his wife stolen, the boys kept watch lest he should clandestinely attempt to visit or remarry her. If he was caught in the act, he was tied up, and dog or other excrements were rubbed all over him. Besides, the rival society also exercised the privilege of cutting up the blankets of every member in the offender's organization. Accordingly, when the offense became known, the offender's fellow members ran away with their blankets, but were pursued by the rival society. . . .

There was only one way a woman could normally evade abduction by a former lover—by throwing herself on his generosity. Sometimes a woman said to the man who called for her, "Yes, I was once your sweetheart, but I beg you to let me alone." In such a case she was generally not taken away. Sharp-horn said he was going to steal a woman once, but her parents begged him not to take her and so he desisted.

If a man expected his wife to be kidnaped, he generally stayed away from her lodge lest he should suffer the agony of having her taken before his eyes, which was considered an especially grievous affliction. Should he, however, be in the lodge at the time her kidnaper called, the ideal mode of conduct for him was to assume an air of bravado and order his wife to go with her former lover.[1]

After an abduction [continues Lowie] there was a ceremonial display of the captive women. The successful club would announce: "One of the Lumpwood (Fox) girls has married one of us Foxes (Lumpwoods) of her own accord!" They took her to the club lodge, where they kept up drumming, singing, and dancing most of the night. She was the only

[1] Lowie, "Military Societies of the Crow Indians," 169–171.

woman present. Her kidnaper's family treated her as a true bride, bringing her an elk-tooth dress and other garments. Early the following morning an old member went through camp, shouting, "We are going to have a good time today, get your horses and prepare for today's big dance!" The stolen woman dressed up in her new clothes, her face painted with red stripes, while the members painted as though for war. She was to ride behind a member who had once saved a Crow from a pursuing enemy, taking her up on horseback behind himself and thus earning the title of *akbapicere* (one who takes someone behind). Any other man presuming to ride with the woman was jeered and at once thrown off by the rival club. There were, in fact, further restrictions. The feat must have been achieved on the warpath,—not while defending the camp against a hostile attack, in which case the danger was not reckoned so great. Further, the horse mounted by the pair must be one cut loose from its picket in the enemy's camp; otherwise the riders were thrown off, the bridle was torn, and the horse turned loose. The entire club paraded in regular formation, two abreast, with leaders and rearmen in the van and rear, respectively; only the akbapicere and the woman remained outside the line. Similarly, they kept outside the circle formed by the society in the center of the camp, where the dancing commenced and continued until evening. The society losing the woman ostentatiously looked on during the performance with feigned indifference. At last the members of the triumphant club returned to the lodge, leaving the woman in her lover's custody. She was generally dismissed by him after a brief period of coresidence.

This season of licensed kidnaping was brief—possibly not longer than a fortnight. When all wives amenable to capture had changed husbands, the two clubs went on the warpath, each striving to score a coup before the rival organization. Whether any other club got ahead of both, did not matter. This competition made men fearless. Ordinarily a Fox was not allowed to sing a Lumpwood song and vice versa; it would be an affront. But the society that struck the first coup was said to "take away the Foxes' (Lumpwoods') songs," that is, it might use the losers' tunes and adapt to them words composed for the occasion. This meant, of course, mockery at the expense of the vanquished, who did not recover the songs until *they* had struck the first coup in a subsequent encounter.

The spirit engendered by this rivalry is illustrated by the following incident. At one time the enemy was entrenched on a high butte. A Fox officer bearing the hooked-staff went up some distance but then lay down with his emblem. A brave Lumpwood of the rank and file asked, "Has anyone struck the enemy yet?" "No, it is difficult." Then this man snatched away the Fox officer's pole, ascended the hill and struck an enemy with it. Leaving the standard over a hole on the hill, he ran back, reached his people in safety, and challenged the Foxes to retrieve their standard. None of them dared go for it. On returning to the camp, the Lumpwoods took away songs of the Foxes, who were obliged to borrow the songs of other societies.

On another occasion a Fox officer carrying the same kind of standard fled from the enemy. The Lumpwoods composed the following derisive song:

. . . You dear Foxes, you run fast. Men are wont to die.

. . . According to Gray-bull's recollection, two Lumpwood officers with hooked-staffs were killed in successive years, and in the third year one of their straight-staff bearers was killed. Then the Lumpwoods mocked the Foxes for their cowardice, seeing that they had not lost any of *their* officers. . . . With the first snowfall the spirit of competition disappeared, and the two clubs lived together in perfect amity until the next spring.[1]

[1] Lowie, R. H., *The Crow Indians*, 190–192 (Farrar & Rinehart, Inc. By permission)

Chapter VI

KINSHIP EQUIVALENTS

Adoption

The practice of adoption or the creation of social equivalents has had wide variations, ranging from the friendly interchange of children in small communities to the adoption of whole tribes by other tribes, and there is perhaps no better example of the different meanings of the same pattern and of the specialization of different aspects of the practice in different regions.

In Oceania three grades of seriousness, with different implications, are noticeable. In the Andaman Islands the exchange of children is a fashion of neighborliness:

> It is said to be of rare occurrence to find any child above six or seven years of age residing with its parents, and this because it is considered a compliment and also a mark of friendship for a married man, after paying a visit, to ask his hosts to allow him to adopt one of their children. The request is usually complied with, and thenceforth the child's home is with his (or her) foster father . . . though the parents in their turn adopt the children of other friends, they nevertheless pay continual visits to their own child, and occasionally ask permission (!) to take him (or her) away with them for a few days.
>
> A man is entirely at liberty to please himself in the number of children he adopts, but he must treat them with kindness and consideration, and in every respect as his own sons and daughters, and they, on their part, render him filial affection and obedience.
>
> It not unfrequently happens that in course of time permission to adopt a foster child is sought by a friend of the *soi-disant* father, and is at once granted (unless any exceptional circumstance should render it personally inconvenient), without even the formality of a reference to the actual parents, who are merely informed of the change, in order that they may be enabled to pay their periodical visits.[1]

In a more recent report on the Andamans Radcliffe-Brown states that "a man and his wife adopt in this way children belonging to a local group other than their own,"[2] which indicates that the natives have in mind, in addition to neighborliness, the importance of extending the limits of social intercourse.

[1] Man, E. H., "On the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands," *Jour. Anth. Inst.*, **12**: 125.
[2] Radcliffe-Brown, A. R., *The Andaman Islanders*, 78.

In the Gilbert Islands the practice is carried on more intensely and planfully and has reference both to property and to the continuance of the distinction of the adopter:

A native sometimes wishes to transfer part of his property to a brother who has been kind to him, and adopts his brother's son, thus leaving the son a portion of land. Further the native regards it as little less than a calamity if he has no one to whom he may transmit his knowledge of arts, crafts, magic, and genealogy. Another reason of adoption alleged by the Gilbertese is the desire of a middle-aged man to have a protector and companion for his old age. His children will by that time be married and busy with their own families. Adoption also cements or inaugurates a friendship between the adopter and the real parents, since by custom no enmity may exist between them.

The adoption is in general between kindred, but on Banaba (Ocean Island) adoption outside the kindred, and if possible outside the Island, was preferred, because, after the death of the adopter the son of a fellow islander would tend to carry on the name and fame of his true parents, whereas the son of a stranger would rely on the prestige of the adopter. Such an adopted child could inherit all the adopter's land, even to the exclusion of the adopter's real children.

There may be some overtures and gifts in advance of the birth of the child, but the parents are usually approached by the prospective adopter on the birth of the child. Except in the northern Gilberts this request cannot be refused even in the case of a first-born, and in the northern islands only on the ground that the prospective adopter is not of the same *utu* or kindred as the child. The parents would be ashamed to do so and would be considered *tauti* or mean by the whole community. If more than one person wishes to adopt the child, it will either go to the first comer or the applicants themselves may come to a decision.

The child continues to live with its parents until the time of weaning. The adopter will often endeavor to hasten on the time of weaning, as he will be anxious to obtain the child as young as possible in order that it will speedily forget the real parents. On the other hand, the parents have been known to protract the period of suckling in their desire to have their offspring for as long as possible. The parents are often extremely unwilling to part with their child, and it is probably only the force of native custom and the fear of social ostracism which makes them do so.

Boys and girls are adopted on the same terms. The child may be adopted either as a son or daughter or grandson or granddaughter. If a person adopts another as his *tibu* [grandson or granddaughter], this son will frequently adopt as tibu the son of the person first adopted. This process might be repeated through three, four, or even more generations.[1]

While in the Gilbert Islands the process of adoption is an obligatory courtesy, in the Banks Islands it has more the nature

[1] Maude, H. C. and H. E., "Adoption in the Gilbert Islands," *Jour. Polyn. Soc.*, **40**: 225–233 (summarized).

of a compulsion. The social features recede and it has the aspect of a legal fight:

The custom varies, but on the island of Mota, the child becomes the child of the man who pays the chief helper or midwife at the birth. The father has protection in the fact that his sister chooses the midwife and that he is on the spot, but if he is absent or has not the necessary money another may step in before him and become the "father" of the child.

The real father has the right to redeem the child but the adoptive family and its relatives make this difficult by assigning property to it, making gifts to it, and giving feasts for it, and the value of these must be paid also. Moreover, while the child stays with its parents until weaned, the adopter has paid for the food of the mother and the child during the period of nursing and for the weaning feast, and if there is question of the resumption of the child by the real parents they must repay this.

Another payment is made, called "the money of the hand of the child," when the father takes the next step in the sukwe society, and unless the child has been redeemed before this point it is almost impossible to do so, because this sum must be repaid double, and the adopter makes the payment high with a view to making repayment impossible.

A third payment is paid called "name concealment," which obliges the father never to reveal the state of affairs to his son. This payment should properly be made when the child is grown up, but it is sometimes made when he is quite young, to prevent the father from revealing the facts. Sometimes the parentage of a child is revealed by some third person, usually in a quarrel, and it is said that no Mota man is ever wholly free from doubt as to his real parentage.

The adopting father is very jealous and if the real father insists on the return of the child (which he may do if the youngster shows good qualities and is a worthy representative) the adopter may fear magical practices on the part of the real father and he will kill his supposed child rather than allow him to return to his real father. If this is attempted it is by rubbing the boy's face with a magical mixture, which may be poisonous, but this is doubtful.[1]

In San Cristoval, Solomon Islands, adoption is still further extended and institutionalized, as shown by the report of Fox:

Adoption is very widely practiced in Arosi as well as in Bauro, but as there is not much difference between the two places, and in Bauro it is, perhaps, even more prominent than in Arosi, it will be described here. There are five kinds of adoption known to me which are regularly practiced, all common and all vitally affecting the social life of the people: (1) the *marahu* adoption; (2) adoption of children or adults taken in

[1] Rivers, W. H. R., *The History of Melanesian Society*, 1: 50–53 (summarized; Cambridge University Press. By permission).

war or punished for offenses by being sold to people at a distance; (3) adoption of children by buying them from a distance; (4) adoption of children at birth; (5) adoption to keep green the memory of the dead.

(1) *The Marahu Adoption.*—The meaning of the word *marahu* has already been given as (1) a namesake, (2) one with whom a man exchanges names, (3) one with whom he exchanges wives, (4) a friend. The third is seldom seen nowadays, the first and fourth are common enough, the second is the most interesting. Most natives, one is told, have a marahu in this sense. . . . The practice is to emphasize friendship by the exchange of names, and this gives a man the status of his marahu. A small present is exchanged, and the man is considered to have a right to the property of his marahu, which will not be withheld from him; he may take his coconuts, his yams, or even tobacco from the bag of the marahu, and he has very much the close and intimate relationship to his marahu that a boy has to his *mau* or mother's brother. I should know something of the custom, as I have a marahu both in Bauro and in Arosi, and have frequently been addressed by their names, both directly and in letters. When I became marahu to a Bauro man I was received into his place in the society of the village, called all the people in it by the terms used by him, and was called by the terms they gave him. I was told how to address each, to call a young boy grandfather and another uncle; and it was explained to me that the names of certain of my new relatives must never be used, *i.e.*, the native name—the baptismal might be; and how to get over the difficulty when I wished directly to address people whose names I must never use. Above all I must never use the name of one I called *wauwa* (in practice these were elder brothers), not only in direct address but in any conversation, and he might be addressed directly as *warua* (*i.e.*, the numeral two, with the masculine prefix). I found that not only was I now Amwea, but Amwea people everywhere gave me food as a matter of course, and if I wanted a native bag or limebox, they were made for me without any payment being expected or asked, and getting boys for odd jobs became a much easier matter: tobacco, no doubt, was expected by all Amwea people when they called, and other little gifts, but this was hardly a new fact due to the marahu adoption. A marahu is a close friend with whom one is on terms of great freedom: like a boy and his uncle, carrying much the same privileges as that relationship; and is a means of adoption for a foreigner.

(2) and (3) have already been mentioned; (3) is practiced partly to get children without the trouble of rearing them, and to replenish the population dwindling through disease or from the practice of child murder; and also to strengthen alliances, thus making relatives at a distance, and sometimes ending in this way a long period of hostility.

(4) Adoption at birth is very common. In Arosi the first woman to cut the umbilical cord and shave the child's head becomes the mother. Both (3) and (4) put the child exactly into the same position as if he or she had been born into it.

(5) Adoption to keep green the memory of the dead.[1] This is common and important, in that it alters relative terms used, and brings men and women of the same age into the status of those one or two generations removed from them, and so may be the cause of the anomalous marriages found in San Cristoval, or a contributory cause of the apparent confusion in the use of relationship terms. The commonest forms of adoption in Bauro are as follows: A man adopts a small boy to the name and status of his (1) father, (2) mother's brother, (3) grandfather, and a small girl to the name and status of his (1) mother, (2) grandmother. A woman adopts a child to the name and status of (1) her father, (2) herself. The reason given is to keep green the memory of the dead, and it is usually done when the relative dies. Probably there are other forms of adoption which have not come under my notice, but these are all common. They all bring boys and girls into the status of a generation whose members should be older or younger than themselves, while the boys and girls themselves are the playmates of those of their own age whom they call grandparent or father, and some of whom they will subsequently marry. There is nothing strange to them, however strange it may seem to us, in a man marrying in another generation; and, indeed, as I have said above, generation seems hardly the right word to use in such a case; perhaps standing or status might be used. An instance of such adoption led not long since to the murder of a white man. A man's mother's brother was drowned in landing from a recruiting vessel and the man put out money to buy a boy to replace him; by a misunderstanding this was thought to have been put out for a white man in revenge for the accident, and a white man was shortly after killed for the sake of the money. Another example of such adoption is found in what I may call my own family circle. The father of my marahu, a man named Mono, wished to remember his own father Sutagera, who had lately died, and bought a boy from twenty miles away somewhat younger than or about the same age as my marahu, Waiau Gafuafaro. This boy was then called Sutagera and took his status, becoming Waiau's grandfather, though younger than Waiau. Mono's brother (and Mono himself) always called this young boy *mama* (father). I, of course, called him grandfather. Later on he married a girl of about his own age whom he called daughter, and Waiau called mother. A boy of the place may be adopted in this way and then all the terms he used before must be altered to suit his new standing.[2]

A transformation of social status by adoption is found in widely separated groups, for example, among the Polynesians, where a younger brother may even be adopted by a sister, thus changing the application of the rules of *tapu:*

Adoption was and is exceedingly common in Tonga. Many children are adopted by near relatives who have no companion or heir, particu-

[1] Perhaps this might be called "memorial adoption"; I do not remember reading of it elsewhere, unless it is this which Dr. Rivers describes in Hawaii.

[2] Fox, C. E., "Social Organization in San Cristoval, Solomon Islands," *Jour. Anth. Inst.*, **49**: 138–140.

larly children are adopted by aunts. . . . The status of an adopted child becomes completely altered. The child is no longer his father's or mother's child; he is the child of the person who adopts him. However, according to one informant, the child's father is still tapu to him. If the paternal aunt adopts a child, he ceases to act towards her as toward an aunt, but as toward a mother. Elsewhere is recorded the adoption of a baby brother by his grown sister and the consequent abrogating of the brother-sister tapu.[1]

In one family [in Tonga] a girl named Ika was so named by her paternal grandmother after her maternal grandmother and she thereby assumed the status of the grandmother, or perhaps of a mother, to her own brother. She can approach him freely, can tend him in sickness, and generally be with him without restriction by the usual tapu. In another family Tangakinakovi, daughter of the chief, Veehala, and wife of Luani, being childless, was allowed to adopt Taliauli, her full brother, all brother-sister tapu being disregarded.[2]

In America adoption was prevalent but the attitudes were different from the Melanesian and more related to family, sib, and tribal organization. There was among the Indians a strong feeling about the replacement of lost members. In the narrative of his captivity Tanner says that his capture (as a boy of nine) was brought about by the complaint of the wife of a chief that she could not live unless he brought back her youngest son, who had recently died.[3] This was an intimation that he should capture a boy of the same age. Tanner relates also that an Indian mother proposed to adopt a young Indian who had murdered her son in a drunken brawl.[4] The Indians had also the idea that the dead reappeared in some child born somewhat later and resembling the deceased in physical features, and this point of view led them also to adopt any available child resembling a recently deceased relative:

The Omaha idea of adoption differs from ours. A member of the same gens or one who is a consanguinity cannot be adopted; he or she is received by a relation. . . . Adoption is called "*ciegice,*" *to take a person instead of one's own child.* This is done when the adopted person resembles the deceased child, grandchild, nephew, or niece, in one or more features. It takes place without any ceremony. An uncle by adoption has all the rights of a real uncle. For example, when Mr. La Flesche's daughter Susette wished to go to the Indian Territory to accept a situation as teacher, and had gained the consent of her parents, Two-crows interposed, being her uncle by adoption, and forbade her departure.[5]

[1] Gifford, E. W., "Tongan Society," *Bernice P. Bishop Mus., Bull.*, **61**: 26.
[2] *Ibid.*, 22.
[3] Tanner, J., *Narrative of the Captivity and Adventures of John Tanner*, 25–26.
[4] *Ibid.*, 243–244.
[5] Dorsey, J. O., "Omaha Sociology," *Bur. Amer. Ethnol., Ann. Rep.*, **3**: 265.

In the Algonkin Fox tribe it was thought desirable to satisfy the spirit of a dead relative and continue his existence in a way in this world by adopting a person of the same age and sex:

The practice of the adoption rests in the belief that the soul will be denied a life of happy existence in the spirit world unless its mortal remains have received the full funeral rites within a period of four years, therefore its special object is to liberate the soul and send it on its joyful way to the spirit world. And the prominent feature of the ceremony is that the family of the bereaved adopts an individual to take the place left vacant by death. If the dead had been a son, then the adopted one is a son; in like manner run other relationships. There are two requirements lived up to in making the adoptions: one is that the adopted shall be of the same sex as the dead; and the other is that both must have been companions in life. A boon companion always takes precedence. Hence it is that a child is adopted for a child, a girl for a girl, a boy for a boy, a maiden for a maiden, a youth for a youth, and so on with the older people.

The adoption of the individual into another family carries with it both advantages and disadvantages. To give a general idea of the status of a person let, for example, the adopted be a youth who takes the place of a son. He enters the new family as a son and he addresses the parents as father and mother, and the children of the pair are his brothers and sisters; and his relation to other branches of the family are the same as were those of the dead. He comes into possession of property rights as if he were really a son. He enters the lodge at will and leaves when he pleases. In the affections and mental attitude of the pair he is a beloved son. Yet all this while he has not forsaken his own family, and he has lost no rights or privileges there. And if his adoption carries him into a family of another clan, then he is prevented from marrying any woman who may be related to him by adoption. So far as his own clan is concerned, he is still a member of it, and no other, and is subject to its rules and commands.

Awhile after the last rites of the adoption have been performed, the adopted gathers together some food, clothing, blankets, tobacco, and other objects of use and takes them in person as a gift to the sponsor. Some of these things the adopted has obtained at great expense and some have been donated by the relatives nearest related by blood. And from that time starts an intimate intercourse between the sponsor and the adopted and between the near blood relatives of both. And in the visit of one to the other there is generally the giving of a present, either from the guest or from the host, and sometimes from each on both sides. When the sponsor obtains a kind of food especially delectable, such as fresh game, corn newly ripened, corn pleasingly flavored in the process of drying, berries that have just been gathered, then a quiet little feast is made ready for the dead. Word is sent to the adopted to be present. The fire of the lodge is left to die down before sunset, and while the sun

is yet up the old ashes are taken out and the hearth made clean. By the hearth is then placed the food. Then the lodge is put in order and the cover over the entrance let down closing the place; everything is hushed, and there is an atmosphere of seclusion about the lodge. Then as darkness gathers out goes the adopted to fetch in the few that have been invited. Silently enter the guests who seat themselves about the food, the adopted being in their midst to share the feast with them. When the last has come the sponsor then drops a small bit of the food upon the hearth, and then retires to a dark corner of the lodge, there to say in an undertone to the manes:

"O my grandfather, and my grandmothers, come, I beseech you.
O my father, and my mother, come eat the food which I have prepared for you.
O my brothers, and my sisters, come and eat together.
All you, my kindred, come gather about this food and eat.
Now, for myself and for all of us here I beg for wealth and long life. We beg of you to pity us."

And then to the guests is said: "Now then." Whereupon they reply in chorus, "All right." Then they go to eating. They eat till they have eaten up all the food. For none of it shall be left. And at the end they depart as silently as they came. Though in reality it is the guests who have eaten the food, yet it is the souls that are said to have satisfied themselves.[1]

Indian adoption was further planned to change the personality of the adopted person, his reputed age, degrees of prohibited marriage, and other social relationships, and captured tribes as well as persons were adopted and their relationships fictitiously harmonized with the system of the adopting group:

For example, there were captured two white persons (sisters) by the Seneca, and instead of both being adopted into one clan, one was adopted by the Deer and the other by the Heron clan, and thus the blood of the two sisters was changed by the rite of adoption in such wise that their children could intermarry. Furthermore, to satisfy the underlying concept of the rite, the adopted person must be brought into one of the strains of kinship in order to define the standing of such person in the community, and the kinship name which the person receives declares his relation to all other persons in the family group; that is to say, should the adopted person be named son rather than uncle by the adopter, his status in the community would differ accordingly. From the political adoption of the Tuscarora by the Five Nations, about 1726, it is evident that tribes, families, clans, and groups of people could be adopted like persons. A fictitious age might be conferred upon the person adopted, since age largely governed the rights, duties, and position of persons in

[1] Jones, W., "Mortuary Observances and the Adoption Rites of the Algonkin Foxes of Iowa," *Congrès International des Américanistes, Quinzième Session*, 1: 269–270, 276–277.

the community. In this wise, by the action of the constituted authorities, the age of an adopted group was fixed and its social and political importance thereby determined. Owing to the peculiar circumstances of the expulsion of the Tuscarora from North Carolina it was deemed best by the Five Nations, in view of their relation to the Colonies at that time, to give an asylum to the Tuscarora simply by means of the institution of adoption rather than by the political recognition of the Tuscarora as a member of the League. Therefore the Oneida made a motion in the federal council of the Five Nations that they adopt the Tuscarora as a nursling still swathed to the cradleboard. This having prevailed, the Five Nations, by the spokesman of the Oneida, said: "We have set up for ourselves a cradleboard in the extended house," that is, in the dominions of the League. After due probation the Tuscarora, by separate resolutions of the council, on separate motions of the Oneida, were made successively a boy, a young man, a man, an assistant to the official woman cooks, a warrior, and lastly a peer, having the right of chiefship in the council on an equal footing with the chiefs of the other tribes. From this it is seen that a tribe or other group of people may be adopted upon any one of several planes of political growth, corresponding to the various ages of human growth. This seems to explain the problem of the alleged subjugation and degradation of the Delawares by the Iroquois, which is said to have been enacted in open council. When it is understood that the Five Nations adopted the Delaware tribe as men assistants to the official cooks of the League it becomes clear that no taint of slavery and degradation was designed to be given by the act. It merely made the Delawares probationary heirs to citizenship in the League, and citizenship would be conferred upon them after suitable tutelage. In this they were treated with much greater consideration than were the Tuscarora, who are of the language and lineage of the Five Nations. The Delawares were not adopted as warriors or chiefs, but as assistant cooks; neither were they adopted, like the Tuscarora, as infants, but as men whose duty it was to assist the women whose official function was to cook for the people at public assemblies. Their office was hence well exemplified by the possession of a corn pestle, a hoe, and petticoats. This fact, misunderstood, perhaps intentionally misrepresented, seems to explain the mystery concerning the "making women" of the Delawares. This kind of adoption was virtually a state of probation, which could be made long or short.[1]

Adoption was also resorted to among those Indian tribes where the maternal system of kinship prevailed, whereby a man was not reckoned as related to his children, and his property was inherited by the children of his sister. In this situation a father sometimes avoided leaving his property to the children of another man in another group by naming his children into his clan. The clan

[1] Hewitt, J. N. B., "Adoption," in Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico* [*Bur. Am. Ethn., Bull.*, 30].

names were the property of the clan and giving a clan name was equivalent to adoption. Morgan states that this was a practice among the Shawnees, Miamis, Sauks, and Foxes.[1]

Among the Abchasses of the Caucasus, by a practice resembling adoption, the peasants took the children of the aristocracy in charge at birth, and kept them for a number of years. The peasants were thus distinguished, the mothers of the children were acquiescent because the plan was favorable to their leisure and beauty, and an enduring bond was established between the peasants and the lords. The practice may here be termed "fosterage," though it differs from that practice in not emphasizing the suckling of the child as a means of establishing a magical-social bond resembling blood brotherhood.

The father was prevented by custom from being present at the time of birth but the foster parents were in solicitous attendance and received the child immediately:

> But after two or three years they bring their charge to its parents, with gifts consisting of two bullocks, a he-goat, capons, wine, bread, and the like. At the home of the parents another festival is held, to which the neighbors are invited and all possible courtesies are shown the foster mother and her husband, who is given the honor of washing his hands first of all. On their return home the parents must place them on their horses, that is, they hold the stirrup while they mount. The foster parents return home with gifts of all kinds—cattle, clothing, and money.
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> The child remains with its foster parents during eight or nine years and then he or she is taken home. Naturally a child that has spent its youth in a strange house . . . and learned to love its foster mother and the surroundings adjusts itself with difficulty in the house of its parents. It is therefore allowed to visit its foster parents frequently. In case the child is orphaned it remains in the foster home until married.[2]

In Africa we find occasionally a singular form of adoption related to the despotic character of political organization and the desire to insure the family to some extent against slavery or eventual extinction. It parallels a custom of lending cattle to acquaintances removed from the scene in order to conceal them from the chief in case of trouble. Among the Baganda,

> when the child is weaned it is sent away to some friend or relative who adopts it, and brings it up as his own child. . . . The child is taken away to the friend without any demonstration, in fact it is kept as secret as possible. The reason for adoption is to insure the safety of the child. Should the father incur the displeasure of the king or his superior chiefs his goods and property might be confiscated, and his wives and children

[1] Morgan, L. H., *Ancient Society*, 169.
[2] Seidlitz, N. von, "Die Abchasen," *Globus*, **66**: 20–21.

go into slavery, or if he incurred a debt his children were liable to be seized.[1]

Among modern nations the Japanese are characterized by an application of the device of adoption for the regulation and control of social structure comparable with that of the Iroquois:

The Japanese family is a maze of "nominality." Full-grown young men and women are adopted as sons and daughters, in order to maintain the family line and name. A son is not a legal son unless he is so registered, while an illegitimate child is recognized as a true son if so registered. A man may be the legal son of his grandmother, or of his sister, if so registered. Although a family may have no children, it does not die out unless there has been a failure to adopt a son or daughter, and an extinct family may be revived by the legal appointment of someone to take the family name and worship at the family shrine. The family pedigree, therefore, does not describe the actual ancestry, but only the nominal, the fictitious. There is no deception in this. It is a well-recognized custom of Old Japan.[2]

There was a virtual adoption by the ancient Babylonians of the foreign gods captured in their military campaigns. There is a close connection between a god and his image and the images of enemy gods were carried away not merely as booty but to win them over:

Sinidinnam and his army [says King] carried off certain Elamite goddesses to their own land, conveying them carefully in their shrines; and on the restoration of the images to Elam the goddesses themselves returned thither. . . . Perhaps the most striking example is Ashurbanipal's recovery of Nana's image from Susa which had been carried off from Erech 1,635 years before.[3]

In Chap. XI the practice of adopting the spirits of slain enemies will be mentioned.

Blood Brotherhood

The exchange of blood between men by reciprocally drinking it or rubbing it into cuts made on the body, etc., is one of the aspects of the belief that "a man is what he eats." The same concept is expressed in ritualistic cannibalism (to appropriate the virtues of enemies), in the Aztec and Christian practice of eating and drinking the god, in the prohibition of marriage between foster children, who have drunk from the same breast, in the

[1] Roscoe, J., "Further Notes on the Manners and Customs of the Baganda," *Jour. Anth. Inst.* **32**: 32.

[2] Gulick, S. L., *Evolution of the Japanese*, 214–215 (Fleming H. Revell & Company. By permission).

[3] King, L. W., *A History of Babylon*, 296 note.

adoption by giving the breast,[1] whereby the adopted may not marry into the adopting sib, and even in a heavenly adoption (as described in Chap. XIV), and in the widespread African custom of exchanging saliva.

Different aspects of this general concept are emphasized in different regions. In parts of India milk kinship is prominent, and among Semites and Mohammedans there is a temporary food kinship:

Among the Nairs of India,

if the mother died at the birth of the child it is generally given the milk of some relations or even of outsiders who have children of almost the same age. The person whose milk the child thus drinks, though she be an outsider, is considered equal to its own mother, and her children are considered the same as own brothers. There is a story of a Nayar king who as a child lost his mother and was therefore fed on milk of an attendant woman, refusing to punish her son after repeated acts of treason on the ground that an ocean of milk flowed between them which a drop of blood would pollute forever.[2]

Among Arabs [says Robertson Smith] every stranger whom one meets in the desert is a natural enemy, and has no protection against violence except his own strong hand or the fear that his tribe will avenge him if his blood be spilt. But if I have eaten the smallest morsel of food with a man, I have nothing further to fear from him; "there is salt between us," and he is bound not only to do me no harm, but to help and defend me as if I were his brother. . . . The blood of union is conceived in a very realistic way, and strictly speaking lasts no longer than the food may be supposed to remain in my system. . . . The bond of salt is not dependent on the actual use of mineral salt with the food by which the bond is constituted. Milk, for example, will serve the purpose.[3]

The rite of blood brotherhood is most prevalent in Africa. In Australia it has at best only a rudimentary development, members of avenging parties sometimes drinking blood together, but it will be noticed in the following passage that when groups reconcile differences they do not drink one another's blood but each party drinks its own blood, and that when an individual takes blood from another man there is no exchange of blood to denote intimacy, but, on the contrary, the two are placed temporarily in a tabu relation:

When starting on an avenging expedition or *atninga*, every man of the party drinks some blood, and also has some spurted over his body, so as

[1] Hahn, C., "Die Milchverwandtschaft im Kaukasus," *Globus*, **72**: 116.
[2] Panikkar, K. M., "Some Aspects of Nayar Life," *Jour. Anth. Inst.*, **48**: 273–274.
[3] Smith, W. R., *The Religion of the Semites*, 269–270 (London: A. & C Black; New York: The Macmillan Company. By permission).

to make him what is called *uchuilima*—that is, lithe and active. The elder men indicate from whom the blood is to be drawn, and the men so selected must not decline, though the amount drawn from a single individual is often very great; indeed, we once saw so much blood taken from a young, strong man that he dropped down from sheer exhaustion.

In addition to the idea of strengthening the recipient, there is the further important belief that this partaking together of blood prevents the possibility of treachery. If, for example, an Alice Springs party wanted to go on an avenging expedition to the Burt country, and they had with them in camp a man of that locality, he would be forced to drink blood with them, and, having partaken of it, would be bound not to aid his friends by giving them warning of their danger. If he refused to drink the blood, then, as actually happened in one case known to us, his mouth would be forced open and blood poured into it, which would have just the same binding influence as if the drinking had been a voluntary one.

Blood drinking is also associated with special meetings of reconciliation which sometimes take place between two groups who have been on bad terms with one another without actually coming to a fight. In this instance the group which is supposed to have suffered the injury sends a messenger to the old men of the offending group, who says, "Our people want you to come and have a friendly fight." This peculiar form of meeting is called *umbirna ilirima*, which means "seeing and settling (things)." If the offending group be willing, which they are almost sure to be, then the meeting is held, and at the commencement each party drinks the blood of its own members, and a more or less sham fight takes place with boomerangs, no one being any the worse.

When a young man for the first time takes blood from another man, the latter becomes for a time tabu to him, until he chooses to release the young man from the *intherta*, or ban of silence, by singing over his mouth.[1]

In America blood brotherhood is apparently totally lacking. We have seen that adoption, including adult adoption, is the prevalent pattern of cementing nonkinship intimacies. But Walker reports that a division of the Dakota of the Plains unites ceremonially individuals in a bond which is stronger than all other social ties:

The *hunka* ceremony is a Lakota ceremony in which two persons adopt the hunka relationship toward each other and thereby both assume a more restricted relationship with all for whom the ceremony has been performed. The term, hunka, expresses the relationship of each of the two persons to the other, while the term, *hunkaya*, expresses their relationship to all others for whom the ceremony has been performed. The term, *hunkayapi*, designates the persons for whom the ceremony has been performed.

[1] Spencer, B., and F. J. Gillen, *The Arunta*, 2: 482–483 (The Macmillan Company. By permission).

The relationship of hunka is difficult to define, for it is neither of the nature of a brotherhood, nor of kindred. It binds each to his hunka by ties of fidelity stronger than friendship, brotherhood, or family. The relationship of hunkaya is similar to that which the members of a society bear toward each other, but the hunkayapi have no organization as a society and recognize no distinction among themselves as hunkaya. Hunka may be a relationship somewhat like that of parent and child, when one is much older or more experienced than the other. In such case, the older is *hunka ate* to the younger, while the younger is simply hunka to the older. If a hunka ate has the confidence of the people, they, whether hunkayapi or not, may title him *mihunka*, which indicates reverential respect.

The practice of assuming the hunka relationship has existed among the Lakota since ancient times. It is probable that at first there was little ceremony other than an agreement between two persons; but that when the practice became more common the shamans assumed control, adding rites until the ceremony assumed its present form. The most common designation of the ceremony is, "They Waved Horsetails over Each Other." This appears to fix the time when the ceremony was given its present form, for it alludes to a prominent rite of the ceremony. According to the Oglala calendar a certain year is designated as "When They Waved Horsetails over Each Other." The Lakota custom was to name each year according to some event that was peculiar to, or first noticeable, during that year. Therefore, it is probable that the year "When They Waved Horsetails over Each Other" was the year when the hunka ceremony was first performed with the rite of waving horsetails over each other, or, at least, the year when this rite was first noticeable. This year corresponds to A.D. 1805. Perhaps at that time the horse was a rare animal to the Lakota and as its tail was the most noticeable feature, the Lakota considered it sacred, with the potency of sacred things, in the same manner as they considered sacred the tail of a buffalo. The old Lakota still so consider horsetails and wave them over others to cause an amicable influence.[1]

In Africa individuals cement friendship and tribes confirm alliances by the exchange of blood. Safe-conduct for explorers and travelers is best secured by making blood brotherhood with a native, and Stanley's narrative, for example, shows that he was continually making this bond with chiefs.

The conditions of an individual compact and the perseverative perfection of detail sometimes developed are best represented by the study of Evans-Pritchard:

Blood brotherhood is a pact or alliance formed between two persons by a ritual act in which each swallows the blood of the other. The pact

[1] Walker, J. R., "The Sun Dance and Other Ceremonies of the Oglala Division of the Teton Dakota," *Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., Anth. Pap.*, **16**: 122–123.

is one of mutual assistance and is backed by powerful sanctions. It may bind only the two participants to certain obligations, or it may also involve the social groups of which they are members. . . .

Men may enter into a pact for many reasons. In my experience the motive has generally been to cement already existing bonds of comradeship by giving them a concrete organized form which is backed by sanctions. Friends will assist each other out of sentiment, but little social compulsion attaches to it. There is a pattern of behavior between friends which is supported by social precept, but this pattern is faint. We may contrast its indistinctness with the clear prominent lines of the behavior patterns which regulate behavior between kin. Blood brotherhood gives to the vague sentiment of friendship, with its indefinite obligations, a status comparable to that of close kin relationship. But, though I have observed that it is often friends of long standing who exchange blood with one another, I do not think that they are ever motivated by purely sentimental reasons. Each knows that the other can assist him in a number of ways. Some advantages which will accrue from the pact are quite specific: thus one partner possesses powerful medicines with which he can supply the other, who may be an efficient smith or hunter, so that he can make return in iron or meat.

Blood is often exchanged solely for commercial purposes. A man who is traveling in foreign countries will make blood brotherhood with a native, who thereby becomes responsible for his safety since this is explicitly stated in the clauses of the pact. When a man is traveling through a strange district of his own country he will establish a contact which will ensure his safety by finding someone of his clan, or of his mother's clan, to whom he can introduce himself as a kinsman. In a foreign country this is impossible, and here blood brotherhood takes the place of blood relationship as the traveler's passport. In old days the most frequent use of this kind of passport was to give protection to parties of Azande which sought to gather a magic wood, called *benge*, which is used for oracle consultations. This wood grows only in hostile regions occupied by such peoples as the Mangbetu and Abarambo, and before European occupation of the country its collection was a hazardous undertaking, though risks were considerably lessened by an exchange of blood with one of the natives of the country who, in return for various presents, conducted the travelers to the end of their journey. Exchange of blood in such situations sacralizes and endows with sanctions a politico-economic transaction. As the union of blood brotherhood is considered sacred by a number of adjacent tribes, it provides machinery through which trade can be carried on with a minimum assurance of protection for strangers. It is also common for men to make a blood pact for purposes of trade in which there is no high degree of personal danger. A man living in the heart of Zande country finds difficulty in acquiring various luxuries which are plentiful in distant districts. Thus Azande sometimes make blood brotherhood with the semi-Zandeized Mbegumba and Mberidi of the extreme north with the purpose of obtaining dried meats and

vegetable oils. At the time of the year when these articles of food are abundant the Zande pays his blood brother a visit and asks him for presents of oil and dried meats. He may bring some articles with him as return gifts or he may just demand them *gine kure*, "in the path of blood." In any case his blood brother will have anticipated the visit and will have reserved part of his surplus oil and flesh to meet the occasion. When he feels inclined the northerner will pay a visit to the center of Zande country where he will enjoy the hospitality of his blood brother from whose home he will return laden with one or two spears, or some bark cloth, or other such articles which are difficult to obtain in his far-off district. In traveling in a foreign country blood brotherhood gives protection. In seeking an alliance with a man living in a distant part of Zandeland it is an assured base and favored treatment in economic exchange which is aimed at.

Such exchanges of blood are, however, exceptional. Blood brotherhood is generally made between neighbors, and while desire for protection and for favored economic conditions are both factors in any pact, they are only two among other factors which form a complicated mesh of motives, varying with each individual case, as will be evident when I enumerate the clauses of a pact and describe how it works.

I have never come across an instance of a man making blood brotherhood with a woman, though I have been told that rare alliances have been made between a man and a much loved and trusted wife. This is the only situation in which a pact between members of opposite sexes could occur since all other situations would involve an alliance either with someone else's wife, which would be an adulterous union, or with a female relative, which would be absurd, since they are already united by ties of kinship. It is necessary to say also that it is very seldom that chiefs exchange blood with commoners, and hence it is seldom that they enter into an alliance of blood brotherhood at all, since Zande society is divided into only two classes, commoners and chiefs, and the chiefs all belong to one clan and hence are of the same kin. A man cannot exchange blood with his own kin. I do not doubt that alliances between sons of chiefs and commoners occur, though I have not observed them. On the other hand, I have been told of several chiefs of two and three generations ago who made blood covenants with commoner subjects. It is, however, said that the powerful chief Gbudwe, who ruled over a vast area in the Sudan, avoided all such entanglements, and I do not know of any important princes among his sons who departed from this tradition. The reason for their abstinence is obvious and clearly expressed by Azande themselves. Chiefs have to settle cases and dispense justice and direct administration. An alliance of blood would militate against the fairness of their judgments and paralyze their execution. Put concisely, the position is this: the behavior pattern between blood brothers (social familiarity and mutual assistance) is incompatible with the behavior pattern between commoners and chiefs (respect and obligations on the one hand and authority and privilege on the other). Moreover, many clauses

of a blood pact are especially framed with the purpose of circumventing justice, as will be seen in the spells which follow. It is well known to Azande that blood brotherhood counts little with chiefs when it clashes with their personal and political aims, and there are illustrative cases which tell how chiefs have killed persons to whom they stood as blood brothers, *i.e.*, people belonging to clans with members of which a chief or some of his relatives have made a covenant of blood. The evidence suggests that in past times when the rule of chiefs was less autocratic and centralized than during the last two generations they made blood pacts with their subjects more frequently than when their political powers developed into untempered despotism.

I will now describe the manner in which blood is exchanged today as I have been told about the ceremony, have witnessed it, and have participated in it. Two men decide informally that they will meet on a certain day in the homestead of one of them and will there perform the ceremony. . . . If the two men have brought relatives with them, these make the incisions and conduct the whole ceremony, but if they prefer to do so the partners make the incisions and conduct the rites themselves. One partner takes a small rectangular piece of *banga* wood, or several groundnuts, and soaks them in the blood which oozes from the body of the other. Often the two men consume each other's blood at the same time, each taking some groundnuts, rubbing them in blood, and dipping them in salt. They eat the nuts with exaggerated relish. When the groundnuts are used they consume nut and blood together, but when banga wood is used they chew the wood into pulp which they spit out after swallowing blood, salt, and wood juices.

One of the men, or his second, commences to address his blood in the body of the other and as he does so the hum of conversation ceases and all pay attention to what is being said. There are two recognized modes of action which may be employed by the speaker when addressing the blood. He takes some twisted *bingba* grass (or a piece of cord made from the bast of the *dakpwa* tree) and, standing behind his blood brother, holds it with one hand in his hair while with the other hand he twists the other end of the cord round and round on top of his head, uttering a spell meanwhile. This dramatized action not only accompanies the spell, but is appropriate to its words. The address consists of a number of clauses, some of which refer to actions on the part of a blood brother which will bring upon him vengeance of the blood, and others to actions which will absolve him from vengeance. When a man wrongs his blood brother the blood is thought of as getting a grip on his vitals, so the former set of clauses are accompanied by a twisting of the cord in his hair. When a man assists his blood brother the blood is thought of as loosening its grip, so as the latter set of clauses are spoken the knot, into which the cord has been wound, is untwisted. Instead of using a cord, the speaker sometimes takes the two knives with which incisions have been made and, standing in front of his seated blood brother, beats them together over his head. Apparently the object of this action is to draw and keep the attention of

the blood to what is being said. Whether the speaker uses the cord method or the knives method of accompanying his speech, he keeps up his action with these objects during the entire time in which he addresses the blood, a period of from five to ten minutes.

In the following paragraphs I give a verbatim account of what is said to the blood when it is addressed by each partner or by their seconds. It must be understood in this paper that when I speak of one of the partners acting in the rites his place may be taken by a second who must be a relative of his. The addresses which I give here are texts which I took down from informants. The spell uttered by the first partner is a single text, whereas in the second spell I have combined in one address several textual fragments. As I have heard four such addresses pronounced, I can guarantee that my texts give an adequate summary of what is said at these ceremonies. I have slightly simplified the original texts in respect to personal pronouns, since an English translation tends to become unintelligible when there is constant change from sentence to sentence in the object addressed, sometimes the blood brother being addressed directly as "you," while at other times the blood is addressed as "you" and the blood brother is referred to as "he."

"You are blood," he says, "which we exchange with the clan of the Akowe. If you see someone struggling with your blood brother and you run and attack him also and strike him violently, may you not recover from the vengeance of the blood. If a child of mine is in danger of the law and he flies and hides in your hut and you give him away so that he gets into trouble, may you die from the blood. If I come to your house, my blood brother, and I say to you that I have come to ask you for the gift of a spear and you go into your hut and see a spear there but do not give it to me, you will die from the blood. But if your spears are of unbeaten iron, the property of others, marriage spears,[1] and you send me away without them, may you not die from vengeance of the blood. May the blood untwist itself from you with respect to unbeaten iron.

"If I pay you a visit and you have beer in your hut and you do not draw it for me, but let me sit near it and then return home with this insult, may vengeance of the blood overtake you. If you see one of our wives on a path and you hear that it is the wife of those men with whom you have exchanged blood and you say to her 'Friend, we will drink a gourdful,' and then you make advances to the wife of your blood brother, may you not escape vengeance of the blood.[2] If I pay you a visit and you possess some feast spears,[3] you must not refuse me a gift. If you refuse me those spears which are yours to exchange, may you not escape vengeance of the blood. If you kill an animal and we come and cut *bingba* grass and bind it round the beast's head and then you come and take it

[1] *I.e.*, spears which have not been beaten into weapons, but are being stored by a man as bride wealth for his son's marriage.

[2] *I.e.*, if you meet the wife of your blood brother carrying beer, it is correct to ask her to draw you a gourdful; but if you use this as a pretext for making advances to her, you will die from the vengeance of the blood.

[3] *I.e.*, spears which you have received in ceremonial exchange at mortuary feasts. These are not generally of unbeaten iron and you cannot refuse one of them as a gift to your blood brother.

from us, may you die from the blood, for the head of an animal belongs to the blood.[1] When you have been on an expedition to collect benge and I come and say to you 'My blood brother, I have come to ask you to break off a little benge for me' and instead of giving me your good benge which you have gathered yourself you just give me the remains of some old benge, whilst all the time I am saying to myself 'My blood brother has given me good new benge,' may you not escape the blood's vengeance.[2] When I am pursued by avengers and I fly to my blood brother and say to him, 'I have come to ask you to give me spears since vengeance is hard on my heels'[3] and you look at your spears and send me away empty-handed, may you die from the blood. I come to your homestead and I see a girl there, who is your daughter, and betrothed to none, and I ask you for her hand in marriage and you reply to me in an offhand manner 'Ai! you cannot marry her, she is betrothed,' whereas as a matter of fact no one has espoused her and you are just deceiving me, then you will die from the blood.

"Blood, I address you; if his daughter is a man's wife, he need not give her to me in marriage; blood, do not kill my blood brother on account of this, but entirely loosen yourself from him with respect to his daughter who is a man's wife. If we commit adultery with a woman of yours, do not kill us, but rather say 'Ai! we must not kill our blood brother.' Instead we will pay you compensation in spears and you must accept them to escape vengeance from the blood.[4] If you do me ill, may the blood pursue all your wives, may it leap in their abdomens, let them not give birth properly. If the chief sends out a patrol to seize me and I escape from it and fly away and hide in your hut and you rescue me by closing the door after me, you will recover from the blood. If you give me away to the chief's patrol, then you will die from the blood. May not your wives cut meat with a knife and may not your relatives eat at the mouth of iron. Rather let all your wives cut their meat with a firelog and let this be an antidote to the blood by which you may escape its vengeance.[5] May none of your wives cut grass with a knife. When they arrange their grinding stones in position may it drag them in hernia, may vengeance of the stone seize them on their knees, elbows, backs of necks, and tops of heads."[6]

[1] A man has the right to claim the head of an animal killed by his blood brother and he establishes this claim by tying some grass round its head as soon as it has been killed.

[2] He deceives his blood brother by giving him the remains of old benge (strychnic poison used in oracle tests) instead of freshly gathered benge. It is not easy to tell the difference by looking at the benge.

[3] *I.e.*, he asks his blood brother to give him some spears to compensate for the offense which is bringing vengeance on him.

[4] A man was sometimes killed or mutilated for adultery, but normally compensation in spears was accepted. Here the man tells his blood brother that their clan must accept compensation in the event of such an offense committed by one of his kin.

[5] *I.e.*, if you do me wrong, the only antidote by which you can escape vengeance of the blood is by cutting your meat with a firelog. This is a picturesque way of saying that there can be no escape from the blood.

[6] Actually he says "May vengeance seize them here and here and here and here" and taps various parts of his partner's body. The women will get keloids on these parts and will suffer from hernia. At the end of this address the speaker throws down a stone at his partner's feet, a dramatic act appropriate to his words.

When one of the two partners has finished his address he sits down and the other rises and commences a similar speech: "You are blood which we exchange with you.[1] If you do me an injury, may you die from the blood. If you commit adultery with our wives or make advances to them, may you all perish, your fathers, your mothers, your mother's elder sisters, your mother's brothers, and all your kin will die. If there is beer in your house and you let me go away without partaking of it, your relatives will all perish. If I ask you for a spear and though you possess one you send me away empty-handed, may you not recover from the blood and may all your clan die. If your daughter is espoused to no one and I come to ask for her hand in marriage and you refuse to give me her hand in marriage, may you die from the blood, may all of your kin perish. But may you not die in respect to your daughter who is espoused. If you speak ill of me to the chiefs, may you die.

"My blood brother, we exchange blood with you, it is blood which we exchange. If you refuse me spears, iron, hens, beer, heads of animals, you will die from the blood. If you give me any fine gift that I ask of you when I come to your house and you cook porridge and give it to me in the path of blood, may you not die from the blood."

If either of the two partners wants any special gift, he will mention it in his address to his blood. Thus when a Zande makes blood brotherhood with a foreigner to facilitate his journey to collect benge he will state exactly what he wants from his blood brother, namely that he is to act as a guide, protector, and surety for the party of travelers, while the foreigner, on his part, will mention in his spell various objects of wealth which he knows Azande bring with them on such journeys for purposes of exchange. When two Azande are exchanging blood also they may mention some gift of value which they require from their blood brothers. The ceremony concludes with a preliminary exchange of gifts. Each party throws down a gift, generally a large knife, which is taken by the party opposite. This is the concluding act of the rites. . . .

The ceremony which I have just described has the configuration of a typical magic rite. The blood (*kure*) is the concrete nucleus of the rite, a substance charged with dynamic magical forces. It corresponds to the medicinal herbs and woods which form the concrete nuclei of most magic rites in Africa. It is admonished to act in certain ways in certain contingencies. The fact that it is more often the blood brother who is directly addressed than the blood must not be interpreted incorrectly. It is a common feature in Zande ritual for a man to address persons directly in the midst of prayers to the spirits of the dead and in the midst of spells to medicines. Throughout the spell it is the blood which is the real object of address and which is thought to absorb every clause of the speech. The more pronounced the sociological nature of a Zande rite, the greater the tendency to speak directly to the persons whom it concerns rather than to the sacred object to which it is directed. In praying to the spirits a Zande will make a direct appeal to them in his opening sentence

[1] This second "you" refers to his partner's clan.

and will then proceed to harangue the bystanders in the same way as he here starts off with a direct invocation to the blood and then proceeds to talk to his blood brother as though it was he and not the blood that he was addressing. In both of these cases the final object of the rites is to compel people to fulfill their obligations and it is understandable that the Zande soon begins to talk to them, when he is speaking about them, since they are present. . . .

In every magical ceremony sanctions derive their force from a proper carrying out of the whole rite. Each partner must drink the blood of the other and must do so in a traditional manner while suitable words are being spoken to it. If the rite is performed according to custom, it is valid, its obligations are binding, and its sanctions are operative; but if it is not properly conducted, it has no potency whatsoever. Owing to the facts that no tabus are observed preliminary to exchange of blood and that the extreme plasticity of Zande ceremonial allows wide variation in rite and spell, the only invalidating circumstance is likely to be the failure of one participant to drink the blood of the other. It might appear impossible for such a thing to happen and I do not suppose that it ever does happen between Azande themselves, but an omission of this kind may occur when a Zande is exchanging blood with a foreigner and when he has no intention of carrying out his obligations, but merely wishes to obtain some privilege from his partner or to lull him into a false sense of security. In such a situation the Zande does not make mental reservations which would profit him little if he had once drunk his partner's blood, but he omits to drink the blood itself and thus renders the spell worthless verbiage. For the spell has no virtue in itself. It can act only through the blood. I only know of one instance of a man cheating in this manner, but I was told that it was not unique. A Zande chief went through the ceremony of blood brotherhood with a *mamur* (Egyptian or Sudanese official) to whom he was bitterly hostile. When the banga wood is the medium on which the blood is eaten it is usual, before putting it in one's mouth, to break it in two, placing the half which is smeared with blood in one's mouth, and letting the half which one has held between one's fingers, when scraping blood from one's partner's body, fall to the ground. On this occasion the chief let the blood-soaked half fall to the ground and chewed the bloodless half. As he had not consumed any of the mamur's blood, none of the obligations of blood brotherhood were binding on him and he felt quite free to act against the interests of the mamur and made full use of this freedom. The one absolute essential is that each partner shall swallow the blood of the other if the contract is to be valid. Little matters the exact words which are uttered or the precise actions performed so long as the blood of each is in the stomach of the other. On one of the occasions upon which I witnessed the ceremony one of the participants swallowed his own blood by mistake. He did this by picking up and eating some of the groundnuts which had been soaked in his own blood and laid on the ground beside those soaked in his partner's blood. This was done quite inadvertently and those

present laughed. Nobody minded the mistake, which was at once rectified by smearing new nuts in the blood.

But once you have performed the ceremony and your stomach contains your blood brother's blood the sanctions of the pact work automatically without your partner having to set them in motion. The ceremony of alliance initiates what Westermarck calls a "conditional curse." For example, if you have relations with your blood brother's wife, the blood will act of itself to destroy you and your kin while your blood brother is still ignorant of your misconduct. You and they will die *be kure*, from the blood. Azande say that the blood goes down into the stomach of a man and from there sees all that he does, and when a man betrays his blood brother it avenges itself on him. The blood knows exactly what is required of the blood brother because it has heard the address made to it when it was swallowed. "The blood hears like benge" people say, and this is the highest compliment which a Zande can pay to its attention and foresight. In the case of some misfortune it is not always possible, without consulting the oracles first, to know whether a man is suffering from vengeance of blood or from some other cause such as witchcraft or bad magic. It is very seldom that misfortunes are thought to be due to the action of blood and doubtless this is largely due to the fact that people are careful to fulfill their major obligations. Most Azande can, however, quote cases in which there has been no doubt that the blood has taken a terrible toll of a family for a breach of one of the obligations of the pact, for the action of the blood differs from the actions of witchcraft and bad magic in that it does not attack a single individual but also wreaks havoc among his family and kin. Hence, when several members of the same family suffer consecutive misfortunes, as when several deaths occur in the same family at about the same time, people say, "Surely it is blood which is pursuing them." I will give a single instance of blood working in this manner. There is a man, called Bitarangba, who used to be one of my closest neighbors, who, when still a boy, was mutilated for having made advances to another man's wife. He denies that he was guilty of the offense, but whether his denial is true or not there can be no doubt that mutilation was carried out with undue haste and brutality. As a result, according to Bitarangba, a series of misfortunes overtook the husband and his family. His brothers and sons died one after the other, and he himself died an exile without leaving children to carry on his name. He suffered these misfortunes because Bitarangba's clan was bound to his clan by ties of blood. I am not certain of the exact relationship of the two original blood brothers to the two principals in the tragedy, but it was certainly a distant one. Nevertheless the blood took its toll because the two clans were united by blood exchange. In such an instance as this, when relatives die one after the other, the survivors will suspect that it is blood which is at the root of the matter and they will cast their thoughts around to consider who among them can have done an injury to his blood brother, and will then ask the oracles whether it is this offense which has brought vengeance upon them.

Although the blood is thought to act on its own initiative, its action is sometimes fortified by a special rite. A man injured by his blood brother takes the piece of cord which was twisted in his partner's hair during the ceremony and which he has carefully preserved, and he winds it into a knot while uttering a spell to his blood in the body of his blood brother. He calls upon the blood to avenge the injury and exterminate his blood brother and his kith and kin. He tells it what offense has been committed and directs it to scatter the clan of his blood brother, against whom he utters an anathema of curses which will bring upon him and his relatives leopards, lions, snakes, thunder, dysentery, leprosy, European justice, and a host of all possible evils. While addressing the blood in this manner he winds the cord into a little ball which he wraps in leaves and hides in the roof of his hut. Here again he performs a typical magic rite with the blood as its agent. It is believed that misfortune will soon overtake a blood brother who is the object of such a rite and that the oracles will inform him of the cause of his loss or sickness. It is said that he will then go to his aggrieved blood brother who can be appeased by gifts and persuaded to give to the sick man *ziga kure*, an antidote to the action of the blood. This consists of a medicine which is cooked in oil while a spell is spoken over it and is afterwards eaten. He will also take down the ball of cord from the roof of his hut and unwind it while addressing his blood in order to release his blood brother from its grip. Everyone is aware of this additional sanction of blood brotherhood, though I do not know of any particular case in which it has been brought into operation. Once more may we notice how the blood is regarded as an ordinary magical agent, for, like many Zande medicines, it has its *ziga* or antidote.

A further sanction is that of public opinion. Open failure to fulfill the obligations of the pact brings upon a man not only magical retribution but also public censure. He becomes an object of contempt to his neighbors and a shame to his kinsmen. If, for instance, a man is traveling in a distant district and he appeals to one of the clansmen of his blood brother for hospitality and is refused it, this refusal shames his blood brother and his relatives, who feel themselves responsible for the conduct of their clansman. Another important sanction of a blood pact springs from the reciprocal nature of its obligations. If you do not carry out your obligations towards your blood brother, neither will he carry out his obligations towards you. One asks for a gift or a service in the name of the blood, but it is well understood that one's blood brother in presenting the one or performing the other will demand an equivalent return in the future. It thus happens that each partner keeps a mental tally of the various ways in which he has assisted the other from time to time and he expects that the tally of the other shall be approximately as long as his own. If his partner is generous, he will be generous; if his partner is mean, he will be mean. The reciprocal nature of blood brotherhood thus provides an integral system of sanctions by the very mode in which it functions. Social systems invariably generate their own sanctions by their mechanism of mutuality.

These reciprocal duties incumbent on a man who has made blood brotherhood with another are clearly enunciated in the spells which I have cited. A man must act always as a generous friend towards his blood brother; he must give him food and beer when he visits his homestead; he must refrain from making advances to his women; he must not refuse spears or other gifts, which he is free to part with, on the request of his blood brother; he must grant the hand of his daughter in marriage, if she is not already espoused; he must not speak evil of his blood brother to the chiefs; he must render him assistance in quarrels; he must do his best to protect him against vengeance and justice; he must give his blood brother the head of any animals which he has killed in hunting, if he asks for them. . . .

The obligations which I have enumerated come into force on occasions when special social conditions show up vividly the nature of blood-covenant duties. The pact functions in a less spectacular but more continuous manner from day to day in the ordinary routine of social life. A man constantly eats meals at his blood brother's homestead and is invited there to beer parties. When a man kills a large beast his blood brothers come to ask him for a share of the meat. They pay each other frequent visits, in which they are treated as favored friends and given the best hospitality which the owner of the homestead can afford. Often one will find a man living adjacent to his blood brother, to whose homestead he has free access since the danger of adultery is reduced to a minimum by the terms and sanctions of a blood pact. Occasionally a man is largely dependent upon his blood brothers for the necessities of life. Such a case is that of the mutilated man Bitarangba, to whom reference has already been made. He was not on good terms with his relatives, but lived with one of his blood brothers, whose food he ate and whose household he assisted by making nets and by snaring guinea-fowl. Besides this man, whose home he shared, Bitarangba had exchanged blood with several other neighbors and was always a welcome guest at their meals. Being physically helpless, he had made a point of contracting alliances of blood with two or three influential men of the neighborhood, who were able to assist him through their influence at court and by their authority in the locality.

One of the duties most strongly emphasized in the spells addressed to the blood is that of making any gift which may be asked by a blood brother, but it must not be thought that this leads to unlimited sponging. I was surprised that my blood brother did not take advantage of my being a European to make extravagant requests for gifts and exercise of political influence. On the contrary, I received on the whole rather more than I gave during our partnership. Blood brothers do not make unreasonable requests to each other among the Azande. Reciprocity of services makes this impossible since it is expected that there shall be an even balance in exchange of property.[1]

[1] Evans-Pritchard, E. E., "Zande Blood-brotherhood," *Africa*, **6**: 369–390.

The incompatibility between individual blood bonds and centralized legal and political administration was illustrated by Evans-Pritchard above, and in some tribes the practice is forbidden to individuals but transferred to compacts between sibs and eventually between tribes. This is the case among the Chagga, where the older men, representatives of kinship groups, are active in promoting such alliances. In the following passage from Gutmann it will be seen that chiefs may participate, thus grafting an individual and kinship practice upon a political organization:

The establishment of a blood brotherhood always joined two groups, never two individuals only. As a means for forming new group units it is still clearly to be recognized in the case of the *mma* of the Chagga. There the blood brotherhood was used to join two independent clans. The need of such a union was usually felt because of a third clan which threatened to become troublesome and in regard to which these others wanted to gain the upper hand by their alliance.

This decision to unite two clans was preceded by careful and secret negotiations. First of all a party is formed in the one clan which decides to promote the idea of the new blood brotherhood. The plan originates with the foresighted older men. As a first step they try to win the leading members of the clan and a part of the young men to their side. The latter are of particular importance since the troublemakers and those that want a row at any cost come from the ranks of the youth. It was no coincidence that the youth class was formerly designated with the word *mbara-hanga*, meaning "Where shall I break [something]?" The older men explain all the advantages of the alliance to the assembled youths and then say: "However, we cannot decide this matter, for it all depends on you; you must adhere to and represent this brotherhood." If the consent of representatives from all age groups has been gained, then it is no longer difficult to win the whole clan for the cause. In accordance with this, the negotiations with the other clan are carried on through go-betweens. Before the two clans fraternize, it frequently happens that each strengthens its own ranks by means of a blood ceremony. They called that *ikufunga*, "to obligate one's self." The purpose presumably was to strengthen the bonds within the clan and to prevent the breaking of the blood brotherhood by individuals in so far as possible. This can scarcely be anything primitive, but since this ceremony is particularly ritualistic it will be presented here at some length.

First of all the sib brothers join in the milk brotherhood. A bowl is filled with thick milk into which a nursing mother of the sib lets drop some of her own milk. In so doing she utters an incantation: "Whosoever among you brings himself to slander his brother, whoever accuses him or commits treachery against him, into his body may this milk bring sickness and boils, so that men will say of him: 'The brotherhood milk

brings this plague upon him.' But if you are loyal to your brother and stand by his side in times of need, may it preserve and keep you—*hawu!*" The bowl thus adjured is now held out to each participant for a drink. While his lips are on the vessel each individual is addressed, "Should you betray your brother or his children, if you desert him in the battle, if you refuse him the sacrificial goat for his sick child—*hofa*—then die! But if you love him and help him and stand by him, may you be kept and preserved—*hawu!*"

This milk brotherhood was contracted in the hut. In the yard, that is to say, under the open sky, the blood is exchanged, the real blood ceremony performed. This can take place only on an outspread oxhide. Even the spreading of this hide is done while pronouncing forms of cursing and blessing. The officiating old man and the woman who previously gave her milk grasp the hide, swing it and say: "You, the brothers of one sib, have agreed to bind yourselves more securely. Whosoever acts against this brotherhood—may he become as barren as this hide. Let him fall into the pond of the spirits, may he fall into the abyss! All that will be said is: 'It is the hide of the brotherhood that killed him.' But if you are loyal to this brotherhood, etc. may you be preserved and kept—*hawu!*" The participants sit down on this hide. The old man leads up the sacrificial goat which is to give the meat for the ceremony, saying: "You, my brothers, today I unite you in clan brotherhood. Whosoever accuses his brother, etc., may he go the way of this goat (*i.e.*, die)!" This is followed by a blessing on those who are loyal.

Each participant now expectorates four times on the head of the goat. The first one spits and says: "If I harbor hate against any one of my brothers, if I plot against him, be it only in thought, may that storehouse sink through the ground." Thus each one assures the others of the purity of his intentions and names a mishap that may take place if he is insincere. The signs of insincerity usually are to affect the intestines. Each one also swears on the head of the goat that he will remain loyal to the brotherhood, if not, may he be destroyed with the goat. Then the goat is killed and the morsels on which the partners' blood later is spread are cut from the breastpiece. The small pieces of meat are roasted slightly for the purpose over a small fire. Two partners sit down on the hide opposite each other and with the aid of the old man perform the blood ceremony. Their right arms are placed close together and while each pronounces curses and blessings in regard to the brotherhood, each also strokes the partner's forearm muscle with his right index finger, up and down the spot where the cut later is to be made. When the mutual adjuration and stroking have been attended to, the old man makes the scratch on the forearm muscle for the blood ceremony proper. The partner immediately leans over and receives the dripping blood in his mouth. After this direct blood exchange, each receives a piece of meat. This he strokes along the wound, back and forth, taking up the remnant of blood. The morsel is put in the partner's mouth. The curses exchanged during the ceremony pertain to the partner's life, his children,

his cattle; the wishes for the welfare of the loyal blood brother invoke good fortune for his issue and property. All is done in conventional and stereotyped phrases as is customary in well-wishing. While still on the hide, spittle is also exchanged. Each member of the brotherhood receives a spoon of milk fresh from the udder. He puts some saliva in it and feeds it to his partner. For this part of the ceremony, the old man adds further incantations: "Whosoever concealed a weapon on his body and pulls it out tomorrow saying: 'Now I can betray my brother'—may the *mma* [blood bond] kill him. Whoever will not adopt the child of his brother when the father has died—may the mma kill him," etc.

Finally the old man hands each pair of brothers a measure of beer. Of this each drinks half while they listen to the old man: "If you are drunk and in that condition speak evil of your brother—may this beer kill you. But if you hurry to him next morning, discuss the matter with him, and atone for your guilt—may you be kept and preserved. If you are invited to drink beer with an alien clan and thereby let yourself be led to plot against your brother—may this beer kill you, may the mma distend your body. If you are present at the beer drinking in the meadow and notice a plot that others are hatching against your brother and you do not hurry away and warn him—may this beer kill you."

At the close of the ceremony all get up and stand beside the hide. The old man and the above-mentioned woman take it up together and swing it with incantations against the breakers of the covenant and enemies of the clan: "May their bodies shrivel, rolled up like this hide." Among the anathemas pronounced while the hide is being rolled up, one deserves special notice. This is the one marking the propagation of the clan as a holy duty with particular emphasis. The woman says: "Whoever sees among you a brother who cannot beget any children and will not help him and says instead: 'Let the woman go away and marry into another clan,' may his body waste like this hide. But if he does what is proper in order to insure posterity for his brother, may he be kept and preserved."

After these adjurations the hide is rolled up and put aside. From now on only old people may use it for sleeping. Finally all gather in the house for another round of beer. Each participant first holds the drinking cup close to his mouth and says: "I have swallowed the mma and did not secretly spit it out. If now my brother betrays me, or refuses to help me in times of sickness, or leaves me alone working in the field when I am weak and miserable, then I shall go to another clan and let them save me. First, however, I shall spit out the mma again and announce that to him, so that the mma does not kill me, but instead saves me."

The goat used for the ceremony is also consumed now. Nothing may be left over except the parts owed to him who supplied it (head, neck, and hide).

Before the new brothers separate, the old man gives them this final admonition: "If you have a quarrel with an alien clan, don't try to settle

it alone, but tell your brother about it that he may help you. If you fight alone, they will kill you. If your brother is away and his child takes sick at home—care for it and go to the soothsayer in your brother's stead. Take care of his house as though it were your own. If you two have an argument, settle it quickly. Do not deny anything, but state everything frankly, the way it was. And, being brothers, don't be reconciled with anything but beer; give neither weapons nor goats. Announce this compact to your younger brothers when they are old enough to understand its import. Leave behind for your sons definite information about this brotherhood, in order that they may not quarrel with the members of the clan. They are to know that the mma still is operative in them and will kill them, if they break its provisions."

Before two clans joined in the blood brotherhood, careful negotiations were necessary until each clan in general assembly had expressed its agreement. . . . The blood brotherhood of two clans was preceded by peaceful settlement of all differences that were pending between individuals of the clans. Also, if someone felt that he had been overcharged in an old lawsuit, the other party returned what he might reasonably ask for.

On the day of the ritual the two clans assembled in the yard of the most prominent one. The intentions of alliance were once more brought before this general assembly and its consent was requested. The men signified their assent with the words. . . . "We are women and pay no attention. You are our leaders, you carry on the negotiations. If anything happens we are the watchdogs and will come on."

The climax of the blood brotherhood ritual between two clans is the exchange of the blood, as is the case in the intraclan mma. Ten men from one clan, or rather five men and five youths sit opposite ten members of the other clan. The old men act as assistants, each of them helping one partner from the other clan. As samples of the imprecations against the traitor, the following may be cited among the more unusual: "Whoever enters into the brotherhood deceitfully, etc., may he fall into the rot of the boabab, may he be restless as the sun, may he climb around in hedges like a chipmunk."

On the day after the ceremony, or within the next few days, the blood brothers exchange presents, goats or cattle according to wealth. The poor man gives his partner at least an oxhide or a calabash of honey.

The last form in which the clan blood brotherhood has survived is one performed by a chief after the paying of the blood money for a homicide. Four men, two from each of the clans involved, sit down on the ritual hide and contract the alliance. The first adjuration is spoken by the chief himself. The matter is now supposed to be settled, he says, and the fine has been paid. Neither is to remind the other of what happened. He, the chief, hereby unites them and will surely find out if either still harbors evil thoughts. What happened between them in anger must now be forgotten, *Muve kisari kimu, ngamsandza wana wa mka,* "you shall be one clan, I unite you as brothers." Still more detailed are the

admonitions of the old man who assists. Thus, for example, the representatives of the injured clan are addressed as follows: "You, the clan of the Wamatsa, if you should ever relate to any of your people that one of the Wamalisa caused a death among you, or if you tell a son of yours yet to be born, then you shall be destroyed:

The mma—it will kill you! Chorus: hofa—die!
The mma—it will annihilate your sons! Chorus: hofa—die!
The mma—it will kill your cattle! Chorus: hofa—die!

But if you remain silent and no longer think of the matter, then you shall be kept and preserved!

The mma—may it bring you prosperity! Chorus: hawu!
The mma—may it increase your issue! Chorus: hawu!
The mma—may it increase your herds! Chorus: hawu!"

From the blood brotherhood of the clans a blood brotherhood for provinces was evolved. It is contracted between two provinces and their chiefs and is provided with still greater precautions than the clan mma. Usually this provincial mma has the purpose of securing a peace treaty already made or to bring about peace. Thus the province Mbokomu when hard pressed by the Moschi sent a peace messenger to the chief of the latter. The representative also brought along an uncircumcized girl, and a ewe lamb about whose neck leaves from the dragon tree and the *mringaro* tree had been fastened. Arriving at the place of the chief at dawn they managed to rush inside the house of the most important of his wives having a son. This secured for them her help, for to refuse such suppliants aid was considered equivalent to certain destruction. The highest protective power, however, is possessed by the virgin girl and they let the request be carried through her.

The chief of the Moschi immediately had all district leaders summoned and laid before them the request of the Mbokomu for peace and friendship. They received the petition in a friendly manner. The messenger from the Mbokomu was then dismissed with the statement that they were inclined to accept the offer of friendship, but they must first get the consent of the warriors. The girl, however, remained in the hands of the Moschi chief.

Now another delegation consisting of six men with six head of cattle arrived from the Mbokomu. With an equal number of chosen men from the subjects of the Moschi chief these contracted the first, preliminary blood brotherhood. The six men returned home with the message that twenty head of cattle be sent for the warriors. This, too, was done. Simultaneously the men of distinction from among the Mbokomu presented themselves and contracted the second blood brotherhood with an equal number of distinguished Moschi.

For the ceremony they sat opposite each other in one long row on cattle hides laid end to end. The middle hide was laid before the door

of the chief. In spreading this middle hide the incantations that accompany the swinging of the hide were pronounced and were valid for all the others. This second blood-brotherhood ceremony created so much confidence that the chiefs themselves ventured to come together. The union of the two tribal chiefs and their men of distinction now took place at the brook Msaranga, on the boundary, in the presence of both tribes. Since that time the crossing place is called the Ford of Blood Brotherhood.

On the slopes of banks the respective tribes had collected. The two chiefs, each with forty of his distinguished men, were at the edges of the brook. This time the blood is not to be exchanged on cattle hides, but while sitting on a rock in the middle of the stream. First the officiating old men carry a goat to the stone in the middle. The two chiefs then pronounce their oaths of loyalty and self-adjurations while expectorating on the head of the goat. The one promises the obedience of a child, the other the full fidelity of a father. The animal is then killed and the blood collected in a wooden vessel. The heart of the goat and morsels from the breastpiece are brought ashore and roasted for the blood ceremony proper. This is now done in the manner already described, *i.e.*, by sucking the blood from the wound on the forearm of the partner. While stroking the place where the scratch is to be made, each implores the other to observe the duties of the brotherhood. Morsels of the roasted goat's heart are passed around on pieces of banana leaf for wiping the wound free from blood; they are then put into the partner's mouth. Self-curses (in case of violation) and promises accompany this act also.

A peculiar and impressive ceremony climaxes this blood brotherhood of chiefs and provinces. It is the so-called "Brotherhood of the Minors." The girl originally sent by the chief of the Mbokomu as first peace offering is led forward and is joined in the water by a youth from the Moschi province. In the right arm of both, in the proper blood brotherhood spot, a scratch is made and the blood is allowed to mingle in the wooden vessel already containing the goat's blood. This is also done to the accompaniment of solemn adjurations concerning the brotherhood duties of the two provinces. Into this mixture of blood all sorts of things are put. Brass is scraped and as the shavings drop into the blood the following curse is pronounced: "That is bad iron; if you violate the alliance—may your body distend from it." Lead shavings are put in with the words: "If you violate the alliance—may your blood disperse like molten lead." A dog's bone is also scraped with the vivid curse: "If you violate the alliance, you will be like a sterile bitch. Dogs will die in your fields and you can no longer cultivate them. You will be as unsettled as a lost dog." In closing, the bone of an ass is scraped with the following wish: "If you violate the alliance, suffer the blows of a he-ass."

The bowl with this brew is first received into the hands of the boy from the Moschi. He has to offer the chief of the Mbokomu a drink from it with curse formulas for violations and benisons for loyalty. The curses are particularly directed toward treacherous relations with other

chiefs, whose lands are specifically mentioned, one by one. After that the Moschi chief receives the bowl from the Mbokomu girl with wishes in the same sense, changed to apply to him. His territory is threatened by the following curse, for example, in the event of violation: "May your country be governed by a girl, may there be no male issue!" A piece of meat is rubbed on the wound of each of the children, handed to the chiefs of the opposite parties, and consumed by them. Finally the two old men take the bowl and pour the remaining blood with solemnity into the water, saying: "Whoever violates this brotherhood, may his blood disperse with this blood."

As the ceremony closed, the onlooking subjects of both chiefs burst into cries of joy and the Moschi went home, singing and dancing to these words: "Beloved Mbokomu! We will love one another like clout strap and thigh."

With this mma of the minors, or uncircumcized, as they are more frequently called, all kinds of fables have been connected. They originated because the present generation has had no opportunity to witness the actual ceremony. Thus it is claimed that both children were circumcized for the blood ceremony, their blood being mixed and drunk at that time. This, however, would not only have violated the modesty of this people, but would also be contrary to all the circumstances. Such customs as cannot now be actually observed must be accepted with caution. It must be remembered that in the tradition of the natives themselves a false and arbitrary conjunction of mores having widely different origins is often being made.

The Masai [settled among the Chagga] have no blood brotherhood, for which reason they are held in bad repute among the Chagga as violators of the blood brotherhood. The ceremony itself was of no consequence to them, when, for political reasons, they submitted to it. The blood brotherhood is replaced among them by the rope brotherhood described in the chapter "Female Chiefs." This rope brotherhood, however, is nothing but strong symbolic analogy. It is nothing but a fable, when some authors who have no proofs claim that two children instead of a goat were cut in two at this rope ceremony.

A child's being buried alive at the boundary of a province to warn of hostilities has also been confused with the blood-brotherhood ritual. Thus it is told that ages ago the two children used in the "Blood Brotherhood of the Minors" were buried alive and the mma contracted over their grave. Even ignoring the fact that no case of this has survived in the memory of the people, the matter is in itself improbable. The sole decisive factor for the blood brotherhood is, after all, the incorporation of the invoked spirit substance into each and everybody. . . .

The blood brotherhoods described so far are genuine agents for forming groups. They are of far-reaching importance for the whole social pattern and the first incentives for the development of a political system. The blood brotherhood allied not individuals but definite, organized groups with one another.

In cases where individuals wished to safeguard their fate and their endeavors by means of a special alliance through the blood brotherhood, they acted in contradiction to a natural law of society and against the interests of their respective groups. The private blood brotherhood is a corruption phenomenon, a cancer which must be fought against. The main characteristic of the blood brotherhood between two individuals is also its secrecy and culpability. Such a private ceremony is not carried out with the full ritual, but usually with only one detail. Much favored is the saliva brotherhood with milk or beer used as principal liquid.

Reasons for such an illegal mma may be: common knowledge of a secret, such as theft, for example; the need to make a promise binding; the safeguarding of one's own life. For the last reason, a blood brotherhood with a friend from a neighboring province is desirable, since he can give a timely warning if an attack threatens from that quarter.

The most common reason for private brotherhood is placing animals in the care of a friend. Here the brotherhood is contracted either with the person in whose trust the animals are placed, or, more frequently, with a neighbor, who then agrees to protect the newborn calves, etc. If the alliance is made with the caretaker himself, the animal also takes part in the ceremony. The animal is made to swallow a red glass bead (*nara*) with the adjuration that the cow bring suffering upon its temporary master, should he dare to purloin a calf.

The chief punishes such private compacts by taking away cattle from those involved. For the private mma the Chagga do not scratch the traditional spot for the blood brotherhood (right forearm). This is the place generally used for such a cut and therefore discloses the secret alliance to those who know that fact. Instead, the inside of the right upper arm is used. Other peoples have still other spots for the purpose, all of which have in common that they may be looked upon as ordinary scars, of which most men have plenty on most parts of the body.[1]

Totemism

Our conception of a "mascot" on the one hand and a "hoodoo" or "jinx" on the other is derived from a coincidence between the presence of an object in a situation and good or bad luck in that situation. Thus the repeated coincidence between the presence in the grandstand of a girl in a red hat and a winning streak in baseball converts the girl into a mascot, and the contrary will constitute her a jinx.

The same psychology is behind the manitou or guardian-spirit concept and the practice of totemism among the American Indians, which had a marked expression in individual behavior patterning and in social structuralization. Apparently the guardian spirit

[1] Gutmann, B., *Das Recht der Dschagga*, 254–263 (C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung. By permission).

of the individual was first developed and this became eventually the totem of the family and sib.

The Indian might take the initiative and actively seek a personal manitou through a vision which would connect him with the mysterious powers of the universe and give him success and power. In fasting, vigils, and self-torture he brought himself into a condition favorable to the vision or hallucination, which might be an old man, or a white buffalo, or a worm emerging from a log, and this was an assurance of success in a particular enterprise (war party) or in the whole course of life. The animal or person was not directly of the spiritual world but an intermediary with it.

Or the animal might seem directly and willfully to intervene in a friendly way. Wissler relates that

> once in crossing the [Blackfoot] reservation a threatened thunderstorm caused us to make camp quickly. While hurriedly pitching our tent, a bird was observed hopping about within a few feet of the writer, following his movements. During the constant peals of thunder no more than passing attention was given to it, but when the tent was finally pitched, the bird had disappeared and the threatened storm was passing just to our left, leaving us unharmed and dry. On mentioning this to a man of reputed medicine experience we were informed that this was an incident of unusual importance, for the bird had not only protected us from the thunder but had sought to convey some kind of power. He asked if singing had not been heard and a voice speaking, finally suggesting that an experienced man be called upon to "fix it up." All further discussion of the incident he declined as unsafe. Doubtless, if the writer had accepted the veiled offer, a typical ritual would have been produced.[1]

Among the Thompson River Indians

> a woman about to be delivered of twins was generally made aware of the fact beforehand by the repeated appearance of the grizzly bear in her dreams; therefore twins were regarded as different from other children, and were treated accordingly. They were called "grizzly-bear children" or "hairy feet."[2]

The twins are not, of course, essential to the inference; it just happens to be twins in this case. But it is significant that the children are named "bears." Their children will be known as bears, and this is one of the ways in which totemic clans get their animal names. They are the descendants of bears.

A typical example of the intimate rapport possible between a man and his manitou is recorded by Boas. It is the legend of the bear clan of the Tsimshian:

[1] Wissler, C., "Ceremonial Bundles of the Blackfoot Indians," *Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., Anth. Pap.*, **7**: 102.

[2] Teit, J., "The Thompson Indians of British Columbia," *Jesup North Pac. Exped., Publ.*, **1**: 310.

An Indian went mountain-goat hunting. When he had reached a remote mountain range, he met a black bear, who took him to his home, taught him how to catch salmon, and how to build canoes. For two years the man stayed with the bear; then he returned to his own village. The people were afraid of him, because he looked just like a bear. One man, however, caught him and took him home. He could not speak and could not eat anything but raw food. Then they rubbed him with magic herbs, and gradually he was retransformed into the shape of a man. After this, whenever he was in want, he called his friend the bear, who came to assist him. In winter when the rivers were frozen, he alone was able to catch salmon. He built a house and painted the bear on the house front. His sister made a dancing blanket, the design of which represented a bear. Therefore the descendants of his sisters use the bear for their crest.

It is evident that legends of this character correspond almost exactly to the tales of the acquisition of manitous among the Eastern Indians, and they are evidence that the totem of this group of tribes is, in the main, the hereditary manitou of a family.[1]

In the course of time legends are thus developed identifying sib descent with an animal ancestor and the contemporaneous animals are in some cases treated as blood kin or partners: Thus among the Penobscot of Maine all the families have animal names and the totemic animal is referred to as "my partner of a strange race."[2]

Among the African Venda there is a baboon totem whose members claim baboons as their ancestors. The legend is that in one of the Swazi invasions the stealthy movement of troops on a village was betrayed by the loud barking of a baboon. This is an ancestor-worshiping tribe and the native theory in this case is that baboons were their progenitors (hence their interest in this incident) and that one of them gave birth to a human being from which the present sib members are descended.[3]

The Iban (Sea Dyaks) of Borneo have guardian spirits who may be either men or animals:

A notable peculiarity of Iban religion is the guardian-spirit concept. Not more than one person in a hundred is fortunate enough to possess one of these familiar spirits, but a young man will spend days and nights fasting on the grave of a famous man or in a wild, remote place, in order to receive the vision which informs him that from now on he has a *ngarong*, a "secret helper." This ascetic striving for spiritual communion is called *nampak*. If the guardian spirit takes the form of an animal, all beasts of this kind are revered by the individual who is linked by super-

[1] Boas, F., "The Social Organization and Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," *U. S. Natl. Mus., Rep. for* 1895: 323.

[2] Speck, F. G., "The Family Hunting Band as the Basis of Algonkian Social Organization," *Amer. Anth.*, N.S., **17**: 301.

[3] Stayt, H. A., *The Bavenda*, 190.

natural bonds with them. Furthermore, the person concerned will try to keep others from harming the animal sacred to his guardian spirit. In this way, an actual cult of a totemic sort may spread through a whole house or village.[1]

Among the Buin (Solomon Islands) each sib has a mystic relation with some bird (owl, parrot, etc.) which it will neither kill nor eat, and whose death at the hands of others would be avenged as in the case of a sib member.[2]

In Australia, which is perhaps the densest center of totemism, the same general concept of intimacy with animals has a different line of application. The Indian is interested in the food supply, as indicated by the above passage from Boas, but he seeks more particularly spiritual rapport and assistance. In Australia the food problem is much more pressing and in some tribes results in a totemistic racket whereby the members of each totem bring about by magical rites the congregation and multiplication of their totemic animal or plant, which is killed and eaten by the members of the other totems. Among the Arunta, for example, and other central Australian tribes, the kangaroo man will himself kill kangaroos and is the most suitable person to do so, or he will with magical charms betray the animal to the euro man. The kangaroo man will eat of the animal, but only sparingly and so to speak eucharistically, and members of other clans must ask his permission to eat of it, which is never refused.[3]

The Australians regard themselves not as precisely the descendants of the totemic animals but as the reincarnation of them:

> The totemic system of the Arunta and other Central Australian tribes is based on the idea of the reincarnation of *Alchera* [old old time] ancestors who were in many cases regarded as the actual transformations of animals and plants or of such inanimate objects as water, fire, wind, sun, moon, and stars.[4]

There are localities of totem centers haunted exclusively by given totem spirits which enter the woman through the loins, and on the death of the woman secrete themselves in certain objects and places awaiting the opportunity for a reincarnation. Consequently the child belongs to the totem of the locality in which it was conceived. If, for example, an emu woman is visiting or passing through a kangaroo locality and feels that she is pregnant,

[1] Kennedy, R., *The Ethnology of the Greater Sunda Islands*, 471–472 (manuscript).
[2] Thurnwald, R., "Ermittlungen über Eingeborenenrechte der Südsee," *Zeit. für vergl. Rechtswissen.*, **23**: 327–328.
[3] Spencer and Gillen, *The Arunta*, **1**: 85.
[4] *Ibid.*, 79.

the child, born months later in an emu locality, is nevertheless a kangaroo. Mother and child may thus be of different totems.

There is in New Guinea a practice so unlike any of the forms of totemism I have mentioned that it is doubtful whether it should be called totemic. Or rather, it seems that the current concepts of totemism should be revised to include it. Among the Orokaiva tribes each sib has a plant emblem called the *heratu*. It is almost always a plant, rarely a bird, and never, apparently, an animal or fish. The natives say that the heratu is the name of an ancestor who was never a plant, but a man who was named after a plant.

In this group the emblem is used primarily as a sort of vegetable signature:

> If one asks a native what he actually does with his heratu, he will assuredly answer: "I place it on the track so that others who may follow may know I have passed that way." This, indeed, though not the only use for the heratu, is the commonest. At the juncture of two paths I have come upon eight different kinds of leaves or grass, placed there during the morning and as yet scarcely wilted. My boys, who were inhabitants of the district, were able to identify each clan by its heratu; the owners of them had passed this spot at intervals, all bound for one village as guests to a feast and dance. . . .
>
> Among the Aiga the Honia-Noduru clan use a split stick—not a particular stick, but simply any small branch torn from a tree by the track and split halfway down its length. The Samberota clan has for its heratu a *sambi*, *i.e.*, a green stick flattened or squashed at the end as a wooden peg is splayed out by hammering. The Simborota, besides their plant emblem *simboro*, have a habit of stamping their heel into the soft ground to leave the print of it as their mark. . . . Further instances of this nature could be given. It will be seen that all these, like the usual plant heratu, have this much in common, that they may be extemporized in a moment. A native cannot lay hold of a bird or an animal whenever he wants it; consequently birds are rarely adopted as heratu, and animals or fish, so far as my investigations go, never.[1]

Other uses of this identity token are to inform your neighbor that you have eaten some of his bananas, by depositing your heratu on the spot, to indicate a grudge against a neighbor whom you suspect of stealing your taro, by wearing it on your arm and eating none of your own taro in the meantime, to proclaim your wife has misbehaved or is lazy, or that you have in general some grievance.

It is not improbable that the native explanation of the origin of the custom in giving children plant names is correct:

> I have [says Williams] on a number of occasions asked the native what he means by calling the plant emblem his ancestor. Sometimes

[1] Williams, F. E., *Orokaiva Society*, 115, 113–114 (Oxford University Press. By permission).

he cannot give an answer, but very commonly he can, and then it is always the same: "Our real ancestor," he says, "was a human being, not a tree; *it was a man with a tree name.*" For once, I believe, our native has given the really true explanation. . . .

There are certain reasonably authentic incidents in which a human namesake, or rather original, of the heratu is well remembered. Thus there is a Binandele clan named Yegaboda whose heratu is *watora* the reed. During their latter migrations these people hid from their enemies among the reeds, and here a baby was born to whom was given, in a very characteristic fashion, the name Watora. In due time this child became the chief man of his clan, which adopted watora, or the reed, as its heratu. So again we find two widely separated branches of the clan Samanahu . . . [and] both sections . . . told the same tale of Samana. He was their common ancestor—not a tree of course, they affirmed, but a man, and one who, as it chanced, acquired his name from the fact that he was brought to birth under a *samana* tree.[1]

There is furthermore a predominance of plant names. Williams collected a list of which a number were uninterpretable and unintelligible, but of the interpretable 34 per cent were plant names.

This view corresponds with the one that the Indian totem is derived from the guardian spirit of an individual, but it is not impossible that Orokaiva plant names became fashionable precisely because the heratu was fashionable and that the native explanation is a rationalization.

The above items represent the most important aspect of what has been going on in the field of so-called totemism, but if we should omit the mascot and guardian-spirit idea, and the concept of descent from the totem, there would still be a totemism of a sort, namely, the adoption of symbols of the personality and of the group. All totemism, in fact, eventuates in this, but the assumption of "strong" names is an independent and convergent factor. Men are not only given animal and plant names at birth but they assume additional names representing their exploits and claims. Eagle, falcon, tiger, bear, wolf, bull, unicorn, etc., are strong names and symbols for individuals, families, and states; they are copiously represented in European heraldic devices, on our coins, and in baseball clubs, football teams and boys' gangs, without any necessary meaning or history except their symbolism. The contrary and derogatory aspect is represented by nicknames.

It may happen that the basis of totemism is laid down but no pattern is elaborated. Thus, in a South American tribe the mother may name a child after an animal because of some fancied resemblance but no proper totemism is developed:

[1] *Ibid.*, 118–119.

Names—for example Big Frog, Curly Hair, Haimara (a fish), etc.—are invented by the mother and given to the child in infancy. They are based on supposed resemblances of the child to some animal and imply a faint spiritual bond between the person and the animal. (This is, however only a hint of personal totemism or guardian-spirit concept. I have found no trace of formulated rights and duties between the person and the the animal involved.)[1]

The forms of totemism have therefore no precisely identical origin and no unitary development. They illustrate very well the elaborated patterns which may arise from relatively trivial points of view, they are absent or not reported from the larger part of the ethnological world, they are not continuous over the same geographical regions, they tend to converge, but not invariably, in legends of descent from the totem, and the totemic name becomes a symbol of personal identity and group solidarity.

The most important aspect of totemism from the standpoint of social organization is the symbolism. Primitive tribes are usually divided into nonmarrying or incest divisions, and wherever totemism coexists there is a tendency to a fusion of the incest concept and the totemic concept. The incest pattern arose independently and universally, as will be noticed later, but since the totem name of the kinship group denotes common ancestry it comes to be a designation of the incest group. Kroeber[2] makes a rough estimate that about as many savage tribes, the world over, possess sibs which are both exogamous and totemic as lack them, and Boas thinks that the totemic name gave an opportunity to designate in a definite way the limits of the incest group:

> The assignment of an individual to the incest group is easiest when the whole group is given some mark of recognition. As soon as this existed, it became possible to retain the incest or exogamic group, even when the family relationship of each individual was no longer traceable.[3]

[1] Gillin, J., "Crime and Punishment among the Barama River Carib of British Guiana," *Amer. Anth.*, N.S., **36**: 335.
[2] Kroeber, A. L., *Anthropology*, 232.
[3] Boas, F., "The Origin of Totemism," *Amer. Anth.*, N.S., **18**: 324–325.

Chapter VII

THE INCEST TABU

The violent opposition to any form of association between sister and brother after infancy was illustrated in the chapter on habit systems. For localities in the Solomon Islands Fox gives the prohibited relations as follows:

On the south coast of Bauro, at Parigina and elsewhere, intercourse between brother and sister (actual brother and sister) is forbidden. A brother must never:

1. Name his sister.
2. Approach her.
3. Laugh or play in her presence.
4. Touch anything belonging to her or even lying near her.
5. Go into a house where she is.
6. Enter the same canoe.
7. Tread on her bed mat.
8. Meet her in the path (one turns into the bush).
9. Go into the garden she is in.
10. Speak to her.

And these restrictions hold even when both are grown up and married, and until their death.[1]

Rivers mentions also that a brother who has avoided a sister throughout life "is not permitted to enter the house in which she lay dead."[2]

Nevertheless, the sister-brother relation is graduated in different groups from this extreme to an affectionate and cooperative nonsexual intimacy. We find in the first place clandestine conversation and interaction which is not proper but which it is not good form to notice. In Tonga, for example,

there are at times evasions of the *tapu*. Brother and sister sometimes do covertly converse. It is considered very bad form for anyone to notice this. During my sojourn in Tonga a man came to his *tuofefine* and asked for his shirt, which in all probability she had washed for him. A European standing near overheard the man ask and jocularly remarked that the girl did not have his shirt, but had given it away. The pair fled in dismay, for being *tuongaane* and *tuofefine* to each other, they had no

[1] Fox, C. E., "Social Organization in San Cristoval, Solomon Islands," *Jour. Anth. Inst.*, **49**: 143–144.
[2] Rivers, W. H. R., *Social Organization*, 65.

right to converse. The European committed a serious breach of etiquette in noting that they were conversing.[1]

And among the Indians of America we find an open and even emphasized relation of cooperation between brother and sister:

> Sisters have great privileges among these Indians [of the Plains]. All the horses which a young man steals, or captures in war, belong to them. If an Indian returns from an expedition on horseback and meets his sister, he will immediately alight and give her the horse. On the other hand, if he wishes to possess some object of value belonging to his sister, for instance, a dress, he goes and abruptly demands it and immediately receives it. Even if it should be the very dress she is wearing she will take it off and give it to her brother.[2]

But among the Hidatsa,

> as among the Crow, it was not considered proper that an adult brother and sister should hold long conversations together. "If I am married," said Buffalo-bird-woman, "and Wolf-chief visits me with his wife, he talks with my husband and I talk with his wife. If he should come to my house when I am alone, we should settle any business or say anything special we may have to say to each other and then he would leave."
>
> This in no way interferes with their sentiments. "I love Wolf-chief," said the same informant, "and he loves me. I have nothing against him in my heart." She always tries to help him and vice versa. When she was little, she took care of him. If he did anything wrong, she scolded him, and if she did anything out of the way she was scolded by him. Until she was ten years of age, they slept together, but later they slept separately and from that time on only spoke to each other when necessary.
>
> Black-horn gave Buffalo-bird-woman many horses, while she gave presents to his wife.
>
> A woman would tan her brother's robes and prepare meals for him. He would exhort his sister not to do anything bad. Neither will say anything suggestive of obscenity in the other's presence.
>
> When there is a dance at which presents are distributed, a sister will ask her brother to give away her own horses. On one occasion Buffalo-bird-woman's brothers thus disposed of seven of her horses.[3]

There is, however, no known group in which marriage is approved between brother and sister if we except some cases where such marriages were undertaken by dynasties for the preservation of the royal blood (Egypt, Sumeria, Peru, Hawaii, etc.), some cases of African chiefs who are "above the law," and some technical evasions to be mentioned later. The older reports of such mar-

[1] Gifford, E. W., "Tongan Society," *Bernice P. Bishop Mus., Bull.*, **61**: 22.
[2] Wied, M. von, *Travels in the Interior of North America* (ed. Thwaites), **2**: 281–282.
[3] Lowie, R. H., "Notes on the Social Organization and Customs of the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Crow Indians," *Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., Anth. Pap.*, **21**: 38–39.

riages among tribes of low culture, for example, the Veddas of Ceylon, have been disproved.[1]

Furthermore the extension of the incest concept to classificatory sisters and brothers may operate to exclude an individual from marriage with all but a few of the population. This was illustrated in an earlier chapter from the Murngin tribe of Australia and Radcliffe-Brown gives the following details:

> [In the Australian Yaralde type] the rule of marriage is that a man may not marry into his own clan, his mother's clan, his father's mother's clan, his mother's mother's clan, these four clans representing [also] the four lines of descent of kinship systems of the Aranda type. But he also may not marry into the clans of his father's father's mother or his mother's father's mother. In other clans there are women whom he may not marry because they stand in certain genealogical relationships to him. . . .
>
> The Wikmunkan type, found in the Cape York Peninsula . . . has a special marriage rule by which a man marries the daughter of his mother's younger brother, but may not marry the daughter of his mother's elder brother.[2]
>
> [Among the Nankanse of West Africa] in addition to the women whom a man may not marry owing to *bute* [totemic] or *soo* [blood] kinship he is also forbidden to marry, or have intercourse with, any of the following persons:
>
> 1. The wife or widow of his son.
> 2. Wife's sister's daughter.
> 3. Wife's next younger sister, if *nyere* [of the same parents with no birth intervening].
> 4. Father's sister's daughter with reciprocal.
> 5. Mother's brother's daughter.
> 6. Wife's elder sister.
> 7. Any woman from the section from which his mother came.
> 8. Any woman in his own section.
> 9. Grandchildren.[3]

The incest concept may also be extended to persons made equivalent by voluntary artificial devices. Among the Chagga

> the blood bond [in this case an exchange of blood at initiation] which originally created a feeling of sib unity and involved an agreement for the exchange of sisters was eventually transformed into a marriage barrier. A man may not marry the sister of a man with whom he has exchanged blood.[4]

[1] Seligmann, C. G. and B. Z., *The Veddas*, 66.
[2] Radcliffe-Brown, A. R., "The Social Organization of Australian Tribes," *Oceania*, **1**: 51, 21–22.
[3] Rattray, R. S., *The Tribes of the Ashanti Hinterland*, **1**: 278 (Clarendon Press. By permission).
[4] Gutmann, B., *Das Recht der Dschagga*, 81 (C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung. By permission).

And among the Indians of Nicaragua

marriage between an Indian and a near relative of his *libra* or "covenant friend," and his *lapya* or "birth friend" is also banned, although such connections are not blood relations.[1]

Recalling the perseveration of primitive groups in stepping up an initial pattern we are prepared to look for a relatively simple origin of the avoidance of marriage between kindred and the consequent exogamy. One theory of origins was that an old male dominated the primitive group, appropriated all the women, and drove out all the young men, forcing them to get girls where they could (J. J. Atkinson, A. Lang, S. Freud); another, that captured women gave distinction to their captors, and the practice became fashionable and universal (Herbert Spencer); a third, that the savage observed bad biological effects from marriage of near kin and regulated marriage eugenically (Sir Henry Maine, A. H. Huth). Lewis Morgan regarded exogamy as a great social reform based on a feeling of the indecency of marriage relations between brother and sister and other near kin. Emile Durkheim explained it on the ground that blood was the life principle, that blood was shed in the initial cohabitation, that the savage thought he shared the same blood as his totemic animal, that in shedding the blood of a member of his totemic class he would shed the blood of his totem and so offend it. Consequently he went outside his totemic group in marriage.

A discussion of these views would not be profitable in this connection. They are purely speculative and contrary to all that is known about primitive groups.

There are, however, two theories advanced by Tylor and Jeremy Bentham, which may be discussed in the light of the evidence. Writing in 1888, Tylor assumed that exogamy had its origin in the calculation of the advantage of knitting friendly alliances by intermarriage with neighbors:

Exogamy, enabling a growing tribe to keep itself compact by constant unions between its spreading clans, enables it to overmatch any number of small intermarrying groups, isolated and helpless. Again and again in the world's history, savage tribes must have had plainly before their minds the simple practical alternative between marrying-out and being killed out.[2]

[1] Conzemius, E., "Ethnographical Survey of the Miskito and Sumu Indians of Honduras and Nicaragua, "*Bur. Amer. Ethnol., Bull.*, **106**: 146.

[2] Tylor, E. B., "On a Method of Investigating the Development of Institutions; Applied to Laws of Marriage and Descent," *Jour. Anth. Inst.*, **18**; 267.

Bentham was not writing about savages, but in 1789 he expressed a general view which has since been developed by Westermarck (supported by very extensive references to ethnological literature) and advocated also by myself at one time:

> It is very rare that the passion of love is developed within the circle of individuals to whom marriage ought to be forbidden. There needs to give birth to that sentiment a certain degree of surprise, a sudden effect of novelty. . . . Individuals accustomed to see each other and to know each other, from an age which is neither capable of conceiving the desire nor of inspiring it, will see each other with the same eyes to the end of life.[1]

Tylor's position may first be examined as though it were correct. It would mean that the exchange of children in marriage between families was a starting point in the cultivation of social relations and cooperative enterprises among neighbors which were gradually extended and structuralized into a system of interpersonal, interfamilial, and intergroup relationships as complicated in its way as a language system. Exogamy and language would, in fact, from this standpoint have fundamentally the same function—communication and integration with others. From this standpoint primitive marriage had thus a social rather than an individual meaning.

Tylor did not elaborate this view at all, but somewhat later Swanton made the following statement based on his work among an Indian tribe:

> When I was engaged in investigating the social organization of the Tlingit, one of my informants volunteered the information that his people, who were Ravens, married into the Wolf phratry "to show respect" to them; and he added that this was why they always obtained their assistance in conducting a funeral, and invited them to a feast. Although a clan and phratry system has been established too long for any memory of the original sentiments which brought it about to survive, it seems to me that this remark may, after all, contain a clue to the true explanation. If we suppose a number of bands of similar customs and related speech to occupy continuous areas, a certain amount of contact is bound to take place, and a sort of intertribal etiquette to arise.[2]

Similarly, Bogoras has reported marriages to cement friendship and confirm intimacy among the Chukchee of Siberia:

> These marriages are those between the members of families friendly to each other, though not connected by ties of blood. Sometimes such

[1] Bentham, J., *The Theory of Legislation*, 220.

[2] Swanton, J. R., "A Reconstruction of the Theory of Social Organization," in *Boas Anniversary Volume*, 174 (G. E. Stechert & Company. By permission).

families agree to a marriage between their children even before the children are born. Thus, when I was on the Dry Anui River, two men of my acquaintance entered into an agreement of this kind. One had a son three years old. The wife of the other was with child, and the father was quite sure that the child would be a daughter. They agreed that this daughter, when three years old, was to be taken to the family of the boy to grow up with him. The marriage ritual was to be performed the first autumn after the birth of the girl, in the time of the first fall slaughtering. . . . Most frequent are marriages between cousins. . . . Most of the marriages between relatives are concluded at a tender age, sometimes when the bridegroom and the bride are still infants. The marriage ritual is performed, and the children grow up, playing together. When a little older, they tend the herd together. Of course, the ties between them grow to be very strong, often stronger even than death; when one dies, the other also dies of grief, or commits suicide.[1]

A number of tribes explain exogamy as a social policy though their rationalization of the practice would not imply that it had the calculated social meaning they assign to it. In the Arapesh tribe of New Guinea the rationalization as reported by Mead is quite explicit:

The Arapesh regard marriage as primarily an opportunity to increase the warm family circle within which one's descendants may then live even more safely than one has lived oneself. This attitude is brought out very clearly in their comment on incest. I had the greatest difficulty in getting any comment upon it at all. The only formulation on the subject that I obtained is contained in a series of rather esoteric aphorisms:

Your own mother,
Your own sister,
Your own pigs,
Your own yams that you have piled up,[2]
You may not eat.
Other people's mothers,
Other people's sisters,
Other people's pigs,
Other people's yams that they have piled up,
You may eat.

This sums up the Arapesh attitude toward selfishness, their feeling that there is an intimate connection between a man and his surplus yam crop that would make his eating from it rather like incest, and similarly that to appropriate for one's own purposes one's mother or sister would be of the nature of antisocial and repellent hoarding. . . . The native line of thought is that you teach people how to behave about yams and pigs

[1] Bogoras, W., "The Chukchee," *Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., Mem.*, **11**: 576–578 (rearranged).

[2] This does not refer to ordinary yams, but to yams that have been formally exhibited in an *abullu* and distributed to the community for seed.

by referring to the way that they know they behave about their female relatives. To questions about incest I did not receive the answers that I had received in all other native societies in which I had worked, violent condemnation of the practice combined with scandalous revelations of a case of incest in a neighboring house or a neighboring village. Instead both the emphatic condemnation and the accusations were lacking: "No, we don't sleep with our sisters. We give our sisters to other men and other men give us their sisters." Obviously. It was simple as that. Why did I press the point? And had they not heard of a single case of incest? I queried. Yes, finally, one man said that he had. He had gone on a long journey, towards Aitape, and there in the village of a strange people he had heard a quarrel; a man was angry because his wife refused to live with him, but instead kept returning to her brother, with whom she cohabited. Was that what I meant? That, in effect, was what I meant. No, we don't do that. What would the old men say to a young man who wished to take his sister to wife? They didn't know. No one knew. The old men never discussed the matter. So I set them to asking the old men, one at a time. And the answers were the same. They came to this: "What, you would like to marry your sister! What is the matter with you anyway? Don't you want a brother-in-law? Don't you realize that if you marry another man's sister and another man marries your sister, you will have at least two brothers-in-law, while if you marry your own sister you will have none? With whom will you hunt, with whom will you garden, whom will you go to visit?" Thus incest is regarded among the Arapesh not with horror and repulsion towards a temptation that they feel their flesh is heir to, but as a stupid negation of the joys of increasing, through marriage, the number of people whom one can love and trust.[1]

There is a legend in one of the Chagga sibs to the same effect, but the rationalization is from the legal standpoint:

At first people married their own sisters, but they noticed that they were beating their wives excessively, so they determined: We will not marry our own sisters but each will marry the sister of another, so that everyone will say: "If I beat my wife I shall be called to account by her brother and he will take my property away." If they had continued as they began they would have killed their wives, for they said: "If she dies what difference does it make, whose business is it?"[2]

Radcliffe-Brown's description of the inability of the Australian Kariera to have any dealings with persons who are not in some classified and habitual relationship with them was quoted above, but he points out further that

[1] Mead, M., *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies*, 83–84 (William Morrow & Company, Inc. By permission).
[2] Gutmann, B., "Die Frau bei den Wadschagga," *Globus*, **92**: 30.

even in the tribes of the Kariera type there are factors tending towards the expansion of solidarity, the widening of the social circle. . . . One of them is connected with an alternative method of obtaining a wife [instead of from mother's brother or father's sister]. When a youth is to be initiated into manhood he is sent on a journey which lasts frequently for several months. It is his grand tour. During his journey he is treated as sacred wherever he goes and may therefore visit in complete safety hordes that are at enmity with his own. He is normally taken first to a neighboring horde of the other moiety from his own, and is passed on from one horde to another until he passes out of his own tribe and may eventually reach a tribe at some distance from his own. Here he remains for a period and acquires some knowledge of the language. He returns to his own home in due course. For the rest of his life the country through which he has traveled becomes his "road" along which he can travel to carry messages or for other purposes. . . . Now it seems that a man tries to obtain a wife from a distant horde on his own road, and sometimes succeeds in doing so. Normally, I think, he will be expected to give a sister in exchange. He establishes by this marriage a connection between his own children and this distant horde which is of course that of their mother. This aspect of the Kariera system is, I think, an important one intending to produce a wider integration.[1]

In another Australian tribe, compared by Radcliffe-Brown with the Kariera, the desire to secure more distant relationships is more marked:

In the Kumbaingeri system the basis of the social organization is essentially the same as that of the Kariera although the two tribes are separated by the whole width of the continent. But in the Kumbaingeri system . . . a man is no longer permitted to marry his own mother's brother's daughter, nor is he, I think, permitted to marry into his mother's clan. He must marry the daughter of a man he calls "mother's brother," but it must be a "distant" "mother's brother" both genealogically and geographically. . . . It is considered desirable that every member of a horde should establish by marriage relations with some distant horde. . .

The father's sister is expected to take a "fatherly" interest in her nephew. This she may do in the Kariera tribe by giving him her daughter as a wife. In the Kumbaingeri tribe it is felt that the father's sister and all the women of his own horde are too closely bound to him by social ties to allow him to marry with their daughters. But it is still the concern of his father's sister to provide him with a wife, which she does by acting as matchmaker in the distant region into which she has married. She obtains for him the daughter of a woman who is her distant "sister."[2]

A convenient form of marrying out, frequently reported from the lowest cultures, was the exchange of sisters:

[1] Radcliffe-Brown, "The Social Organization of Australian Tribes," 114–115.
[2] *Ibid.*, 116.

In most Australian tribes . . . a man, A, having one or more sisters finds a man, B, standing to him in the relation of *kumbali* who also possesses a sister. These men each take a sister of the other as wife. . . . The arrangement of marriages . . . is managed by the older people. While the children are quite small it is arranged which ones are to marry. . . . When a girl is old enough to be claimed as a wife she is handed over by her father to the husband, who takes her away to his own camp. There does not seem to be any ceremony on such an occasion.[1]

Or the exchange of women may provide an occasion for pleasurable expansion and the promotion of good will and alliance between neighboring groups:

[There are in New Guinea periodic exchanges of hospitality in connection with marriage, initiation, burial, etc.] All ceremonies . . . are accompanied by feasting, for the primitive virtue of liberality is not less strong among the Orokaiva than others. Food will have been gathered from the gardens and bountifully displayed on platforms. The guests, arriving in their several parties, come striding single file into the village, each party headed by its man of first importance, befeathered club on shoulder. No smile adorns his face, but rather an expression of fierceness, which, however unsuited it may seem to the hospitable occasion, is nevertheless Orokaiva good form. Tempestuous shouts of welcome greet the visitors, which they accept without a flicker of weak-minded gratification, unless it be on the part of some silly girl; and so they file majestically through the village until they reach the place allotted them, when they seat themselves somewhat abruptly and relax into a more sociable attitude. Meanwhile, the women have been busy at peeling and chopping the taro, and the pots are cooking in rows. If it be an occasion of any importance the pigs are slaughtered and, having been dismembered, lie in reeking heaps on the high platform where the butchering is performed in rather studied publicity. The stench may soon be almost nauseating to a European, though to Orokaiva nostrils it has no doubt a pleasant and promising savor. An onlooker who would appreciate the gaiety and charm of the scene must not be too fastidious.

Towards the end of the day comes the formal distribution of food. The master of the feast, conferring anxiously with his friends, has been setting out the taro in heaps, making them correspond by laborious arithmetic with the number of his principal guests. Now that the tally appears satisfactory, he turns, with an enthusiasm bordering on violence, to the distribution. With loud shouts he and his assistants rush back and forth depositing, or often rather hurling down, bunches of taro before the guests, who accept them with a fitting appearance of indifference. In the same way the pig flesh—legs, quarters, chines, and entrails—are bestowed on top of the taro heaps, and the guests are ready to depart. They have been sufficiently regaled throughout the day; the food thus

[1] Radcliffe-Brown, A. R., "Three Tribes of Western Australia," *Jour. Anth. Inst.*, **43**: 156, 158.

finally distributed is to be carried home. The women pack it into their string bags and prepare to move off. Men and children will bear their part. One remembers the spectacle of a diminutive child bearing away the blood-spattered head of a huge pig, balanced with difficulty and pride upon his own small crown. Thus laden with proofs of friendship the guests depart to await the time when, in a year or so, they will make a similar return of hospitality.[1]

It is significant that in the arrangement of these primitive marriages the union of cross-cousins is preferred. Cross-cousin marriages, or those between the children of brother and sister, as distinguished from parallel unions, or those between the children of sisters or of brothers, are sometimes prohibited but are on the whole the most popular form of marriage in primitive groups:

[From the marriage rules of the Kariera in Western Australia it is obvious that] a man may marry the daughter of his own mother's brother, or of his own father's sister. . . . Indeed we may say that the proper person for a man to marry, if it be possible, is his own first cousin. In the genealogies collected by me I found that in nearly every case where such a marriage was possible it had taken place.[2]

This pattern is followed also as closely as possible among the Veddas of Ceylon:

"The daughter represents her mother's family, the son also represents his mother's family. In no case did a person marry one of the same family, even though the relationship was lost in remote antiquity. Such a marriage is incest. The penalty for incest is death. Thus the daughter must marry either her father's sister's son, or her mother's brother's son, neither of whom would be of the same clan name. Failing these she may marry any of their name, and should no such bridegroom be available, marriage into a third family becomes necessary."[3]

[In the Trobriand Islands the father's sister's daughter is regarded] as specially suited for intercourse and for marriage. They are often engaged to each other by infant betrothal. The natives will say that the paternal cross-cousin should be the first person, if age allows, with whom the boy should copulate. . . . [On the contrary] intercourse with the mother's sister's daughter is a form of *suvasova* [incest]; it is of rare occurrence; it is regarded as very bad and always kept secret; on discovery it is severely penalized.[4]

[In Fiji marriageability is indicated] between persons whose parents respectively were brother and sister. The opposition of sex in parents not only breaks down the barrier of consanguinity but even constitutes

[1] Williams, F. E., *Orokaiva Society*, 137–139, 29–30 (Oxford University Press. By permission).
[2] Radcliffe-Brown, "Three Tribes of Western Australia," 155–156.
[3] Seligman, C. G. and B. Z., *op. cit.*, 75 (quoting Nevill).
[4] Malinowski, B., *The Sexual Life of Savages*, 533, 534 (London: George Routledge and Sons; New York: Harcourt, Brace & Company. By permission).

the child of the one a marital complement of the child of the other. The young Fijian is from birth regarded as the natural husband of the daughters of his father's sister and of his mother's brother. The girls can exercise no choice. They were born the property of their male concubitant if he desire to take them.[1]

Conzemius conjectures that among the Indians of Honduras and Nicaragua unions between children of brother and sister were originally the only ones allowed:

The children of two brothers or of two sisters are considered real brothers and sisters and they are not allowed to marry each other. The ban against the marriage of these cousins probably owes its origin to the fact that such children were often really half brothers and half sisters. Upon the death of his wife a man generally married her sister; similarly, if a woman had lost her husband, she was taken in marriage by her brother-in-law. For that reason the names for stepfather and father's brother, on the one hand, and for stepmother and mother's sister are identical in most of the dialects spoken on the Mosquito Coast. On the other hand, the children of brother and sister are not considered blood relatives, and a union between such cousins is the common, and originally perhaps the only, marriage allowed. Unions of this kind are still encouraged to this day, for it is felt that family ties are strengthened thereby.[2]

In Ashanti, where there is patrilocal residence but matrilineal descent, with exogamous divisions in both lines leading to the extensive marriage prohibitions mentioned above, the natives say:

If you did not get your mother's brother's child or your father's sister's child to marry, she is your own sister.[3]

By this is meant that you are certain you can marry your cross-cousin but it is not certain you can properly marry anyone else.

It may thus be inferred that the cross-cousin marriage was one of the first steps toward a wider exogamy and more extensive social alliances, and marriage with the daughter of the mother's brother or father's sister was also an early step, but there are frequent local and often contradictory fashions. Thus among the Siberian Gilyak marriage with daughter of father's sister is prohibited; among the Hidatsa Indians marriage with mother's brother's daughter is prohibited; in one the Solomon Islands cross-cousins were regarded very much as brother and sister:

[1] Thomson, B., *The Fijians*, 184.
[2] Conzemius, *op. cit.*, 146.
[3] Rattray, R. S., *Ashanti*, 33.

Even today the correct marriage is one with the daughter of the mother's brother (real or classificatory). On the other hand, marriage with the daughter of the father's sister, or the interchange of daughters, is forbidden. When Sternberg made his registration of families he discovered how greatly this custom preponderates even now.[1]

Buffalo-bird-woman laughed outright at the query whether Goodbird might marry Wolf-chief's daughter, *i.e.*, his maternal uncle's daughter, whom he calls "daughter." The idea of a man marrying his daughter! It would be the same as though he were marrying his own child. She had never heard of such a case. People would regard such a married couple as dogs.[2]

In Arosi a boy must never speak to his cross-cousin: if he wants something from her he must get a friend to go and ask for it; he must never play with her; if they meet by chance on a path she will step aside into the bush to let him go by and they must not look at one another; he must never take food from her even if he is hungry, nor must he eat food she has cooked; if she is in a house he does not go in, but stands near the house, and when she observes him she goes out and then he can enter; he must not go on a voyage with her in a canoe or boat, and he must be very careful never to touch anything of hers—her bag, her lime-box, her sleeping mat, or to tread upon the last. The meaning of these restrictions is quite plainly seen when it is remembered what the mark of betrothal is in Arosi. If a boy feeds a girl and she eats the food this is consent to marry, and if afterwards the girl wishes to marry someone else, half a fathom of white shell money must be paid: in the case of young people it is only half a fathom, with older men and women a whole fathom; and exchange of bags is a public sign of agreement to marry.[3]

The fact that cross-cousin marriage is so prevalent and orthocousin marriage so frequently prohibited is probably due to the fact that under a classificatory system the children of a brother and sister always belong to different social groups, while the children of two brothers or two sisters will or may belong to the same social group. The cross-cousin marriage seems therefore to represent a conservative tendency in the development of exogamy, where the members of families are married out, but not in a distant way.

The above items seem to make it plain that the employment and development of exogamy, if not its origin, were closely associated with the extension of social relations. Nevertheless we may examine what grounds there may be for supposing that disinclination to marriage, say between brother and sister, is associated with daily contact in the family circle.

It is a fact that the tensional relations are different between family members and others. The Chickasaw Indians have a term

[1] Czaplicka, M. A., *Aboriginal Siberia*, 99 (Clarendon Press. By permission).
[2] Lowie, "Notes on the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Crow Indians," 39.
[3] Fox, *op. cit.*, 117.

"*itibapicili*," "those who suck together,"[1] used for brothers and sisters collectively, and those who suck together and the one who gives suck and the protector of the suck giver and the sucklings are in a unique relation of intimacy. They represent a group personality and the status of all is affected by the behavior of each. There is ordering and forbidding on the part of the parents and there are frictions between family members. There is a feeling of reciprocal responsibility and also of intrafamilial constraint. A habit system is formed on this basis and children tend to communicate in certain situations more freely with outsiders than with their siblings or parents:

> On the first sign of menstruation the girl will inform one of her stepmothers, or one of the elder women of the kraal, of its occurrence. This person will tell the girl's mother, who then tells the father. There is a barrier of reserve which forbids the direct approach of the parent by the child in matters of intimacy, especially in affairs in any way connected with sex. This behavior occurs repeatedly throughout Venda life. . . . Every Muvenda boy must, on reaching puberty, go through the *vhutamba vhutuka* ceremony. If he is not a member of a *thondo* school he must, when he becomes aware of his first nocturnal emission, inform one of the older boys of his village (never one of his brothers), who passes the information on to the *mukhoma* (the chief's aide).[2]

There is in this reluctance to communicate directly with family members on delicate questions an indication of some constraining effect of the family habit system on its members, and the argument could be advanced that this would be unfavorable to habit changes in that particular situation—that one habit system would preclude the initiation of a system of another type. In this connection affection between brother and sister might take exclusively the form of devotion and feeling of mutual responsibility rather than passion. This feeling of devotion and responsibility were mentioned by Maximilian and others above and examples of tabu on obscenity in the presence of a man's sister, or even on the part of her husband when none but men are present, were given in Chap. IV. The strangest reaction of brother to the sister situation is recorded by Warner from the Murngin tribe of Australia, where along with the interchange of intimate services between brothers and sisters hysterical episodes are precipitated in the brothers in certain situations and they throw spears at their sisters in periods of excitement where their sisters' husbands are the offenders:

[1] Swanton, J. R., "Social and Religious Beliefs and Usages of the Chickasaw Indians," *Bur. Amer. Ethnol., Ann. Rep.*, **44**: 183.

[2] Stayt, H. A., *The Bavenda*, 106, 105 (Oxford University Press. By permission).

The sister and brother relationship is surrounded with tabus. If a brother speaks in the hearing of his sister, tribal or blood, he utters his words in a low voice so that she is not supposed to hear him. She speaks in the same manner before him. He never talks to her directly nor she to him. He does not use obscenities in front of her as he would before most women (including his mother, daughter's daughter, and father's sister), nor will he allow anyone else to indulge in such language before her in his presence. They never sleep in the same camp or hut. At a very early age they are separated. *Yeppa* [sister] always helps her brothers if they are involved in a fight. She would not only ask the assistance of her relatives but also aid them herself unless it involved a relationship where she felt a divided loyalty. Then, with the aid of other women, she would try to prevent a fight.

A brother is like a second father to a sister. If she is caught in adultery he gives her a beating, and, if not stopped, tries to kill her. Even if he saw her own husband copulating with her, he would become angry and try to beat her. However, he is careful not to see them. Whem Daoper's wife ran off with Bengaliwe, her near brothers gave her an unmerciful beating, and might have killed her had not other relatives interfered.

A *yukiyuko* [younger brother] always goes with yeppa when she first goes to her *due's* [husband's] own clan to live after their marriage.

Brothers look to their sisters to supply them with *waku* [sister's child] for their daughters to marry. Waku's importance to a man is no less than that of a son. A brother always makes presents to his sister for her son as well as to her husband.

No sister may eat a brother's kill of kangaroo, emu, etc., until the brother's wife has had a child. A sister helps carry the ruddled bones of the first kangaroo or emu killed by her brother, just as she helps carry her dead brother's bones.

A brother and father always know and keep the tabued names of a girl. No woman knows her ceremonial name.

There are two sets of behavior in the relationship of a brother and sister that must be treated together. First, she is called *wakinu* by all her brothers. *Wakinu* means a person without kin in its primary meaning, and secondarily it means "worthless" or, more expressively, "rubbish." Bamapama, the trickster hero, a much loved scoundrel who lived in the olden days and broke all laws, is always called wakinu after some particularly fantastic escapade of his has been retold. Wakinu is used during a fight as an appropriate term against one's enemies. Secondly, no brother can hear his sister sworn at or hear before her obscenity, such as is very common otherwise. When a man's anger rises he immediately bursts into an almost pyrotechnical display of abuse, most of it centering around sex, breaking of incest tabus, peculiarities of the genitalia, irregularities in the sexual act between men and women, etc. This aversion to hearing or using profanity in front of a sister is called "*mir-*

riri" (ear-thing). It really means, "My ear can't hear obscenity in front of my sister."

The person who swears most frequently at a man's sister is her husband, especially in a connubial quarrel. . . . There are several recorded instances of a brother throwing spears at yeppa, because someone had sworn at her. In a great majority of the cases it was the due who was swearing at her. An older man said "It is just the same as if I had been hit on the head with a club when I hear that." Another said, "My heart jumps and stops, jumps and stops, when I hear that mirriri.[1]

The sisters in this case are called "rubbish" to sustain the inhibition of intimacy, and in another paper Warner explains that throwing spears is a release of tension, but they cannot be directed toward sisters' husbands because of the type of social organization:

> The mirriri indicates the strong emotional tie between brother and sister [but] should the brother throw spears at his sister's husband's clan solidarity would assert itself behind each man in the fight and a general clan feud would result, and the whole fundamental pattern of the society (the kinship system) would crash.[2]

But the excitement in this situation has no necessary connection with sex inclination. The reactions are to a prevalent habit system, and would be the same regardless of how the system originated. Own sisters are more prominent but classificatory sisters are included in the reactions. The fact, however, that a brother is "like a second father" to an own sister, that their interests are tied up together, and were so even before exogamy, may have put her originally out of the category of sex objects. That, at least, would be a theory, and it would be confirmed by the fact that between mother and son, where the ordering-and-forbidding relation begins earliest and is most constant, sexual avoidance is practically absolute. This relation is, in fact, recognized by primitives as unique, and, as among the Chagga, they reinforce the sex tabu between brother and sister by making the sister the equivalent of the mother. Their expression is, "Sister is mother."[3] Among the Bangala also sister is called *mama* or *mama moti* (little mother).[4]

There is also in family relationships something of the familiarity, boredom, and irritation of isolated association represented almost uniformly in the reports of the behavior of members of arctic expeditions and by the remark of Madame de Maintenon,

[1] Warner, W. L., "Morphology and Functions of the Australian Murngin Type of Kinship," *Amer. Anth.*, N.S., **32**: 252–254.
[2] Warner, W. L., "Methodology and Field Research in Africa," *Africa*, **6**: 56.
[3] Gutmann, *op. cit.*, 61.
[4] Weeks, J. H., "Anthropological Notes on the Bangala of the Upper Congo River," *Jour. Anth. Inst.*, **39**: 439.

"J'ai toujours vu que les grandes aversions ne naissent que de bagatelles qui revenaient toujours,"[1] which might act as barrier to sexual interest. The present rapid rotation in marriage among certain individuals and classes, constituting a pattern of discontinuous monogamy, points also in the direction of Bentham's statement.

It is conceivable in the light of this that there should be a drift everywhere toward exogamous marriage which would become a universal fashion, and this conception is plausible. Nevertheless it may be said that every woman is able to provide her own unfamiliarity, and it is evident also that in spite of all rules there are numerous evasions of the incest tabu. In the following statement of a native African boy we see an organized pattern of a relationship equivalent to marriage, at least from the standpoint of intimate association and intercourse, precisely between those whose marriage is prohibited as incestuous:

Girls, who are kept as lovers only, but not married, are those whom we address as "sisters" (*tapa*), but they are not children of our own father or mother but women of the same town who have the same tabus as ourselves. . . . The method of seeking a wife and seeking a lover are the same, the only difference is that you cannot marry a *zaba* (lover), and you do not give hoes (or cows), and that children born of such unions belong to the girl's parents. . . .

[The conversation may be illustrated by the following:] The throat of the male is heard saying: "See, you are my *tapa* (sister in the classificatory sense). I may not marry you any day at all, but a man learns how to make love to women from his 'sister.' If one does not seek one's sister, how will he understand the finding of wives and avoid being laughed at by them. On account of this, I looked and saw you alone near this our dwelling place, a good girl, whom my sense and soul (*sia*) prefers: Well, I will finish speaking. If you do not want to hold conversation with me, I know where I came up" [referring to the ladder he had climbed to get over the wall into the yard].

[The man continues visiting the girl's compound, always taking tobacco and guinea fowls and trying hard to ingratiate himself with her parents and in the course of time] he will sleep there and they will give them a separate mat and a separate room in order that they may be able to talk freely and shyness not have them. He can now go there any time he wants. If the girl has not yet been "cut" [incised] she will not agree to the man having sexual intercourse with her. If she loves him very much perhaps she may agree. In the latter case, when the time approaches for the ceremony, she will tell her lover and let him know the day, and her mother, who knows that her daughter has loved much, will

[1] *Dictionnaire Larousse*, Art. "Repulsion."

not hide the day from him [and he bribes the man who performs the operation to conceal the fact that she is "spoiled"]. . . .

When the day comes for the girl to marry, that day is sour for them both. The man does not want his lover to marry, the girl does not want to leave her lover. Seekers after her in marriage, when they perceive that her lover has influence over her, offer him presents to advance their suit. The lover may try and persuade her to marry someone from whom he has received payment, instead of the man arranged by her parents, in order to spite them all.[1]

It is also not unknown that the higher classes disregard the incest tabu and even show a preference for marriage with their sisters and daughters:

In the marriage of chiefs a different code exists. When the chief takes commoner wives he pays spears in the usual way, but his relatives-in-law become his faithful retainers; it may please him to be generous to them, but he need not fear that they will side with his wife in a quarrel as the relatives-in-law of a commoner might. The greater the number of his wives the larger his sphere of influence.

A Vongara [chief] may take his own daughter to wife and there is no one to whom he need give spears. When he marries his sister (almost invariably his half sister) he gives spears to his father, but his sister-wives are treated more as privileged mistresses than as wives, for it would be difficult for a son to complain to his own father of his daughter's conduct and demand back the spears of marriage. So these women remain above the law and can take lovers as they choose; they seem to avoid having children as much as possible, and have a reputation for Lesbian practices. As a rule the Avongara object to their sisters and daughters going to commoners, as they want them for themselves, saying that they are more beautiful than the daughters of commoners, but even if a chief proposes to give his daughter in marriage to a commoner a wise man avoids the honor, for he could not control her or prevent her from receiving visits from her brothers, whom he would always suspect to be lovers.[2]

That the horror of incest is a habit and not an inclination is in line with an ancient Finnish practice of sending a girl away for a time in order to interrupt the habit and then marrying her with her brother:

Among the Erza of the district of Sergatčsk in the government of Nizegorod, as well as in the government of Sergatčsk, a tradition is preserved that in the old days a brother could marry a sister. Not long ago there lived in the village of Dubensk a very pretty and hard-working girl. Her parents were reluctant to part with her and give her in mar-

[1] Rattray, R. S., *The Tribes of the Ashanti Hinterland*, 1: 153–156, *passim* (Clarendon Press. By permission).

[2] Seligman, C. G. and B. Z., *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, 515 (George Routledge and Sons. By permission).

riage to a stranger. So they sent her to pay a long visit to her relatives at a distance, and on her return they received her as a complete stranger. From that day forth they obliged her to consider her brother as her husband. In answer to a direct question, a heathen Ceremis told Professor Smirnov that it was possible to marry a sister, though it was not done.[1]

Egypt presents the outstanding example of systematic royal marriages between brother and sister, and Cleopatra was descended from as many as fourteen generations of consanguineous unions, many of them full brother and sister marriages:

In the first place, her pedigree is most remarkable. Not only had she nothing but royal blood in her veins, if we start from her far-off ancester the self-made Ptolemy I (who was only a noble in Macedonia), but over and over again, in that royal pedigree, she was derived from full brother and sister marriages—a condition which modern eugenists (if I may coin the word) would have thought certain to produce physical and mental decadence. Yet this woman, descended from a series of closely inbred ancestors, is not only handsome, vigorous, intellectual, but also prolific. Apart from her moral standard, which in any case was far removed from ours, or even from that of the great Greeks and Romans, she was as perfect a specimen of the human race as could be found in any age or class of society. Nor does she seem to have been a *lusus naturae* in this. All we know of her elder brother, who must have felt to his inmost core his sister's dreadful violation of all the traditions of the royal house, who stood up against the conqueror of the world in determined resistance, and lost his life in battle during a most courageous campaign—this boy of 15 was no unworthy scion of a line of kings.[2]

Malinowski's penetrating study of the Trobrianders shows that there is a delicately graduated feeling of incest distance among the natives, that there are frequent violations of the code when the kinship is remote and occasional violations even between brother and sister, father and daughter. If, however, accusations are made suicide is usual. There is also a romanticism about incest in this group. The most noted of their legends is of such a relation between brother and sister, and one of Malinowski's informants revealed that, having discovered a charm which prevented the sickness supposed to follow incestuous relations, he preferred incestuous intrigues as more exciting.[3]

The problem of incest has been confused by the failure to distinguish two quite different sexual attitudes. The Trobriander

[1] Abercromby, J., *The Pre- and Proto-historic Finns*, **1**: 182–183.
[2] Mahaffy, J. P., "Cleoparta VI," *Jour. Egypt. Archaeol.*, **2**: 1.
[3] Malinowski, B., *The Sexual Life of Savages*, **2**: 510–528 (Harcourt, Brace & Company. By permission).

just mentioned was interested in intrigues and new experience, and in the same line Westermarck says:

> When I asked my Berber teacher from the Great Atlas whether marriages between cousins were frequent in his tribe, his answer was, "How could you love a girl whom you have always seen?"[1]

This attitude is in harmony with the whole body of Arabic poetry, which emphasizes the passionate episode on the carnal side and is paralleled by the Don Juan ideal in Europe.

Contrasted with this is the frequent marriage of cousins in primitive groups and the statement of Bogoras above that among the Chukchee children are married at a tender age, play together, grow up together, later tend herd together, become deeply attached, and often when one dies the other dies also of grief.

The individualistic, romantic, and play pattern of marriage and sex interest were historically developed, in Europe and the Orient. Among primitives the control of marriage was in the hands of families and sibs. It is true that personal inclination played a role; the girl was usually not given in marriage against her will. Passionate attachments were also not infrequent. But like the European "marriage of convenience" the exogamy pattern seems essentially an expression of family responsibility and policy.

But if the incest tabu and incest groups originated in an exchange of courtesies which developed into a calculated policy, without innate aversion to sex unions with near kindred, what would be the explanation of the horror which incestuous unions excite? The explanation would be that the violation of any habit system arouses emotional resistance, and there are numerous cases where the violation of habits which have no basis in organic repugnance evokes horror equivalent to the horror of incest. We have seen, for example, that marriage with a wife's sister and with a deceased wife's sister were among the usual and in some cases obligatory marriages among primitive groups, but in modern England the situation became so defined that marriage with a deceased wife's sister became equivalent to incest and the thought of such marriage was defined as "psychic incest." It was argued that it would be impossible to have pure thoughts about a wife's younger sister in the household if marriage with her were ever possible. Around the year 1850, when Lord Russell's bill for the repeal of the law against such marriages was being debated, countless sermons were preached and thousands of pamphlets and letters were printed protesting against repeal:

[1] Westermarck, E., *History of Human Marriage*, 2: 194.

It would be difficult [says Lecky] to overstate the extravagance of language employed. . . . One gentleman [Lord Hatherley], who had been Lord Chancellor of England, more than once declared that if marriage with a deceased wife's sister ever became legal "the decadence of England was inevitable," and that for his part he would rather see 300,000 Frenchmen landed on the British coasts.[1]

The bill repealing the law was first adopted by the House of Commons in 1850 but became a law only in 1907, and this act contains a proviso justifying the clergy in refusing to solemnize a marriage with a deceased wife's sister, and also preserves a feature of the Matrimonial Causes Act of 1857 which defines adultery with a wife's sister as "incestuous adultery."

Among savages there are also practices of a customary character which are equally bad with incest and in some cases are classed as worse:

The most heinous crime known to the Wachagga [says Dundas] is sexual intercourse by an uncircumcised boy with a female of any age. Formerly the guilty couple were taken to a place above or below the inhabited lands, and being laid one upon the other, stakes were driven through their bodies and limbs.[2]

Gutmann[3] reports a case from the same tribe where in a love affair between a boy and girl (not of the same incest group) the boy, who was not yet initiated, circumcized himself, but died in consequence, and the girl leaped to death over a waterfall.

Roscoe and other students of some African tribes intimate that to speak to one's mother-in-law is a more terrible thing than incest, and in India marriages between a man of a lower and a woman of a higher caste were regarded as comparable with incest:

Matches between a man of higher and a woman of lower caste were called *anuloma*, or "with the hair" or "grain," and were regarded as suitable and becoming. Those between a man of lower and a woman of higher caste were, on the other hand, known as *pratiloma* or "against the hair," and were considered as disgraceful and almost incestuous. The offspring of such unions are held to have constituted the lowest and most impure castes of scavengers, dog eaters, and so on.[4]

The horror of incest is thus plainly of social derivation. With reference to inclination and passion, as related to the intimate contact of near kin, it may be said that in its natural course, without the imposition of a habit system, this would sometimes act in one way and sometimes in the other; but exogamy as a system seems to be the result of a social policy, as stated by Tylor.

[1] Lecky, W. E. H., *Democracy and Liberty*, **2**: 221.
[2] Dundas, C., "Native Laws of Some Bantu Tribes of East Africa," *Jour. Anth. Inst.*, **51**: 247.
[3] Gutmann, B., *Das Recht der Dschagga*, 149.
[4] Russell, R. V., *The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India*, **1**: 29 (The Macmillan

Chapter VIII

RESIDENCE AND LINEAGE

An important definition of a situation was involved in the determination of the place of residence of the newly wed. Under the system of exogamy the man will reside in or visit the group of the woman or she will settle in his. Frequently they visit back and forth for a time, and in rare cases they set up a separate household. There is a further question of the affiliation of the children of the marriage, whether they are counted as kindred of the man's group or of the woman's and from which side of the house they inherit. Moreover, among primitives descent is usually reckoned unilaterally. If descent is reckoned in the mother's line the children are not counted as related lineally to the father at all, and vice versa. Under a matrilineal arrangement the property of the man is inherited by his sister's children, and his children inherit from his wife's brother, their maternal uncle.

Roughly speaking, somewhat less than half the married women among primitive tribes today continue their residence in the sib of their mothers. This condition is called matrilocal residence, and the contrary, patrilocal residence. Tribes counting descent in the male line are always patrilocal; apparently no patrilineal groups are matrilocal. But a considerable number of matrilineal peoples are patrilocal. There is evidence also that in some tribes the system changed from one type to another in the course of time, and possibly in some cases back and forth again without premeditation or even momentary awareness of what was going on. The situation was defined, or defined itself, circumstantially in relation to the prevailing conditions of life, and the defining circumstances were partly economic—the conditions of the food supply.

The original and natural assumption of students of society was that a patriarchate represented the first step in social organization, and that this was later superseded by kingship. Maternal descent and matrilocal residence had not been clearly recognized until Bachofen, in his volume *Das Mutterrecht* (1861), pointed out their prevalence and claimed that the original system was a matriarchate. There was never such a system as a matriarchate, properly speaking, where women were as a class the rulers, but the following passages will make it clear that under the matrilineal-

matrilocal system the women were sometimes definitely in control of "domestic relations":

> [In the Wyandot tribe] there is . . . a complete differentiation of the military from the civil government. The civil government inheres in a system of councils and chiefs.
>
> In each gens there is a council, composed of four women, called *yuwaiyuwana.* These four women councilors select a chief of the gens from its male members—that is, from their brothers and sons. This gentile chief is the head of the gentile council. The council of the tribe is composed of the aggregated gentile councils. The tribal council, therefore, is composed one-fifth of men and four-fifths of women. The sachem of the tribe, or tribal chief, is chosen by the chiefs of the gentes. . . .
>
> The four women councilors of the gens are chosen by the heads of households, themselves being women. There is no formal election, but frequent discussion is had over the matter from time to time, in which a sentiment grows up within the gens and throughout the tribe that, in the event of the death of any councilor, a certain person will take her place.
>
> In this manner there is usually one, two, or more potential councilors in each gens who are expected to attend all the meetings of the council, though they take no part in the deliberations and have no vote. . . .
>
> The gentile chief is chosen by the council women after consultation with the other women and men of the gens. Often the gentile chief is a potential chief through a period of probation. During this time he attends the meetings of the council, but takes no part in the deliberations, and has no vote.
>
> At his installation, the council women invest him with an elaborately ornamented tunic, place upon his head a chaplet of feathers, and paint the gentile totem on his face. The sachem of the tribe then announces to the people that the man has been made chief of the gens, and admitted to the council. This is also followed by a festival.
>
> The sachem of the tribe is selected by the men belonging to the council of the tribe. Formerly the sachemship inhered in the Bear gens, but at present he is chosen from the Deer gens, from the fact, as the Wyandots say, that death has carried away all the wise men of the Bear gens.[1]

This line of investigation led to the rather general conclusion that the first stage of development had been matrilineal-matrilocal, groups of females and their descendants, and that the patrilineal-patrilocal system superseded this and represented a higher level of cultural advancement. But at this point Swanton, substantiated later by Kroeber, pointed out, after a systematic examination of American tribes, that the matrilineal groups were on a higher cultural level than the patrilineal:

[1] Powell, J. W., "Wyandot Government," *Bur. Amer. Ethnol., Ann. Rep.*, **1**: 61–62.

In each [of three areas described] the most advanced tribes, those which, so far as their history is known or may without unreasonable speculation be inferred, have produced a type of civilization, are matrilineal. Those less advanced . . . are patrilineal. Signs of such advancement are agriculture; town life; an intricate economic system; a development of industrial processes or the arts, as statistically determinable by the number of kinds of manufactures; an elaborated religion with numerous and interrelated ceremonies; the ability to develop coherent political institutions.[1]

Upon this background we may examine what were the circumstances which defined the situation in one way or the other. A comparison of the evidence shows that when groups are small and relatively unorganized, living in families or bands rather than sibs and tribes, depending on hunting and gathering for food, the situation is not clearly defined. The residence may be with or near the relatives of either the man or the woman. Neighboring groups of the same cultural level may have opposite practices, and the same pattern is not uniformly followed in a given group. It is a situation where circumstances and personal inclination play a role. In cases where the residence is in the group of the man he nevertheless frequently stays for months or perhaps a year or more, sometimes until a child is born, with his wife's parents before settling definitely with her in his own group. The following items refer to groups of this simple type:

[The Bushmen] have no particular marriage form, yet they are monogamous, and man and wife generally remain faithful to each other till death. Sometimes the young couple build their hut near the bridegroom's father's, sometimes near the bride's. They seem to keep the family groups fairly even.[2]

The young couple continue to live in the *!gari-khois oms* [daughter's hut] for some months before taking up residence with the husband's group. On arrival in his own ||*gaus* [camp] his mother builds a hut for them.[3]

[Among the Punan, a small nomadic tribe of Borneo] the members of the band are for the most part the near relatives of the leader, brothers and sons and nephews with their wives and children. Each man has usually one wife. . . . A young man will become the lover of a girl, generally of some other group than his own, and when she becomes pregnant the marriage is celebrated. There is little or no formal arrangement of marriages by the elders on behalf of the young people. . . . The husband joins the wife's community and generally remains a member of

[1] Kroeber, A. L., "The Matrilineate Again," *Amer. Anth.*, N.S., **19**: 573. See Swanton, J. R., "The Social Organization of American Tribes," *Amer. Anth.*, N.S., **7**: 663–673.

[2] Bleek, W. H. I., *The Mantis and His Friends: Bushman Folklore* (ed. D. F. Bleek), Introduction.

[3] Fourie, L., "Preliminary Notes on Certain Customs of the Hei-||om Bushmen," *Jour. of the S. W. African Soc.*, **1**: 60.

it; unlike the Kayans, among whom a husband, though he may live for some years with his wife's people, eventually brings her to his father's village.[1]

[Among the Veddas of Ceylon] a man spends much of his time with his father-in-law, *i.e.*, with his wife's people, hunting and wandering with them and having perfectly free access to his father-in-law's hunting ground and fishing pools; at Sitala Wanniya we were told that after a few days spent in a shelter on the territory in the man's community, to which the bridegroom carried his bride on first receiving her, the young couple should return to the bride's group. Even at the present day this is the case to a great extent, though among settled communities as at Bandaraduwa there is a tendency for the woman to come to the man's community and stay there with him.[2]

[Among the pygmy, forest-dwelling Semang of the Malay Peninsula] it is customary for the son-in-law to remain for some two years after marriage in the neighborhood of his father-in-law and work for him. Only then does he definitely return with his wife to his father's camp and remain there. But now and then he appears in the camp of his father-in-law to help him.[3]

[A former headman of a pygmy group reported to Czekanowski, on his African expedition, that] the newly weds sleep the first night in the camp of the bride's father. A separate hut is given them, from which they steal away to the camp of the groom's father. [The mother of the bride then visits the camp of her son-in-law, sleeps there one or two nights, and collects arrows, game, and bananas stolen by his people from the neighboring negroes.] On the return of his wife the bride's father . . . declares his son-in-law is a fine fellow and invites him to join the group of his wife. The son-in-law usually does this, and also inherits from his father-in-law.[4]

[Among the Ona of Tierra del Fuego] the first evening of the marriage festival . . . the young pair go to their own newly built house. They stay there about ten days, and the guests who gather disperse quickly. The young wife spends many hours in the house of her parents, but her husband appears there very seldom and then only when he is silently performing small services for his father-in-law. Then the young couple move to the family group of the husband.[5]

Among the Hottentots of South Africa and the Mundugumor of New Guinea a peculiar direction has been taken in the tracing of lineage and the composition of kin groups, all the male children being classed with the mother and all the female with the father:

[1] Hose, C., and W. McDougall, *The Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, **2**: 183–184 (The Macmillan Company By permission).

[2] Seligman, C. G., and B. Z., *The Veddas*, 101 (Cambridge University Press. By permission).

[3] Schebesta, P., *Bei den Urwaldzwergen von Malaya*, 92.

[4] Czekanowski, J., "Forschungen im Nil-Kongo-Zwischengebiet," *Wissenschaftl. Ergeb. der Deutschen Zentral-Afrika-Exped.*, **6**: 486–487.

[5] Gusinde, M., *Die Feuerland Indianer*, **1**: 333 (Verlag der Internat. Zeit. *Anthropos*. By permission).

Here I must mention [says Hahn] a peculiar old custom common to all Khoikhoi tribes, and which proves how well the conjugal ties were already established before the Khoikhoi separation. All the daughters are called after the father and all the sons after the mother. Thus, if the father is *Xam-|hab* and the mother is ‡*Arises*, the sons are—

1. ‡Ariseb geib—*i.e.*, ‡Arise the big one, or the eldest ‡Arise.
2. ‡Ariseb ‡khami, ‡Arise the younger one.

If there are three sons, then the following appellative or cognominal distinctions are made:

1. ‡Ariseb geib.
2. ‡Ariseb !naga-mab—*i.e.*, ‡Arise the-lower-standing, *i.e.*, the second.
3. ‡Ariseb ‡khami. ‡Ariseb the younger one or the youngest.

If there are four sons, the denomination runs thus:

1. ‡Ariseb geib.
2. ‡Ariseb !naga-mab.
3. ‡Ariseb ‡khami.
4. ‡Ariseb !naga-ma-‡khami.

If there are five sons, the denomination is like the preceding, where there are four; the fifth one is called !gaob, and if it is a daughter !gaos, which means the "cut off." And if there are more than five sons, more cognomina such as ‡nub, the dark one, |haib, the fawn-colored one, |awab, the red one, !nubub, the short one, gaxub, the tall one, etc., are used.

In exactly the same way the daughters are called after the father; for instance, Xam-|hab being the father, the suffix *s* of the feminine gender is simply put in place of the masculine *b* and we thus receive:—1. Xam-|has gei*s*. 2. Xam-|has !naga-mas. 3. Xam-|has ‡kham*s*, etc. This custom will guide us, when in the sequel we have to explain the relationship of mythological persons. There is, for instance, !Urisib, the son of Heitsieibib. Our old storyteller did not give us the name of the wife of !Uris*ib*. But from knowing her son's name to be !Uris*ib*, we quite correctly infer that her name certainly was !Urisi-*s*.[1]

Mundugumor social organization [says Mead] is based upon a theory of a natural hostility that exists between all members of the same sex, and the assumption that the only possible ties between members of the same sex are through members of the opposite sex. Instead therefore of organizing people into patrilineal groups or matrilineal groups, in either one of which brothers are bound together in the same group as either their father or their mother's brother, the Mundugumor have a form of organization that they call a *rope*. A rope is composed of a man, his daughters, his daughter's sons, his daughters' sons' daughters; or if the count is begun from a woman, of a woman, her sons, her sons' daughters, her sons' daughters' sons, and so on. All property, with the exception of land, which is plentiful and not highly valued, passes down the rope: even weapons descend from father to daughter. A man and his son do not belong to the same rope, or respect the same totemic bird

[1] Hahn, T., *Tsuni-‖goab*, 19–20 (K. Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co. By permission).

or animal. A man leaves no property to his son, except a share in the patrilineally descended land; every other valuable goes to his daughter. Brothers and sisters do not belong to the same rope; one is bound in allegiance to the mother, the other to the father.[1]

Among the Bushmen, regarded as the lowest in culture among African tribes, Lebzelter reports that boys belong to the sib of the mother and girls to the sib of the father in two groups examined, and in a third the opposite pattern is found, the boys belonging to the sib of the father and the girls to that of the mother.[2]

Fortune has reported from the Melanesian island of Dobu an extraordinary arrangement of alternate annual residence of husband and wife, each in the sib of the other, by yearly periods:

> Each marital grouping possesses two house sites, each site with a house built upon it. The woman has her house in her village, the man has his house in his village. The couple with their children live alternately in the woman's house in the village of the woman's matrilineal kin, and in the man's house in the village of the man's matrilineal kin. The change in residence usually takes place each gardening year, so that the one spouse spends alternate years in the other's place and alternate years in own place; but some couples move more frequently to and fro. It is thus required that every person spend at least every alternate year, he with his sister and mother, she with her brother and mother (and, of course, mother's brothers and sisters). Since every family grouping moves in this fashion, it follows that when a man is in his village his wife is also there, if his mother is in her village his father or his stepfather is also there, and if his sister is in her village his sister's husband is also there. His mother's brother may also be at home. Then his mother's brother's wife will be there. He and his sister, his mother with her sisters and brothers are all owners of the village land where they are resident, owners of the houses built upon it, and owners of the palms growing about the village.[3]

In Melanesian tribes there is usually matrilineal descent with patrilocal residence, and, according to Rivers,

> there is little doubt it is usual throughout Melanesia for a married couple to live with the husband's people. . . . There is thus evidence that even in the part of Melanesia which has social institutions of the most archaic kind, there is no association of matrilocal marriage with matrilineal descent.[4]

[1] Mead, *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies*, 176–177 (William Morrow & Company, Inc. By permission).

[2] Lebzelter, V., "Die Buschmänner Südwestafrikas," *Africa*, **7**: 6–7.

[3] Fortune, R. F., *Sorcerers of Dobu*, 4–5 (London: George Routledge and Sons: New York: E. P. Dutton & Company, Inc. By permission).

[4] Rivers, W. H. R., *The History of Melanesian Society*, **2**: 126 (Cambridge University Press. By permission).

Lowie has made extensive comparisons for North America:

The Pueblo Indians of Arizona and New Mexico form the classical example of matrilocal abode. Among the Hopi the house belongs to the woman, and the daughter after marriage lives with her husband under her mother's roof. The identical scheme prevails among the Zuñi and the Sia. But there is not the usage of the nomadic Navaho: "In the absence of the husband," say our most trustworthy authorities, "the mother pays her daughter an occasional visit." The Apache custom differs from this, yet without conforming to the Pueblo practice. "The young man lived with his father-in-law *for some time* and hunted for the support of the family." . . . Dr. John R. Swanton informs me that among the Creek the women stayed in one place and their husbands came there from other localities, the houses of women of the same clan being built in immediate proximity to one another. This scheme, according to the same authority, seems to have prevailed likewise among the Timucua of Florida. Similarly, the Choctaw men of Bayou Lacomb, Louisiana, lived in their wives' villages. Among the Yuchi there was no obligatory rule. A woman normally left her home and the husband built a house for the new couple; but "sometimes the man goes to live with his wife's parents *until he is able to start for himself.*" . . . [Among the Pacific Coast people] according to Krause, the Tlingit had both matrilocal and patrilocal unions, while Swanton's account strongly suggests the preponderance of the latter. The Haida data are unusually illuminating. A boy became engaged between fifteen and eighteen and during the period of *betrothal* he lived with his fiancée's family, working for them *until* his marriage. But at the wedding ceremony the father of the girl politely disparaged her abilities, adding that "he knew that her future mother-in-law would take care of her, he was glad that his daughter was going to live with the young man's sisters," etc. For the Tsimshian we have recent information to the effect that "the bride is carried down to the canoe, and she departs with her husband to his village, where they live. If the groom belongs to the same village, the couple often stay with the girl's parents."[1]

Boas has described what he assumes to be a movement among the Kwakiutl Indians of the northwest coast from a paternal to a maternal basis by adapting their social laws partly to those of their neighbors:

Among the village communities of Oregon, Washington, and southern Vancouver Island the child belongs to the father's village, where the married couple generally live, and it seems that among many of these tribes the villages are exogamic. Among the Kwakiutl the clans are also exogamic, and certain privileges are inherited in the paternal line, while a much larger number are obtained by marriage. The existence

[1] Lowie, R. H., "The Matrilineal Complex," *Univ. Calif. Pub. in Amer. Archaeol. and Ethnol.*, **16**: 31–32 (rearranged).

of the former class suggests that the organization must have been at one time a purely paternal one. Three causes seem to have disturbed the original organization—the development of the more complex organization mentioned above, the influence of the northern tribes which have a purely maternal organization, and the development of legends referring to the origin of the clans which are analogous to similar traditions of the northern groups of tribes. Taking up the last-named point first, we find that each clan claims a certain rank and certain privileges which are based upon the descent and adventures of its ancestor. These privileges, if originally belonging to a tribe which at one time has been on the paternal stage, would hardly have a tendency to deviate from the law governing this stage. If they have, however, originated under the influence of a people which is on a maternal stage, an abnormal development seems likely. In the north a woman's rank and privileges always descend upon her children. Practically the same result has been brought about among the Kwakiutl, but in a manner which suggests that a people with paternal institutions has adapted its social laws to these customs. Here the woman brings as a dower her father's position and privileges to her husband, who, however, is not allowed to use them himself, but acquires them for the use of his son. As the woman's father, on his part, has acquired his privileges in the same manner through his mother, a purely female law of descent is secured, although only through the medium of the husband. It seems to my mind that this exceedingly intricate law, which will be described in detail in the course of this paper, cannot be explained in any other way than as an adaptation of maternal laws by a tribe which was on a paternal stage. I cannot imagine that it is a transition of a maternal society to a paternal society, because there are no relics of the former stage beyond those which we find everywhere, and which do not prove that the transition has been recent at all. There is no trace left of an inheritance from the wife's brothers; the young people do not live with the wife's parents. But the most important argument is that the customs cannot have been prevalent in the village communities from which the present tribal system originated, as in these the tribe is always designated as the direct descendants of the mythical ancestor. If the village communities had been on the maternal stage, the tribes would have been designated as the descendants of the ancestor's sisters, as is always the case in the legends of the northern tribes.[1]

Where the food problem is extraordinarily difficult patrilocal organization is prominent. The Australian tribes, with a low but very complex culture, are uniformly patrilocal and Radcliffe-Brown has offered the explanation of a precarious and peculiar food environment making it necessary for the man to hunt in the very region in which he grew up:

[1] Boas, F., "The Social Organization and Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," *U.S. Natl. Mus., Rep., for* 1895: 334–335.

In his adaptation to a somewhat unfavorable environment the Australian native has to rely on accumulated detailed knowledge . . . of a certain piece of country. A boy begins to acquire this knowledge about the country of his own horde from a very early age. If he left his own country, say at marriage, this knowledge would be lost and he would have to start over again to learn all that he would require to know about the country to which he moved. Everywhere it is the men who not only control their own activities of hunting or fishing but also control and direct the women's activities of collecting vegetable food. It must be remembered that the territory of a horde is normally more than one hundred square miles in area and that one of the characteristics of Australia is the discontinuous distribution of plants and animals, so that a given species may be found in abundance in a limited area, and then no more specimens may be found over a wide radius until another local patch is reached. The local knowledge possessed by the men is therefore of great importance, and the patrilineal descent of the horde is of very real advantage to the aborigines in their adaptation.[1]

In the cold regions of northeastern America, among the northern Algonkan tribes, where there are definite family hunting territories, Speck has shown that under the hard economic conditions residence is variable, opportunistic, and shifting, with patrilocal residence if possible:

Expedience governs the selection of residence of the son-in-law and daughter-in-law. The whole concern depends upon the number of sons and daughters in the family group, the conditions of physical ability of its members, whether the father is living, and the circumstances of the uncles, the conditions of the game as respects abundance, migration, and the like, the conditions of the hunting districts as respects fire, flood, or economic exhaustion, upon temporary climatic conditions, and even upon personal circumstances. The usual method of social procedure subsequent to marriage, however, appears to be capable of generalization. If there is one son he inherits his father's territory and remains on it after his marriage. The same takes place if the territorial proprietor has one daughter, provided the district is abundant in game. If there are many sons the oldest becomes the leader, as the father grows older, and inherits it when he dies, the other brothers and sisters remaining on it with him according to the size and economic quality of the tract. This, I may say, seems to be the ideal family grouping where a large family band can maintain itself in comfort on one inherited plot. Ordinarily, however, in the inhospitable north country such ideals are futile and we find the most common practice to be for the other sons to join the family band of their fathers-in-law and raise their families as members of the wife's band. The privilege of return to the father's or mother's family is open to the second and third generation, should they be menaced

[1] Radcliffe-Brown, A. R., "The Social Organization of Australian Tribes," *Oceania*, 1: 439.

by famine, orphanage, or destitution. This feature of the individual's association with the wife's family has been noted frequently in the north and elsewhere. It is not necessarily a manifestation of an earlier maternal stage of society.[1]

There are, however, actually two influences related to what are or become characteristic activities of women and men, namely, agriculture and cattle keeping, which, among more complex tribes, have contributed to the fixation of the matrilineal pattern on the one hand and the patrilineal pattern on the other. Illustrative of this (and recalling that Kroeber refers above to the superior advancement of the American matrilineal tribes in agriculture, town life, an intricate economic system, coherent political institutions, etc.), if we examine in more detail what was the nature of this culture we find that it was practically all derived from the agricultural activities of women. For example, among the Iroquois tribes a surprisingly extensive agriculture is revealed in the narratives of the wars against them and is evidently the economic basis of the remarkable political organization of the six tribes and of their stubborn resistance to invasion:

When the Iroquois took possession of the territory which we now know as New York State, they carried on corn culture on a large scale and so important an article of food and commerce was it that most of the European invaders of their territory burned their cornfields and destroyed their corncribs instead of shooting the Iroquois themselves but, as one writer says, the power of the Confederacy remained unbroken. . . .

"I deemed it our best policy [says the French commander Denonville in 1687] to employ ourselves laying the Indian corn which was in vast abundance in the fields, rather than to follow a flying enemy to a distance and excite our troops to catch only some straggling fugitives. . . . We remained at the four Seneca villages until the 24th; the two larger distant four leagues and the others two. All that time was spent in destroying the corn which was in such great abundance that the loss including old corn which was in cache which we burnt and that which was standing, was computed according to the estimate afterwards made at 400 thousand minots (about 1,200,000 bushels) of Indian corn. . . . "

The quantity of corn here destroyed by Denonville is claimed by some authorities to be overestimated and perhaps this is true. . . .

In the journal of Maj. John Burrowes, as in other journals covering the Sullivan campaign [1779], there are many references to the Indian fields. Some instances follow:

"*Friday*, August 27, 1779. *Observations.* We got this night at a large flat three miles distant from Chemung where corn grows such as can not be equalled in Jersey. The field contains about 100 acres, beans,

[1] Speck, F. G., "The Social Structure of the Northern Algonkian," *Amer. Sociol. Soc., Publ.*, **12**: 97–98.

cucumbers, simblens, watermelons and pumpkins in such quantities (were it represented in the manner it should be) would be almost incredible to a civilized people. We sat up until between one and two o'clock feasting on these rarities.

"*Monday, Middletown, 30th Aug.* The army dont march this day but are employed cutting down the corn at this place which being about one hundred and fifty acres, and superior to any I ever saw. . . . (*Observations*): The land exceeds any I have ever seen. Some corn stalks measured eighteen feet and a cob one foot and a half long. Beans, cucumbers, watermelons, muskmelons, simblens are in great plenty. . . .

"*Camp on the Large Flats 6 Miles from Chenesse 15th Sep. Wednesday morning.* The whole army employed till 11 o'clock destroying corn, there being the greatest quantity destroyed at this town than any of the former. It is judged that we have burnt and destroyed about sixty thousand bushels of corn and two or three thousand of beans on this expedition."

In his letter to John Jay under date of September 30, 1779, General Sullivan reported among other things:

"Colonel Butler destroyed in the Cayuga country five principal towns and a number of scattering houses, the whole making about one hundred in number exceedingly large and well built. He also destroyed two hundred acres of excellent corn with a number of orchards one of which had in it 1,500 fruit trees. Another Indian settlement was discovered near Newtown by a party, consisting of 39 houses, which were also destroyed. The number of towns destroyed by this army amounted to 40 besides scattering houses. The quantity of corn destroyed, at a moderate computation, must amount to 160,000 bushels, with a vast quantity of vegetables of every kind. . . . I flatter myself that the orders with which I was entrusted are fully executed, as we have not left a single settlement or a field of corn in the country of the Five Nations. . . . "

In his report of Sept. 16, 1779, to General Washington concerning his raid against the Seneca on the Allegany, Daniel Brodhead said:

"The troops remained on the ground three whole days destroying the Towns & Corn Fields. I never saw finer corn altho' it was planted much thicker than is common with our Farmers. The quantity of Corn and other vegetables destroyed at the several Towns, from the best accounts I can collect from the officers employed to destroy it must certainly exceed five hundred acres which is a low estimate and the plunder is estimated at 30m Dollars" [meaning probably $30,000].[1]

It is certain that the Indian women produced this material culture. The great ears of corn mentioned above had been developing for centuries in the hands of Indian squaws from its origin as a Central American spike of grass. Hunting can never produce rich material culture or sustain a settled population. The

[1] Parker, A. C., "Iroquois Uses of Maize and Other Food Plants," *N. Y. State Mus., Bull.*, **144**: 17–20.

purely hunting tribes of North America required about three square miles of territory for each individual. The weak point in the position of the Indian man with reference to the control of the structuralization of his society was that he kept no cattle with which to compete with the agriculture of the women. In these circumstances the civil government at some points, as noted above for the Wyandots, passed almost completely into the hands of the women. But if Indian men had developed cattle-keeping (impossible because there were no cattle), it is probable that matrilineal descent wherever found would have been converted gradually into patrilineal.

At any rate, a conversion of this kind has long been going on, and is going on at present, in parts of Africa. The black women developed a considerable "hoe culture," and whether from an indeterminate basis or as superseding patrilineal organization lived in matrilineal groups. The order of development and distribution of the two practices have not been adequately studied. But we find localities in which the cattle-keeping activities of the men have become norm-determining and the organization patrilocal and patrilineal. Girls are the "cattle of the family" whose function is to "multiply the spoon of the father." They are bought out of their groups dearly, by partial payments over considerable periods of time.

While the above data indicate that there has been no fixed order of development from one type of residence and lineage to another it will be noticed that on the hunting and gathering level of culture the husband tends to dwell with and serve the parents-in-law for a time and then takes the wife to his own group. With more settled life, agriculture, and increased numbers, and agriculture in the hands of the women maternal residence and descent may prevail, and with cattle-keeping, continued agriculture, political heads, and organized war the tendency is toward patrilineal descent and patrilocal residence.

As far as stages are observable we may say that the first stage tends to be temporary-matrilocal, the second patrilocal, the third matrilocal, the fourth patrilocal-matrilineal, the fifth patrilocal and patrilineal. Counting the first stage as no more than a visit and a courtesy, changes from female to male reckoning are frequently observable, while there are very few changes in the opposite direction. At the same time there is no reason to suppose that all tribes have once passed through a matrilineal-matrilocal period.

The passage of individuals from one group to another in marriage has some psychological, social, and legal aspects which will be considered in the following chapter.

Chapter IX

PATTERNS OF AVOIDANCE AND TRANSITION

The blood-kinship tie, rooted in a habit system continuous from infancy, is stronger than any later artificial bonds, or differs in character from them, and is the one remaining when others fall away. Wives flee to their parents and brothers from marital situations and there are both everyday and classical examples of the choice of a brother as against a husband in emergencies. When Darius, for example, gave the wife of Intaphernes permission to claim the life of a single man of her kindred, she chose her brother, saying that both husband and children could be replaced,[1] and the declaration of the Antigone of Sophocles[2] that she would have performed for neither husband nor children the toil which she undertook for Polynices, "carrying earth in the bosom-fold of her fine linen garment," against the will of the citizens, indicates that the tie of a common womb is stronger than the social tie of marriage.

Under an exogamous system, involving the removal of either men or women in residence from one kinship group to another, there are always in any group a number of persons who are there precisely because they are not kindred. The composition of a group is therefore never homogeneous but consists of a group of blood kin plus a number of men or women who are domiciled there and never completely identified with the blood group. A form of this composition is described by Thomson:

> A clan, in a patrilineal society, consists of a man and all his relatives in the male line; that is, his father, his father's brothers and sisters, his own brothers and sisters, and his sons and daughters, and all the children of the male members of the clan only. All these men, however, marry women who are members of other clans, and again their sisters and daughters marry men of other clans, so that the group of people popularly spoken of as a "camp," that is found at any time within a clan territory, really consists of members of many clans, and for this group the word horde will be used. Thus a horde consists of all the male members of the clan whose territory it inhabits, with their wives, who, though they are members of the horde, are not members of the clan (since entry to a clan is by birth alone), and less those women of the clan who have married into other hordes. But while they may change their

[1] Herodotus (ed. Rawlinson) 1: 173.
[2] Line 905 *ff.*

hordes by marriage, they can never change their clans. It is clear, therefore, that although the horde is the war-making group, the clan, and not the horde, is the landowning group; a clan is a stable, permanent, structural unit of society; but the horde is unstable; it is a sociological entity the membership of which is constantly changing. I do not propose to go more fully into this subject here, but brief mention must be made of the bond that unites members of the two groups. It may be noted that solidarity within the clan is maintained by the bond furnished by (1) common descent, (2) the possession of common totems, (3) the possession of a common territory. Solidarity within the horde rests upon none of these permanent foundations: it depends solely upon the cohesive force supplied by such social institutions as marriage and the bond set up between a man and a woman (who are members of different clans) by the family, centered in their children, and by the sharing of normal activities of everyday life, by fighting with other hordes—in all of which a bond of solidarity within the horde is affirmed and strengthened by collective ceremonies such as dancing, especially war, funeral, and vengeance dances.[1]

The admission of an unrelated man to a kinship group and, especially, the removal of a girl to an unrelated group fall in the category of bargaining, and marriage frequently gives rise to emotional reactions, the employment of peculiar power devices, and eventually to certain norms of customary law. The incorporation of a strange element through marriage is further accompanied by forms of avoidance which register a state of hesitation between habit systems and are calculated to provoke respect and eventually submission and service from the intruder.

Aside from mere repulsion, avoidance in general contains attitudes of fear and respect. The avoidance of names, for example, illustrated in the chapter on language, is a negative aspect of the positive forms of etiquette mentioned in the same connection. Avoidance is also employed by primitives in directions and to extremities unknown to us. It might, for example, excite unfavorable comment among ourselves if a married man associated freely with unmarried girls or young wives. Among the Andamanese the feeling of propriety in such a situation has taken the following exaggerated form:

A married man may not and will not have any close dealings with the wife of a man younger than himself. It is not considered fitting that he should speak to her. If he wished to have any communication with her, he would do so through some third person. It would be regarded as a wrong thing to do if he were ever to touch her. The only

[1] Thomson, D. F., "The Joking Relationship and Organized Obscenity in North Queensland," *Amer. Anth.*, N.S., **37**: 462–463, note.

explanation that the natives give of this custom is by saying that a man feels "shy" or "ashamed" towards his younger brother's or friend's wife. The custom is exactly the same with respect to the wife of any younger man, whether a brother, a cousin, or a stranger.

This custom depends on the distinction between older and younger. A man may be on terms of familiarity with the wife of a man older than himself, whom he would treat much as he would an elder sister.[1]

By a stretch of the imagination we can conceive of a social code in some civilized group whereby a married man would be expected to associate with no women except his wife, and the Seligmans think that something comparable with this exists among the Veddas of Ceylon:

We are not quite clear what is the correct attitude of a man towards his wife's sisters or those of his *naena* [class into which he may marry] whom he does not expect to marry, but we believe that generally speaking any close contact is avoided between adults of opposite sexes, and that practically no man may come in contact with any woman of about his own age except his wife.[2]

We are sometimes aware of an emotional resistance to meeting a person with whom we have shared a painful or disagreeable experience. Persons who were saved together from a burning ship would be an example. Young aviators in the World War are usually reticent about their experiences. The recall is displeasurable. And on a not necessarily painful level but in a situation containing some strain and embarrassment, or even intimacy, some break in the habit system, cases are recorded where the participants avoid one another thereafter:

Among the Kikuyu, two men circumcised at the same ceremony cannot go into each other's huts or even touch one another and neither may their children by their first wives. The prohibition may be removed by an exchange of goats, or beer, which both families consume together in a hut. This prohibition does not extend to children of younger wives or to grandchildren.[3]

Radcliffe-Brown reports a similar situation among the Andamanese:

Two men who have been through either the turtle-eating ceremony or the pig-eating ceremony . . . on the same occasion . . . will avoid any contact with one another, not speaking to nor looking at each other when they chance to meet, but on the other hand they will be constantly

[1] Radcliffe-Brown, A. R., *The Andaman Islanders*, 80 (Cambridge University Press. By permission).
[2] Seligman, C. G., and B. Z., *The Veddas*, 68 (Cambridge University Press. By permission).
[3] Hobley, C. W., *Bantu Beliefs and Magic*, 87 (H. F. and G. Witherby. By permission).

giving each other presents of all kinds, sending them through some third person.[1]

Among some tribes avoidance in connection with naming, age levels, kinship relationships, magical concepts, incest tabus, the residence of sons-in-law and daughters-in-law in families, etc., leads to far-reaching, bizarre, and inexplicable fashions, as reported by Jochelson from the Siberian Yukaghir:

> Brothers should not converse with one another, nor brothers with sisters, nor sisters with one another. By "brothers and sisters" is here meant also cousins, male and female. . . . The father does not speak to the daughter's husband, nor the elder brother to the younger sister's husband. . . . In domestic life this causes much inconvenience. When, for instance, a father-in-law tells his son-in-law to do something, he does not address him directly, but speaks in the plural, impersonally, or by hints, not looking at his son-in-law at all. Thus the father-in-law will say, "It is time to go and inspect the traps for the foxes;" or, "I should like a drink, who is to bring the water?" . . . Even children, when addressed by their father, are not called by their names, or by the word "son," but are addressed, although directly, by the word "*kie*," which means "friend," "comrade." In the same way a younger brother is addressed by his elder brother, only with the difference that the plural is used, . . . [for example], "Friends, bring the arrow."[2]

In the island of Dobu, according to Fortune, persons made intimate through common experience avoid one another's names to signalize a changed tensional relationship:

> Any two persons who have privately shared food together, or have given each other magical ritual, or have lain the two in close succession with a woman they have been cooperating in seducing, or have shared a journey on their common errand, avoid each other's personal names as a token of their friendship. It must be a private matter between two persons only. In an essentially similar way a youth never uses the name of a girl he has lain with in his nightly excursions, or she his. I have no evidence that the avoidance of names between two persons of the same sex who have shared in a private *tête à tête* affair is homosexual, however. It is obviously wider than sex. For instance, I had to avoid the personal name of the man with whom I went for many days deep into the bush to learn magical ritual. We always called each other *igu esoi*, my partner of a day's private journey. Similarly, two men who share cooked sago privately call each other my sago sharer, or cooked fish, my fish sharer, or a joint seduction of a woman, my sharer in seduction. Persons who contract these privately chosen partnerships give each other private

[1] Radcliffe-Brown, *op. cit.*, 81 (Cambridge University Press. By permission).

[2] Jochelson, W., "The Yukaghir and the Yukaghirised Tungus," *Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., Mem.* 13,: 75–77, *passim.*

gifts often. The whole relationship is nonpublic, nonceremonial, privately contracted friendship. Here the disuse of personal names connotes the opposite of distance in feeling.[1]

We have seen in other chapters that social distance is very finely discriminated, and the fact that avoidance is used to signalize both affective remoteness and nearness, and also to define relative positions in a group (as in the Yukaghir example), indicates that its most general meaning is that of a sign to denote status.

The notorious mother-in-law avoidance has sometimes been interpreted as a sexual avoidance. The young husband, it is said, and the wife's mother are brought by marriage into daily contact and throw up a barrier of reserve by not speaking to or looking at one another. But the practice has no such meaning. The mother-in-law avoidance is no more than a perseverative application of a device for denoting relationship, and we shall notice presently that the most extreme direction of the avoidance is in some cases not toward the mother-in-law but toward someone else. But the mother's establishment has been invaded, and while she may welcome the alliance, she frequently takes advantage of the situation to discipline and conform her daughter's husband, to hold him in a state of suspense, and often to exact tribute from him.

Mother-in-law avoidance is very severe in Australia, and Warner's statement on the Murngin tribe is typical:

> The whole relationship of *mokul* [mother-in-law] and *gurrong* [son-in-law] is one of complete mutual avoidance. He cannot speak to her; she cannot speak to him. He does not look at her; she does not look at him. They do not hand any article to each other nor use each other's names. Should they meet on a path, they each turn aside and walk past with their eyes averted. There is no direct contact between the two, except in very unusual cases or in times of great emotion, such as during a fight, when a man or a woman is not aware of what he is doing. Their whole relationship is an indirect one. . . . A child before circumcision is exempt from these rules because he is considered too young to understand them. After this he is told to observe all these tabus in his relationship with all his mokul. A young mokul is also told at a very early age that she must observe all the tabus surrounding the gurrong. If a mokul has become very old it is possible to talk to her, receive food, and be near her, but the relationship is always most formal and reserved.[2]

The custom in North Queensland, including the development of a special language in that connection, is described by Thomson:

[1] Fortune, R. F., *Sorcerers of Dobu*, 66–67 (London: George Routledge and Sons; New York: E. P. Dutton & Company, Inc. By permission).

[2] Warner, W. L., "Morphology and Functions of the Australian Murngin Type of Kinships," *Amer. Anth.*, N.S., **32**: 250.

In certain of the relationships established by marriage, the pattern of behavior is one of restraint so severe that a special vocabulary, amounting in certain cases almost to a separate language, is employed. This language is well developed in the Koko, Ya'o, Ompela, Kanju, and Wik Monkan languages. In the Ompela tribe, the behavior between individuals who apply the term *yami* (wife's mother ⇄ daughter's husband) reciprocally is normally one of absolute avoidance. Not only may they never speak, but they must not approach, or even look directly at, one another, and the woman may carry a palm leaf shade or a sheet of tea tree bark, with which she covers her face when she passes in the vicinity of her yami. It will be evident, therefore, that the license permitted in the yami joking relationship constitutes a simple reversal of this behavior.

The behavior obligatory between father-in-law and son-in-law is only less severe. A father-in-law, *i.e.*, the husband of a *yami*, is *armpaiyi*. This man may speak to his daughter's husband (*nartjamono*), but the latter may not reply directly. The son-in-law may talk "one side," that is, while he may not address his elder in ordinary speech (*koko*), he may speak in the language known as *nornki*. Even in this language, however, he may not address his remarks in the first person directly to his *armpaiyi*, but to his child, or even to his dog, to which he speaks as to a son,[1] and not directly to the person for whom the remark is intended. A similar type of behavior exists between a man and his wife's brother (*piloba* ⇄ *moryu*). A moryu may speak to his piloba, that is to his sister's husband, but the latter may not reply directly; he "talks one side," that is, he uses nornki, not koko. Nornki does not comprise a complete language, but a set of names for the most important objects and articles of everyday life, as well as certain verbs. It is a skeleton language only, but it must be remembered that this is probably correlated with the type of behavior obligatory between those by whom it is employed, among whom communication, especially verbal communication, is reduced to a minimum. The existence of this language, and of special terms for many objects, the names of which may be tabu (*kintja*) during the "period of separation" during mourning, is probably responsible for the suggestion that sometimes has been advanced that languages in Australia are unstable and that the name of an object obtained at one time may be entirely different from that obtained at another. In spite of the fact that this dual language occurs in most, if not all, the tribes of Cape York Peninsula, and its obvious importance to an understanding of these people, as far as I am aware its existence has never hitherto been recognized or recorded.

[In the Wik Monkan tribe if a mother-in-law] wishes to ask her son-in-law for tobacco (normally *mai ken*), she may not use direct talk . . . which is . . . "Son-in-law I tobacco nothing," but [in aside language] speaking *to her daughter's dog:* . . , "Daughter's son (*i.e.*, the dog is the

[1] In these tribes a dog has a place in the kinship system; it is *piado* (son or daughter, man speaking) to a man, and *mampa* (son or daughter, woman speaking) to his wife.

child of her *tuwa*), I tobacco nothing." If he has none, instead of replying directly . . . he again addresses the dog: . . . "Son (to his dog) I (have) nothing," or if he has a small piece only he may say . . . "Here (is) son no good." Freely rendered, "Son, here is a little no good piece."[1]

A missionary among a New Britain group, when investigating the native conception of an oath, found that the most binding statement was associated with mother-in-law avoidance:

When he [Mr. Brown] was translating the gospel of St. Mark he, of course, had to translate the passage about Herod swearing to give the damsel what she asked, even to the half of his kingdom, and he had to investigate the question of the natives' idea of an oath, and he found that the most solemn oath a man could take, was: "Sir, if I am not telling the truth I hope I may shake hands with (touch the hand of) my mother-in-law."[2]

Among the Ona, at the southern extremity of South America, we find an indirect form of address from father-in-law to son-in-law comparable with the Chukchee address of father to son. The two live in a relation of respect and amity but never converse. The father-in-law expresses his wishes in a soliloquy which the son-in-law overhears:

The son-in-law may never speak to the father-in-law nor look in his face, nor sit in his presence. . . . If he has something to ask or communicate he does this through his young wife. But if the old man has something to say to him he has him called and the son-in-law sits with averted face in the hut or at the entrance. Presently the old man speaks, not in the way of conversation but as a soliloquy, as if no one were present: "Yesterday I killed two guanacos, but I could bring only one home. I am old, two guanacos are too much for an old man. I wish someone could bring the other. He is lying directly south from here on this side of the river at the foot of the steep cliffs." Or he says: "Last night I dreamed that my brother is sick. He probably is. I have not seen him for a long time. I wish I had news of him." Another expression is, "My moccasins are so worn out. I wish I had a new pair. There is leather lying outside."[3]

Avoidances are neither so severe nor apparently so widespread in America as in Africa and Australia. It is always impossible to determine precisely the incidence of a practice or the degree of borrowing involved. Observers may report that a custom is present or is lacking, or they may not mention it at all. But Lowie reports

[1] Thomson, *op. cit.*, 480, 485.
[2] *Proc. Roy. Geo. Soc.*, N.S., **9**: 17 [Secretary's report of the discussion of a paper].
[3] Gusinde. M., *Die Feuerland Indianer*, **1**: 333 (Verlag der Internat. Zeit. *Anthropos*. By permission).

from an inspection of his notes that the mother-in-law tabu is present in twenty-seven American tribes, lacking in seventeen, and otherwise undetermined.[1] Kroeber's statement on this and other avoidances among the Arapaho is rather typical for the practice where it exists among the tribes of the Plains:

> The restrictions as to intercourse between certain relations, which are so widespread in North America, exist also among the Arapaho. A man and his mother-in-law may not look at or speak to each other. If, however, he gives her a horse, he may speak to her and see her. The same restrictions exist between father and daughter-in-law as between mother and son-in-law, say the Arapaho (though perhaps they are less rigid).[2]

In Africa, the avoidances are very far-reaching and excessive in certain regions:

> [Among the Lotuko, a Nilotic tribe] "*Komani*," parents-in-law and children-in-law, is a reciprocal term, and is used both for, and by, both sexes; its use is extended to include the spouses of the grandchildren and those of the brothers' and sisters' children.
>
> A man fears and respects all those whom he calls *komani*, and avoids them until his wife has borne a child. After this he may enter the house of his parents-in-law and drink beer, but he will not sit down in the presence of his mother-in-law, nor ever sleep in the same house, nor will he touch any of his komani, male or female, except that when making a ceremonial salutation before going on a journey or on his return he might touch their hands. A man treats the parents-in-law of any man he calls *woke* as his own parents-in-law. Ceremonial avoidance is observed in the usual way; a man seeing anyone whom he should avoid, on a track, would leave it and make a detour, while the woman would squat down and avert her head. Two persons between whom there is avoidance would never be found inside a hut at the same time. A woman treats her husband's parents in a similar manner, but we think the rules are less stringent between a woman and her father-in-law than those between a man and his mother-in-law. The custom of avoidance is not, however, carried to the length that is practiced among some neighboring tribes. A man may stay in a village where his komani live and may even attend dances that they also attend, though he would take care not to dance near them.[3]

The avoidance of the village in which the mother-in-law resides, and even the villages of more remote relatives, prevails among the Shilluk but in a property and etiquette context where the women

[1] Lowie, R. H., "Notes on the Social Organization and Customs of the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Crow Indians," *Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., Anth. Pap.*, **21**: 91.

[2] Kroeber, A. L., "The Arapaho," *Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., Anth. Pap.*, **18**: 10.

[3] Seligman, C. G. and B. Z., *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, 318–319 (George Routledge and Sons. By permission).

employ the tabu as a power device and require in this connection an excessive degree of recognition and respect:

Everywhere the "in-law" relationship is one that requires much tact, and the Shilluk, as is usual in savage society, show respect by means of ceremonial avoidance. While much emphasis is laid upon the avoidance of persons related by marriage, it should be noted that there is no avoidance between blood relations—a man does not avoid his mother, sister, or daughter.

A Shilluk avoids all those whom he calls *ora*, of whom the first in importance is the wife's mother. In those parts of the Shilluk country that we visited, avoidance of the mother-in-law implied that a man must not enter her house, and care would be taken never to meet her face to face out of doors. If a man saw his mother-in-law he would take a different road and send a friend to greet her respectfully. We did not find avoidance carried to the length described by Hofmayr, who states that a man may not enter the village in which his mother-in-law dwells; one informant, however, told us that a man might not enter her village until the cows of the bride wealth had been paid.

Among the late Dr. Rivers' notes is a case recorded at Goz Garri, north of the main Shilluk country, where "not only was the village avoided, but the term mother-in-law had the most liberal interpretation I have ever known. The very wide extension of this tabu came out through a concrete case. I took a Shilluk to Goz Garri from Hillet Abbas. He was unmarried, and directly we landed he disappeared to the outskirts of the village and could not be persuaded to go into the village with me. The cause was the presence of the wife of the father of Abaro (not her actual mother), Abaro being the wife of Akwuit, whom the man called *uwa*. Akwuit was the great-grandson of Pijib, the half brother of Kwotbil, the great-grandfather of the man, so that in our nomenclature a man has to avoid for life the stepmother of the wife of his third cousin. The reality of the avoidance was obvious, but I could not discover what would result if it were infringed, except a quarrel and the chance of a blow from the Shilluk club. . . . "

Although this behavior seems so absurd to us, it is only the extreme application of the ceremonial etiquette due to the wife's mother. Its extension to the mother-in-law of the *uwa* will be apparent when rights of access and inheritance are considered. It is possible that the refusal to enter the village may have been due to this Shilluk exercising his rights of access and carrying on an intrigue with Abaro; it must be noticed that the man in question was not married. It seems improbable that a man would be obliged to avoid the villages of all the classificatory mothers-in-law of all his clansmen, as the restrictions of his movements would be intolerable, and it is possible that this case arose from special circumstances. But on stating this case to one of our informants at Fenikang, the wide significance of the conception of the wife's mother seemed quite correct to him. He said that all the wives of the "fathers," as well as

all the actual mothers of all the wives of those men whom he called *uwa*, were *ora* to him and hence should be avoided. To him, however, this form of ceremonial behavior did not necessitate the avoidance of the villages where these women lived. He volunteered the information that potentially he was heir to the wives of any of his uwa, but that should he try to claim the widow of one of his uwa, not having previously avoided her mother, the latter would make much trouble about it and try to prevent him from marrying her daughter. He might perhaps be able to settle the matter by killing a sheep and getting some old man to act as peacemaker. The wide rights of access that the Shilluk have to the wives of certain of their clansmen and the wide sense in which inheritance of a "brother's" wife may be interpreted is thus intimately connected with their liberal interpretation of avoidance.

Avoidance of certain other women would not prevent a man from entering the house and even eating there, so long as the woman absented herself and the man sat upon the bare ground. To sit upon a skin, which might be the woman's sleeping mat, would be an intolerable breach of etiquette, for such an act might be taken to imply the possibility of sexual relations.[1]

Nevertheless the women are equally circumspect in their avoidance. Among the Pangwe

the mother-in-law avoids also all the sib members of her son-in-law. She sneaks like a thief behind the dwellings into the house of her daughter to avoid being seen.[2]

In spite of the rigid avoidance, this relation to parents-in-law is frequently reported to be affectionate and cooperative.

This tabu does not imply any animosity between the two (mother-in-law and son-in-law), their indirect relationship usually being most pleasant. A man is proud of his mokul, and boasts of her kindness to him. She always sends him food and her most prized possessions through her daughter, and he returns them through his wife. She, too, is equally proud of her gurrong, and tells of his many kindnesses to her.[3]

Steps are frequently taken, in fact, to show that good feeling exists in spite of the avoidance. The Andamanese, who were mentioned above as expressing sympathy by weeping, are also amiable in this relation and send gifts back and forth while never meeting:

There is one special relationship which has peculiar duties attaching to it, and this is the relationship between the father and mother of a man on the one hand and the father and mother of the man's wife on the other.

[1] Seligman, C. E. and B. Z., *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, 55–57 (George Routledge and Sons. By permission).
[2] Tessman, G., *Die Pangwe*, 2: 261.
[3] Warner, *op. cit.*, 251.

In the Akar-Bale language such persons are said to be *akayat* to one another. A man or a woman will not have any immediate dealings with a person who is his akayat. He will not speak to him, and if they should meet or be sitting near to one another they would avoid looking at each other. On the other hand, a man is constantly sending presents to his akayat.[1]

Some documents collected by Whitehead among the Nilotic Bari contain the following statement by a native:

The mother and the son-in-law—their affection for each other surpasses, goes beyond the father-in-law, because the son-in-law is able to support (her) very much, and the thing which is eaten he wishes to make his mother-in-law eat it every time. Therefore the love of the mother-in-law becomes great for the son-in-law. She also wishes to make the son-in-law eat of what she has, as with tobacco, it is never wasted, as with beer, it is never wasted. And everything which is good, she wishes to give to her son-in-law. But the father-in-law wishes his things to be cattle and if there are many cattle, then he loves his son-in-law.[2]

But, on the other hand, we find the following saying among the Nankanse of West Africa, and it is plain that in general the relationship contains the same ambivalence as between civilized mothers-in-law and sons-in-law:

You cannot, it is true, take an arrow and shoot at your wife's father and mother, but you would make war on other people in her section. Your parents-in-law, too, would not mind killing you; your *dema* relationship is not a close friendly thing; you do not tell your secrets to them or trust them, whereas your *pugera* (paternal aunt) and *aseba* (maternal uncle) are close to you.[3]

The mother-in-law is the prominent figure in the situation and is probably the source of the extreme structuralization of the pattern. But it is significant that the avoidance sometimes begins with the mention of marriage, when, for example, a girl is promised at birth or even before birth in Africa or Australia, and boys sometimes avoid their own parents as soon as their marriage is mentioned or planned:

[Among the Victorian tribes of Australia] a stupid custom existed, which they called "*knal-oyne.*" Whenever a female child was promised in marriage to any man, from that very hour neither he nor the child's mother were permitted to look upon or hear each other speak nor hear their names mentioned by others; for if they did they would immediately grow prematurely old and die.[4]

[1] Radcliffe-Brown, *op. cit.*, 80 (Cambridge University Press. By permission).
[2] Seligman, C. G. and B. Z., "The Bari," *Jour. Anth. Inst.*, 58: 441.
[3] Rattray, R. S., *The Tribes of the Ashanti Hinterland*, 1: 276 (Clarendon Press. By permission).
[4] Parker, J., in R. B. Smyth's *Aborigines of Victoria*, 2: 156.

On one of the Solomon Islands

individuals are betrothed while still young. . . . On one occasion, when assisting the medical officer to make an examination of the whole population, I summoned a boy and his betrothed at the same time, to see what would happen. They came, but it would be impossible to picture two individuals more uncomfortable. The rest of the people were intensely amused, and some of them begged me to call up all the other betrothed couples in the same way. The fact that people were so amused and not shocked would seem to indicate that the avoidance is purely a question of individual shyness and not an express social convention. This is further borne out by the playful custom of calling betrothed people by one another's names, which embarrasses them and never fails to make other people laugh.[1]

Westermarck has pointed out that in Morocco a youth avoids his own parents from the moment marriage is mentioned:

It seems to me quite clear that the young man's shyness of his parents-in-law is psychologically connected with his shyness of his own parents with reference to his marriage. This shyness shows itself from the moment when the marriage is first thought of till the wedding has passed and even longer. We have seen that there is no conversation on the subject between the young man and his parents, or at least his father, and that he sometimes avoids entirely the latter from the day when the arrangements for his marriage commence.[2]

The shyness mentioned here and the avoidance in general are therefore not specifically sexual but are primarily embarrassments in the face of a critical and transitional situation. Agitation is involved in any sudden change in habit systems, and in the present situation the relinquishment of the girl will be accompanied by forms of resistance, especially on the part of the mother, through a period of readjustment and until certain formalities, services, and attentions from the groom have reconciled her. Between mother-in-law and son-in-law the relation frequently takes the form of total temporary avoidance, which may persist as a permanent habit. But the avoidance may cease if he is a good provider, if he makes gifts to his parents-in-law, if he has distinguished himself notably, in connection with sickness or a bereavement which softens everybody, etc. Very frequently the man is fully accepted on the birth of the first child. Sometimes he is adopted as a child if his wife dies. From one African tribe it is reported that the appreciation demanded by the mother-in-law is cohabitation with the groom

[1] Hogbin, H. I., "The Sexual Life of the Natives of Ontong Java (Solomon Islands)," *Jour. Polynesian Soc.*, **40**: 27–28.

[2] Westermarck, E., *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, 313 (The Macmillan Company. By permission).

before he marries her daughter, but in this society this is not to be regarded from its sexual aspect but as a recognition of the mother, and, so to speak, an inclusion of her in a social relationship:

Among the Nile Dinka, after the first child is born the father will come to see it (as usual among the Dinka, the birth of the first child takes place in the hut of its maternal grandparents). The mother-in-law will kill a sheep and make beer, and she will put a piece of meat into the mouth of her son-in-law. After this they may see each other and speak face to face. The father-in-law will present him with a pipe of tobacco and henceforth they may treat one another as father and son. A similar custom is probably observed by the Ngok, for we were told that at the end of three years a man could give his mother-in-law some cows, after which the two might converse together. The Bor Dinka did not know of such a custom.[1]

[Among the Crow Indians] when a man's wife has died, the deceased woman's mother may absolve both herself and her son-in-law from the customary tabu by addressing him as her son. Thereafter the relationship between them is like that of mother and son, and is not dissolved even if the man should remarry.[2]

[Among the Blackfoot] if the son-in-law is ill, she may, in case of need, care for him and speak to him; upon his recovery the tabu is considered as permanently removed. Each may call on the other when in great danger, after which they need not be ashamed to meet. Sometimes when a man went out to war or was missing, his mother-in-law would register a vow that if he returned alive, she would shake hands with him and give him a horse and feel no more shame at meeting. The son-in-law may remove the tabu by presenting a few captured guns or horses. Some informants claim that four such presentations were necessary, after which his mother-in-law would take him by the hand and thus remove the tabu. She may receive support from her son-in-law but, even with the tabu removed, must not live in the same tipi with him, a small one being set up outside. It is observable that the presents for removing the tabu bear some analogy to those made the father-in-law during the first months of married life and may be genetically related to that practice.[3]

[Among the Cree] although the mother-in-law and father-in-law tabus were formerly very strong, there was one occasion when they might be temporarily lifted. When a man returned from a successful raid, he blackened his face with charcoal and went directly to his parents-in-law, told them what he had done, gave them part or all of his spoils, and, beginning with his father-in-law, blackened their faces. This was a great honor to them.[4]

[1] Seligman, C. G. and B. Z., *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, 166 (George Routledge and Sons. By permission).

[2] Lowie, R. H., "Social Life of the Crow Indians," *Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., Anth. Pap.*, **9**: 213.

[3] Wissler, C., "Social Organization and Ritualistic Ceremonies of the Blackfoot Indians," *Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., Anth. Pap.*, **7**: 12–13.

[4] Skinner, A., "Political Organization, Cults and Ceremonies of the Plains-Ojibway and Plains-Cree Indians," *Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., Anth. Pap.*, **11**: 522.

[Among the Wahehe] the bridegroom has first to sleep with his mother-in-law, when he may cohabit with the daughter. A case happened here lately where the marriage was broken off because the mother of the bride (who was a Wahehe) wanted the bridegroom to sleep with her first, but he, being a Mgogo, refused.[1]

It is noticeable that these exactions of service and behavior are applied mainly to men who remove women to their own groups or settle in the groups of their brides. But in certain localities there are definite patterns of etiquette through which the bride is incorporated. In some Caucasian tribes she must remain silent for a period of time:

[Among the Abchasses] for several months she speaks to no one. Then she begins to speak to the younger ones of the household and village, and also with older persons, and last of all with mother-in-law and father-in-law.[2] [In Circassia] the bride for a year from the day of her marriage, is not allowed to speak a word louder than a whisper, not even with her own parents, when another feast is celebrated, which gives her the full use of her tongue.[3]

Haxthausen describes the gradual lifting of the inhibition on speech in an Armenian tribe:

The young people of both sexes enjoy perfect liberty within the recognized limits of manners and propriety. . . . But with marriage the scene changes. The word which the young woman pronounces at the altar, in accepting her husband, is the *last* that is for a long time heard from her lips. From that moment she never appears, even in her own house, unveiled. She is never seen abroad in the public streets, except when she goes to church, which is only twice in the year, and then closely veiled. If a stranger enters the house or garden, she instantly conceals herself. With no person, not even her father or brother, is she allowed to exchange a single word; and she speaks to her husband only when they are alone. With the rest of the household she can only communicate by gestures, and by talking on her fingers. This silent reserve, which custom imperatively prescribes, the young wife maintains until she has borne her first child, from which period she becomes gradually emancipated from her constraint: she speaks to her newborn infant; then her mother-in-law is the first person she may address; after awhile she is allowed to converse with her own mother, then with her sisters-in-law, and afterwards her own sisters. Now she begins to talk with the young girls in the house, but always in a gentle whisper, that none of the male part of the family may hear what is said. The wife however is not fully emancipated, her education is not completed, until after the lapse of six years, and even then she

[1] Cole, H., "Notes on the Wagogo of German East Africa," *Jour. Anth. Inst.*, **32**: 312.
[2] Seidlitz, N. von, "Die Abchasen," *Globus*, **66**: 41. *Cf.* Haxthausen, A. von, *Transcaucasias: Sketches of the Nations and Races between the Black Sea and the Caspian*, **2**: 23.
[3] Spenser, E., *Travels in Circassia*, **2**: 98.

can never speak with any strangers of the other sex, nor appear before them unveiled.[1]

In parts of Africa the organization of life on a property basis and the extraordinary value of women in this connection lend themselves to the informal exploitation of sons-in-law, to delays over a period of years in relinquishing the bride to the husband's group, to unique ramifications of marriage from the property standpoint, to protracted deliberations and negotiations over the suitability of marriages, and to a complicated network of legal safeguards.

The exactions from a son-in-law among the Venda are reported by Wessman:

> If a man has acquired a wife and paid the purchase price, he is required on the third day after the wedding to make a payment of 10*s.*, this being the official announcement to the parents-in-law of the cohabitation of the newly married couple. Then, perhaps, the time arrives for plowing the fields, when every black sows his land. During this season the new son-in-law becomes the most faithful servant and the first of all his father-in-law's laborers; not only serving him, though he may neglect his own work, but also paying the other laborers with a goat, which is killed and consumed after the work is over. Should the father-in-law consider certain repairs to his house, or new construction, necessary, they are gratuitously done by his son-in-law. The son-in-law is also the best messenger and a constant companion of his father-in-law, for whom of late years he has habitually paid the Government tax, amounting, together with his own, to £4 sterling.
>
> The mother-in-law plays an even more important part. Notwithstanding that she has already received presents from the son-in-law during the engagement of the young couple, she continues to receive them. She is, however, so "near" that she does not grant her son-in-law the pleasure of eating with her from the same dish, nor of taking any meal in the same room with her. When he visits her he receives his meal on a separate dish, and may consume it apart, in some remote corner. She also rules her daughter, and intervenes in the most intimate relations between the two young people without the husband being able to prevent it; and she must always remain the "dear mother-in-law." If, for example, she has just recovered from an illness and exhibits a special appetite for meat, the son-in-law has, perforce, to satisfy this penchant. The hint is quietly given by the despatch of someone to him with a full description of her illness. This suffices, and he quickly provides the desired sheep or goat, either buying or borrowing it. He thereafter personally presents it to his dear mother-in-law with a speech as voluble as it is polite.
>
> As the blacks usually sleep at night in their huts near the fire, little accidents are of frequent occurrence. For instance, the blanket is damaged by a piece of burning charcoal. Should such an accident

[1] von Haxthausen, *Transcaucasia*, 226–227.

happen to a mother-in-law, the dutiful son-in-law comes forward and mends the hole in the old blanket by providing a new one, which usually costs 10*s*.

All these payments, and many more too numerous to mention, are, however, of no avail to give the husband any greater authority over his wife. He must, in addition, be very nice to her, otherwise she does not cook his meals, or on the smallest quarrel or difference of opinion she goes back to her mother. In the latter case there is nothing left to the husband but later to go to his mother-in-law, leading a goat and craving for peace. The mother then recommends her daughter to return to her husband. Some mothers induce their daughters to leave their husbands from time to time, thereby securing a source of revenue for themselves.[1]

It is certainly more definitely in this connection than from homesickness that African wives leave home with surprising frequency, under some slight provocation, and return only on the payment of a fine, usually a sheep or a chicken. A runaway pattern is established in some tribes, and Spieth says of the West African Ewe that a young wife who does not run away twice is laughed at by the other women.[2]

The gradual transition, over a period of years, of the girl to the group of the man and the intermediate resistances are further illustrated in the case of the Bor, who are both cultivators and cattle keepers:

We are indebted to Archdeacon Shaw for the following account of betrothal and marriage among the Bor. When a man wishes to marry he calls together his age-fellows and with them visits the house of the girl of his choice; he must obtain their approval before proceeding further in the matter. From this time onward he must not speak to his bride-elect, but his age-fellows visit her and ask for a present of tobacco; she pretends not to know who the would-be bridegroom is, and asks whether all the young men are to be her husbands. The girl asks her father for the tobacco, and if he gives it this is a sign that he approves her choice. After this she will visit her suitor's home with her age-fellows and will help in sowing or gathering the harvest. The bridegroom-elect and his age-fellows will leave the cattle enclosure where all the young men usually sleep and join the girl's party in a hut. A similar return visit will be paid when the young men help with the preparation or gathering of the harvest, but in this case the bridegroom does not go—presumably in order to avoid meeting his future mother-in-law—but he is represented by one of his male relatives.

The girl again visits the home of the bridegroom, this time without her age-fellows. She is feasted and entertained, and sleeps in a hut with the bridegroom and his fellows. After a few days a male relative of the

[1] Wessman, R., *The Bawenda of the Spelonken*, 45–47 (The African World. By permission).
[2] Spieth, J., *Die Ewe Stämme*, 742

bridegroom escorts her home. The bridegroom now visits the bride in her home, and the marriage is consummated, but after a few days the bridegroom returns home. Interchange of visits continues for several years, the wife not living permanently with her husband until his mother dies. . . .

Archdeacon Shaw further states that when a lad reaches man's estate he makes his *dom* (cultivation) with the help of his brothers, but that he continues to live with his parents after his marriage until the third child is born, presumably visiting his wife at her parents' homestead. He then goes with his age-fellows to her village, where there is feasting and dancing. His wife's father gives him a cow and its calf, and he then fetches his wife to the hut he has previously built in his dom; this practice is called *aloktok*. . . . It is probable that the length of time spent in the wife's village varies among the different tribes. There is no doubt that the family eventually return to the husband's village, and after marriage the wife and her children are considered to belong to the husband, even, as will be seen later, after the death of the latter.[1]

The property and legal aspects of marriage may take directions in which the avoidance, respect, and obligations are centered on another person than the mother-in-law. Thus, Roscoe reports that among the Thonga in the Khosen region of South Africa the avoidance between a man and the wife of his wife's brother is greater than that between a man and his mother-in-law and shows the relation of this to the complicated marriage law:

The wife's brother's wife must always keep her breasts covered in the village of her husband's sister's husband. Only when she has had a child is she permitted to open her clothing; but then she must fix a leaf in her hair (as if to show that she does not forget the special reserve which she is bound to maintain).

When a man travels with [this woman], his great *mukonwana*, and they have to cross a river, they will avoid entering the same boat. It may happen to anyone to emit an unseemly sound from the rectum; but if the great mukonwana is present she looks on this as a grave offense. A fine must be paid to her, a horse, for instance. If the guilty man has nothing to give her, he at once breaks a twig from a tree and presents it to her as a token that the proper fine will be forthcoming in due time. He must never use words of insult in her presence, even if he addresses them to another person. If he loses his temper before her she will go to the old people of her husband's village and tell them: "He has insulted me." . . .

Why do the relations of a man with the wife of his brother-in-law resemble so greatly his relations with his wife's mother? Let us remember that this man is the potential husband of the daughter of the first, just as he is the actual husband of the daughter of the second. It is probable

[1] Seligman, C. G. and B. Z., *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan* (George Routledge and Sons. By permission).

that the great principle that "a man must not marry a woman and her mother" dictates this extraordinary fear and avoidance in both cases. But in the case of the wife of the brother-in-law there is still another element: "The oxen!" This woman has been acquired by the oxen paid by the man to obtain his wife, and this explains the uneasiness which characterizes their relation. . . . These oxen have created a sort of interdependence between them. Mboza says: "Should my home be disturbed by quarrels, should my wife Nsabula leave me and run away to her parents, or should she die without children, I shall go and claim my oxen. But the oxen have been employed to buy a wife for my brother-in-law (Maphunga for Mahangale). If Gogwe has no other means at his disposal he must separate the pair Maphunga-Mahangale, cancel their marriage, send Maphunga home, and claim the money from her parents. Or I might myself take Maphunga as my wife, and in either of these cases the marriage of Maphunga-Mahangale would be dissolved."

Thus it may happen that Mboza may marry his great mukonwana, though such a union is really incestuous, according to the deep moral feeling of the tribe. This is truly terrible! But does this ever really happen? I have put this question to many Thongas, in the various clans of the tribe, and remarked that there are differences between them.

Amongst the Nkunas of Shiluvane it is an absolute impossibility. Another woman is offered to meet the claim of the son-in-law who has lost his wife. This is called: "*Ku hingakanya ntjandja*," *i.e.*, "to put a log across the road." The woman offered may be a little girl, still at the breast of her mother, or even a little boy. This is your wife, his parents will say to the son-in-law, and he must be content to know that, as this male baby will no doubt have a sister in the course of the two following years, the girl to be born will replace his wife. "*Nt jandja a ba tluli*," *i.e.*, "One does not jump over the log." The man will not persist in his claim, and will not insist in taking the great mukonwana to replace his wife. Amongst the Khosas and Bilas such a marriage can take place if there is really no means of avoiding it.[1]

Among the Chagga and some other Bantu tribes the avoidances just described are not pronounced, but the transition of the bride is accompanied by a series of pledges, ceremonies, and gifts designed to unite and at the same time preserve the rights of the families and sibs involved. The mother of the bride is a formidable figure in the negotiations, the respect which the bride shows toward her parents-in-law is definitely structuralized, as will be seen below, and a mock capture (a last gesture of resistance) is a feature of the removal of the bride. Gutmann's account of this transition shows a nicety and completeness of patterning which remind us again of the elaboration of language structuralization:

[1] Junod, H., *The Life of a South African Tribe*, 1: 241–244 (The Macmillan Company. By permission).

The marriage negotiations, including the transfer of the bride wealth (*ngosa*, collectively, *wuko*) from the groom's people to those of the bride, may be divided into sixteen stages:

1. The beer of deliberation. Several kegs of beer are taken to the home of the girl's parents and the suitability of the marriage is discussed. There may have been, for example, a lawsuit between grandfathers of the two families in which one of them lost cattle, and a gift of reconciliation is necessary.

2. The brother beer. This is a similar gathering in honor of the brothers of the girl, and to secure their approval. Otherwise if the girl came to grief the brothers would say, "Father alone gave you in marriage, he can help you alone." On this occasion if there is anything to be said against the suitor the girl's mother says it. She gives him as bad a character as possible, repeating all the reports she has heard of his evil ways, and when challenged to confirm her accusations she produces a spy who has had the man under observation. He takes from his clothing a bundle of small sticks, unties it, and says, "This stick I broke off when he beat his father at such and such a time and place, and the man who separated them was so and so," and for every stick he names the incident, time and place, and the person intervening. If negotiations are not interrupted at this point the bride brews at her own expense a vessel of beer and bears it to the house of the groom's father. He conceals himself, according to custom, but through intermediaries they exchange greetings. The beer is called "beer for enlisting the father-in-law," and contains a word, "*isusa*," customarily used when a humble person seeks the favor of a powerful one by a small gift.

3. Honoring the mother-in-law. Gifts, including a bracelet and chain for the bride and a slaughtered animal, are taken to the house of the bride by the sister and *mngari* (brother or cousin) of the groom. They attempt to place the ornaments on the bride but she resists and it is necessary to throw her down and bind them on her by force, while she weeps. The sister of the groom trills the words, "Today I bound my cow," signifying that the bride is bound to the house of the groom and will become the "cattle of the family" (source of income). The mother and father of the bride remind her that she has herself consented and encouraged them to drink the beer of the man. The mother then feeds the sister and the mngari, smears them with butter, and later sends tokens to the brothers of her husband announcing the engagement.

4. The dracaena beer. A special brew, ceremonially prepared in large quantities, carried by young men to the house of the bride and poured into great vats. Each vat bears the name of a person or group of persons related to the bride. The Bantu term for "virgin" is "unimpaired," and if the groom's people have learned that the bride is "impaired" these vessels of beer will lack a hand's breadth of being full—a delicate intimation that they know the worth of the girl.

5. The bundled ox. This is primarily a religious ceremony. An ox is slaughtered and half of it carried in bundles to the bride's family, where

it is offered to the spiritual ancestors. There are reciprocal vows that the bride will practice no magic in her new home and that none will be used against her. During these vows food is offered and taken and soothsayers are present to interpret omens. Strictly speaking, the marriage would be abandoned if the omens were unfavorable, but the soothsayer will probably find a way out. He will say, for example, that a discontented ancestor who was never married is opposing the union, and to conciliate him a small effigy of a bride is made from a banana blossom, a tiny marriage chamber constructed in the grove, and he is symbolically married to her.

At one point an uncle of the girl, urged by her father, gives her a parting blessing: "Go, my child, make a good adjustment, love your husband, don't put us in peril of returning the bride wealth. We brought you into the world and now you are grown up. You have been a comfort to us beyond the trouble in rearing you. As we nurtured you so you are now in a position to requite us. When you go to your husband win a place for yourself so that you may repay us and bring us packages" (means of subsistence).

The mngari of the groom is a permanent intermediary between the families. To him the bride says: "You, mngari, have come to take me from my father. You are urging me toward my period of readjustment. I know you are going to take me soon. I give you this food. I swear a blood bond and may it devour me if I am false. If I come to you and your brother is bad, turn your eyes on me. If he beats me, I will come to you. But if you do not protect me I will go, and return to my father. In your house and in your sib I will die and decay. So treat me as your sib sister. But if you cannot and do not control your brother when he mistreats me I now absolve myself from the curse of the violation of the blood bond, if you force me to break it." [There is here an implicit threat that she will use witchcraft against his family if she is mistreated.]

6. The *kisangu* beer. This is a large contribution of beer of a special brew, and is in the nature of an urgency gift. The mngari pleads that the marriage shall be consummated shortly. The ceremonies take a more decided religious direction. Female as well as male ancestors are supplicated, and the women of the bride's sib are prominent in the ceremonies.

7. The beer of complaint about hunger and cold. This symbolizes the desirability of an early marriage and the helplessness of a man without a wife. The gift is also called "the beer of cutting out" because the feet of the bride are placed on a hide and the soles of the sandals she is to wear on her departure are cut out. The sole for the right foot is cut with supplications to the paternal ancestors and the one for the left with supplications to the maternal.

8. The beer for raising questions. The practices of the sibs do not correspond completely, and at this meeting there is a discussion and settlement of the precise formalities of the bride instruction, the marriage ceremony, etc. This has importance because two sibs are involved and

it is thought that the ancestors on one side or the other might be offended by an irregularity, and the marriage would be unfruitful or unfortunate.

9. The dracaena kid. So called because a kid ornamented with dracaena leaves is brought to the home of the bride. The ceremony is elaborate, with many speeches. The bride makes a conventional and seemingly bitter resistance. She says: "You are selling me like a foundling, as if I had not been born among you. I am to be sent among strangers and my brother you are keeping at home. You are treating me like a goat's afterbirth which is hung on a bush, and my brother like a calf's afterbirth which is dried and kept in the house." Her parents point out that this has always been done, that the man must remain and fortify and continue the sib, that the woman needs the protection of a man, etc. To the groom's mngari the father says: "I am lending you my heifer to take care of, not selling her. Don't imagine I am turning her over to you like a foundling." Finally the bride is carried to the home of the groom on the back of the groom's mngari and during the journey her feet must not touch the ground. This is not, however,. the completion of the marriage. The bride is instructed in matters of marriage and at the same time fattened, with a view to bearing and nourishing children. During this period the groom shares the marriage instruction, but his mngari sleeps with him and guards him from contact with the bride. The bride is in the position of a boarding-school girl who visits her family at intervals. The instruction is on marital duties, legal rights, and magical practices.

10. A gift of seven vats of beer to "clear the minds" of the bride's relatives and incline them to sympathize with the bride teaching, which has a magical character and would not be effective if the parents cherished hard feelings. Following this visit the parents of the bride are courteously requested to take her back for a brief time in order that she may have final instruction from a "wise woman" of her own sib.

11. Accompanying the girl are gifts meaning "union" or "increase," symbolizing the incorporation of the bride in a new group. On her return to the home of her mother-in-law, accompanied by a group of relatives, the groom suddenly appears and snatches a bundle of beans which her mother has laid on her shoulder. Her companions were expecting this, and attempt to beat the groom, who is protected by his companions. At the door of his home the "wise woman" of the bride's house takes the bundle from him, saying, "You took the burden from your wife's shoulders just as she took the load of firewood from your shoulders yesterday," meaning that they should "bear one another's burdens." In the house, when all are assembled, the groom grasps the arm of the bride with both hands and says, "Let us cultivate [the soil] for your father and mine." This is applauded, and the bride grasps his upper arm. On the next day, or the day after, according to the condition of ripeness of the beer, there is a festival called "the joining in wedlock" at which only members of the groom's sib are present. Toward evening the mngari of the groom reminds him that he now has a household of his

own and must not run around and lead a loose life as heretofore, and the bridal pair are conducted to their new home and deposited ceremoniously on sheepskins.

12. Delivery of goats to the father of the bride as previously agreed.

13. The grandmother's goat. Delivered to the grandmother of the bride after the birth of the second or third child. This belongs to a class of gifts solicited by presenting a smaller one. It is called "cooking up" or "cultivating" a gift. The grandmother brings a vessel of beer and the mngari gives her a goat.

14. Immediately after the grandmother has secured a goat the mngari of the bride "cooks up" a gift in the same way and is also given a goat. At about this point of time, however, the bride has found a "place" among her new people and begins to be treated as one of them by her own people in economic matters and she also makes economic claims on them. She receives a portion of all the animals sent alive to her people when they are slaughtered, and similar portions from their offspring. If she commits any offense against the peace or honor of her husband's house she may claim one of these animals to make atonement.

15. A heifer is delivered alive to the father or brother of the bride when the first-born child is seven or eight years old, provided there are additional siblings. This gift is also "cooked up" or "cultivated" by a gift of beer to the groom's family. The transfer of the heifer to the bride's family is symbolical. The mngari of the bride, who had previously handed her over to the mngari of the groom, now receives the heifer, to be transferred to her people. It is the replacement of one "heifer" by another. There is solicitude that the heifer shall be of good character and antecedents. The mngari of the bride and her brother examine it and assure themselves that it is of good heredity and not acquired through war, a lawsuit, or fraud. A goat called the "separation goat," is given in addition to the heifer, signifying the termination of the wuko gifts.

The mngari of the groom grasps the banana-fiber halter of the animal and addresses the mngari of the bride: "Take your heifer, which ends the wuko. You gave me a young cow which needed care and rearing. I have tended it and brought it up, and it has become human. It has become a source, provided by my protectors [ancestors]. Now I am giving you my heifer, to be cared for and developed until it becomes a mother. It will become a source, uniting you with your sister's child and providing milk and a bull calf and a cow calf, so that you may terminate the wuko of your son. If the cow brings you blessings and you nevertheless withhold the entrails [portion of the flesh] from me it will lead to bitterness and resentment, which will destroy the cow. I am ending my wuko in peace and I give the heifer with spittle [blessing]. So you do for me what is proper. I asked you for a heifer with a black head, and I found it a source of children. I am giving you a heifer with a white head, and may you find in it a source of milk and calves. And if I have a male child and you have a female one, the source was with you, but I will return it to me [by marriage]. I have engendered children like bees.

The bees leave the hive and fly as far as Useri and Aruscha but they return to the old hive where they tasted the first honey."

The mngari of the bride makes an appropriate reply, but at this point the bride may intervene to hinder the removal of the heifer. She faces her brother and says: "Be off with you! I left you the cattle and the banana grove of our father. You gave me a stick to go elsewhere and now you are taking gifts for me. Be off with you!" Her brother breaks a twig and hands it to her as promise that he will sacrifice a goat for her, and she is pacified. But if her relatives have neglected her in the meantime she has the right to detain the heifer until the matter has been discussed and she has been satisfied. They dare not remove the heifer so long as she opposes it.

16. The heifer of the bride's maternal uncle. After the brother has claimed a heifer the mother's brother of the bride makes a claim, which is also "cultivated." This claim is received very affectionately by the bride because the maternal uncle [as a more intimate father-surrogate and a kind of male mother] has been constant in his devotion to the girl and in his mediation with the ancestral spirits on her behalf. They say, "Health comes from the mother's brother." He is given a she-goat, with the anticipation that when this produces kids he is to receive a heifer. The bride hopes that the goat will prosper and bear soon, so that he may have the heifer during her lifetime. "The dry grass is licked by the fire," she says, meaning that life is transitory and that after her death his claim might be disregarded. This final affectionate gesture marks the definite termination of the wuko contributions.[1]

Blohm, who like Gutmann is a missionary of long residence and deep insight, represents that the complicated marriage negotiations among the Bantu tribes have not precisely the property meaning usually attributed to them. For the Xosa, at least, he claims that the exchange of property is largely a protective measure based on a widespread concept among the Bantu that an individual may work harmful magic even unconsciously:

The marriage property, termed *ikazi* [he says], is, according to my observations, something different from a compensation to the sib of the woman who is taken in marriage. Property is indeed exchanged, often very valuable property, not, however as ecnomic values but as values through whose exchange magical influences are controlled.

In addition to ikazi, or the contribution claimed by the sib of the bride, there is the *uduli*, that is, the property which she receives from her father or her sib and which we should call her dowry.

The ikazi-uduli custom represents a transaction by which, through the surrender of the woman and other values to the sib of the man and the surrender of cattle and other values to the sib of the woman, symbols

[1] Gutmann, B., *Das Recht der Dschagga*, 86–126 (C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung. By permission. Summarized).

of vital strength are exchanged. Furthermore these values are exchanged as pledges which represent the reciprocal surrender of self between the sibs. For according to the magical-animistic conceptions of the Bantu you give yourself into the power of one to whom you give objects which bear your *intsila*, that is, your vital strength (specifically your body odor). And when, for example, the "influences" which emanate from a woman are so strong that she even endangers through "witchcraft" the life of the sib members among whom she lives she is at once driven out or exterminated. In this connection "witchcraft" is not to be understood as an acquired "art" but is an inborn quality which one may possess without knowing it and which develops power from year to year.

Through ikazi-uduli a union is sought which secures the incorporation of the sibs in one another. That this is really so is shown by the fact that from now on a member of one of the sibs cannot marry into the other. They are more intimately united than "in one flesh."[1]

Toward the conclusion of the marriage the [Xosa] bride is also reborn symbolically into the sib of the groom. Heavily clothed and concealed by hangings held before her, she is brought before an assembly of the men of the groom's sib and

before the assembly a symbolic birth is enacted. This is represented by the removal of the hangings and of the clothing so that she is exposed nude for a few moments to the assembly. She is thus born into the community of the new group. The whole procedure is carried out in a dignified and solemn manner [and is repeated before an assembly of the women of the groom's sib].[2]

We have seen that among the Chagga there was a mock resistance to the removal of the bride, but this was a minor feature in her transfer to another group. In many other groups the mock fighting is more serious, and was interpreted by the "evolutionists" as a survival of marriage by capture. It has, however, no such meaning, but is sometimes a device for securing additional payments at the last moment and is always a socialized expression of the resentment which a group feels on relinquishing one of its members. It is a structuralization of affect. Rivers has described a form of this mock resistance in a Melanesian group, and it will be noted that, in spite of her surprise and resistance, the girl participates at several points in the ceremony of her removal. The pattern of silence is present here in the form of sulking and timidity, and the advances of the groom are a postnuptial wooing which involves further gifts:

[1] Blohm, W., "Die Christliche Familien-Gemeinschaft im Xosa-Volkstum," *Africa*, 6: 439–440.
[2] *Ibid.*, 442.

A marriage is arranged between the would-be husband and the parents of the girl, the latter not being consulted even when she is old enough for this to be done. Usually the marriage is arranged when the girl is quite young, the man who wishes to marry settling with the parents of the girl how many pigs he will give and it is arranged in how many days he shall be ready with them. On each day he plucks a leaflet from a leaf of the male cycas to keep a tally of the days and when he tells the parents that only two leaflets remain to be plucked and that it is time to prepare the property of the girl, they put in a big bag all the things which they and other relatives propose to give. While they are doing this the girl will be sent out to the gardens on some pretext in order that she shall not suspect what is about to happen. On this day also the future husband will bring a new mat which the girl's mother hides in the house so that her daughter cannot see it. On the next morning the father keeps the girl in the house on some pretext, such as roasting bread-fruit or playing some game, and the future husband comes with his people to fetch her. Some man is chosen to go into the house, pretending that he has come to fetch fire, and he goes quietly to the girl and, seizing her by the wrists, says, "Marry." The girl is very much astonished and begins to cry and before she knows what is happening she is wrapped up in the new mat brought the day before by the future husband. This is done by his sister, who has come into the house. This wrapping up is done as quickly as possible after the girl has learnt that she is to marry, for if she has time to realize what is happening she will resist and it was said that a girl has been known to seize a knife and slash the arm of the woman who is attempting to bind her. The man who has told the girl to marry then seizes a stick which he knows will be wanted and goes out of the house to encounter a man belonging to the moiety of the father of the girl. This man has a club with thick thorns on it with which he strikes at the man who comes out, it may be so severe a blow as to break his arm. It was said that he does this to show that only the brothers and the sister's son of the father are to get the pigs which the bridegroom is about to present. As soon as the blow is struck all the men of the village produce sticks prepared the night before and begin to fight with the party which has come to fetch the girl. While this is going on the sister of the bridegroom takes the girl out of the house, the latter being so completely wrapped up in the mat that she can see nothing. The girl is then unwrapped and her father gives her one of his own pigs to kill as a sign that it is the last of his property with which she will have anything to do. She kills the pig with a club and is then again wrapped up in her mat. One of the husband's party is then deputed to fetch the pig, this duty being regarded as a high honor. A relative of the father stands over the animal to resist its being taken but the man of the husband's party has only to succeed in touching its body for the resistance to cease, when the pig is cut up and the parts distributed. The bridegroom takes the head which he gives to some bachelor of his own party. The man who is given the head in this manner may not marry a widow but must

marry a girl not previously married and there is now great unwillingness to receive the offering on this account because of the greater expense connected with the latter kind of marriage. In consequence the young unmarried men will hide themselves and the father of the man who receives the head will be very angry and will threaten to have his revenge on the morrow.

As soon as the pig's head has been given, the bag containing the property for the girl is put down in the midst of the people with a yam beside it and the bridegroom walks round the bag four times, puts his hand on the bag, and takes up the yam to give to his sister who takes it away. Some of the bridegroom's party then come to take the bag and the people present, all of whom are armed and bear shields, begin to fight. The girl is then taken to her future home, the people of her own village standing in the way and resisting her removal, and anyone who offers much resistance is appeased with a present. When the husband's village is reached the girl, still wrapped up, is put down in the open space of the village and the husband presents pigs to the girl's father, at least four being given, and if the husband is an important man more than this number, and mats are also given at the same time. The sister of the husband, who had wrapped up the girl, now unwraps her and the bride then opens the bag containing her property and after giving some to her father's sister, hands the rest to her husband. Then the father of the girl distributes the four pigs he had received to his brothers and to his sister's son, the latter being regarded as the chief recipient, and the girl then takes up her abode in the house of her husband's mother.

When she first goes to live in the house of her husband's mother, and if she is young it may be for several years afterwards, the girl will not speak to her husband who does not live in the house but continues to spend all his time in the clubhouse. The man may sometimes come into the house to give food to his mother but even this would be exceptional. When the girl is old enough the husband will tempt his wife to speak to him and may offer her food but so long as she does not speak there are no sexual relations between them. This state of things may last for years and it was said that a wife would sometimes die without having spoken to her husband in which case marital relations between the pair would never have taken place. When she speaks, even if only a single word, the man will tell his mother that his wife has spoken and the pair will live together as man and wife.[1]

The socialized character of the transfer of brides among the Chagga is in great contrast with this and with the practice of the hateful Melanesian Dobu (as described by Fortune) where, in fact, no complete transition is reached, but a state of tolerance:

We have already seen that convention compels a boy who has arrived at puberty to leave his parents' house for sleeping, while the daughter of

[1] Rivers, W. H. R., *The History of Melanesian Society*, 1: 206–209 (Cambridge University Press. By permission).

the house of equivalent age is allowed to remain. The houseless boys usually sleep in the house of a divorced man who is temporarily without a wife, or, more frequently, roam in the night until they find a girl each who will grant them sex intercourse and houseroom for sleeping. No one builds a house except for marriage, the houses for food storage excepted. The boys prefer to sleep with a different girl every night in order to avoid permanent entanglement. If a boy sleeps many times in succession with the same girl her parents will marry the pair out of hand by enforcing public recognition and public economic exchanges between the boy's kindred and themselves. Faithfulness between the pair is then considered necessary. If, however, a boy sleeps with very many different girls he avoids marriage, and his affairs he keeps private with no public recognition whatever. He must leave the girl's house before dawn to avoid being seen by the adult members of her village. If he oversleeps and is caught publicly in the place of his sleeping he has to marry the girl. The boys are careful to avoid entanglement, usually until they are at least eighteen or more. Then one by one they become weary of the rigorous regime of late roving nights and early morning risings; they fall into a deeper attachment with one preferred girl, and become afraid that a rival will marry her to their complete estrangement from her. So they deliberately oversleep one morning. The mother of the girl gets up before the young pair and steps out onto the house platform. There she sits calmly blocking up the exit with her body. The young man rises. If even now he has an impulse to flee he cannot. He respects the girl's mother too much to ask her to stand aside. . . . The village see an unusual event has occurred. They gather curious to see what youth will emerge. They send word to neighboring villages and people from the environs gather. Everyone circles around and stares. Into this glare of curious publicity the youth and the girl descend at last from the house and sit side by side on a mat on the ground. The spectators remain and do nothing but stare for half an hour or so. This staring ceremony makes the engagement. It is aggressive publicity directed towards a relationship which was before as aggressively private. For no youth or maiden would speak of a mere sex relationship to anyone whatever—except to perhaps one child confidant and helper. Before betrothal privacy is as aggressively sustained as at betrothal privacy is aggressively and staringly outraged. Finally the starers disperse. The girl's mother, now formally the youth's mother-in-law, places a digging stick into the youth's hand and says, "Go, make a garden," or if it is not yet the new garden season she gives him other seasonal work. . . . The youth feels respect and fear for his mother-in-law [who is perhaps a powerful old witch] as she sits blocking the exit of her house where he has lain with her daughter. Under the staring ordeal of the strangers, many of them sorcerers and witches far feared, he feels respect and no little awe. They are Owners here and he a stranger, one of Those-resulting-from-marriage, hereafter in this place. When his mother-in-law gives him the digging stick he goes off most obediently to dig a garden. So the economic system

lays firmer hold of a boy than ever it did before. Now he is responsible to his relatives-in-law as well as to his own kin and his work is doubled at a stroke.[1]

Likewise, among the Ifugao of the Philippine Islands the transition of family members is not complete nor assimilated to a kinship relation. Barton's study shows that the marriage pattern is extremely legalized and the union is a more or less suspicious alliance based on property interests:

> Marriage among the Ifugaos is a civil contract of *undefined* duration. It may last a month, a year, a decade, or until the death of one of the parties to it. . . .
>
> Those children that will inherit a great deal of property are married usually, but by no means always, by a *contract* marriage; those who will inherit no property, or but a small amount, and those who, married by the preceding method, have lost their spouses, or who on reaching a maturer age, do not find themselves compatible with their spouses, and consequently remarry, are married by a *trial* marriage. However, it should be said that even a *contract* marriage is a trial marriage to a great degree. In fact, one inclined to be prudent in his speech would never pronounce an Ifugao marriage a permanent one until the death of one of the parties to it. . . .
>
> The contract marriage is usually arranged for, and its first ceremonies at least performed while the children are quite small. Its purpose is to guard against the commission of such a folly as marriage on the part of the child who will be wealthy to a less wealthy spouse. The danger is that such a child, sleeping in the common dormitory, will give way to the ardor of youth and temporarily mate with one below him in station, and that the union so begun prove permanent. . . .
>
> It cannot be too strongly emphasized that husband and wife *are never united into one family. They are merely allies.* The ties that bind each to his own family are much stronger than the ties that bind them together. An Ifugao explained this to me by putting his hands parallel, the forefingers together. The forefingers represent the two spouses; the hands the two families. Should the two families separate, should they withdraw from amity and agreement, the two spouses, the forefingers, of necessity withdraw, because they are attached to different hands. . . . The fact that an Ifugao spouse remains always a member of the family of his blood kindred, and that the ties binding him to his conjugal partner are light indeed is shown by the fact that, at his death, funeral expenses fall mainly on his father and mother and brothers and sisters. . . .
>
> Neither spouse acquires any interest in the property that the other possesses at the time of the marriage. Each has, however, the right to veto the sale or transfer of the family property of the other except where

[1] Fortune, *op. cit.*, 21–22, 24 (London: George Routledge and Sons; New York E. P. Dutton & Company, Inc. By permission).

legal and sufficient reasons exist for such transfer. These legal and sufficient reasons are the necessity of selling the field: (*a*) to provide the necessary things for a funeral feast for ascendants or kinfolk; (*b*) to pay rightful debts; (*c*) to pay fines or indemnities; (*d*) to provide things necessary for feasts and sacrifices which are considered essential—a very liberal interpretation being placed upon the word "essential."

Should a man sell a field for a light or trivial cause without the permission of his wife, the validity of the transfer would not be affected by the fact of the nonconsent of the wife. But the wife would have recourse for damages from her husband, and might demand: (*a*) twice the price received for the field as a settlement on their children; (*b*) a divorce; (*c*) or both. The right of each spouse to veto the sale of the other's property is equal and the same. This right is based principally or perhaps wholly on the ground that each spouse is the guardian of the interest of the children of the union, born or unborn. . . .

The *hudhud*, or payment for mental anguish, is the fine or indemnity assessed in cases of divorce at the instance of one of the parties, when uncomplicated by improper sexual relations, on the ground of mental anguish, *hakit di nemnem*, literally, "hurt of the mind." In general it may be said to be assessed against that spouse who has made necessary the dissolution of the marriage, whether or not he be the one who takes the initiative in effecting the divorce. . . . The hudhud is a small fine, but its payment is said effectually to banish the mental anguish. The dignity and self-importance of the Malay are of unusual proportions in comparison with his other feelings and emotions. In the Kiangan district there are three grades of the hudhud: one for the *kadangyang* or wealthy; one for the *tumuk* or middle class; and one for *nawatat* or poor [varying in value from 8 pesos to 1 peso].

Death . . . terminates neither the obligation of the widowed to the soul of the dead spouse nor the compact of alliance between the two families involved. This obligation and this compact may be terminated only by the payment known as the *gibu*.

The word *gibu* means literally "finish." In its narrowest and probably original sense it may have meant a payment to terminate all the relations and obligations growing out of a marriage. . . . In the present day, the gibu in a broader sense applies to all fines and indemnities paid in connection with the abuse or termination of a marriage.

A remarriage may not properly be effected by the widowed until he has paid the kin of the dead spouse the *gibu 'n di nate* (gibu of the dead), or the *datok*, as it is specifically called. Failure on the part of the widowed to make this payment would lead to a seizure of his property or a lance throwing. . . .

If the widowed remarries without having first formally notified the kin of his dead spouse of his intention, or if he scandalously has sexual intercourse, he commits adultery according to Ifugao law, and must pay the *gibu luktap*. . . . As a matter of fact, I do not believe that this

law is often enforced. The Ifugaos say that it was nearly always enforced before the establishment of foreign government.

If the widowed be a woman, both she and the man with whom she contracts a second marriage are responsible for the gibu payment. The payment as a matter of practice is always made by the man who marries her; but it is said that, should her second husband for any reason fail to pay, the widow would be held for the payment.

In the event of the birth of a bastard child to a surviving spouse, the gibu must be paid.

The following is an instance of the nonpayment of this indemnity, and the sequelae:

Piniliu of Longa married the wife of Butlong, a deceased kinsman of Timbuluy, also of Longa. Piniliu did not come forward with the usual datok payment, notwithstanding the fact that it was repeatedly demanded of him.

Finally Piniliu went to Nueva Viscaya, and there bought a carabao. Timbuluy gathered his kin and met Piniliu when he was bringing back the carabao. About two miles before they reached their home village Timbuluy and his kin seized the animal, hamstringing and slaughtering it before Piniliu's eyes.

The act of Timbuluy may very safely be said to have been justified by Ifugao custom, and so to have been legal.

The gibu is smaller if the second spouse taken be a kinsman or kinswoman of the first.[1]

[1] Barton, R. F., "Ifugao Law," *Univ. Cal. Pub. in Amer. Arch. and Ethnol.*, **15**: 17–33, *passim* rearranged).

Chapter X

SEXUAL BEHAVIOR

In several important papers Frank has emphasized the tensional aspect of the impulses and pointed out that the organization of individual and institutional life may be stated in terms of physiological tensions and their regulation. The child must learn to sustain tensions on the bladder and anal sphincters until the appropriate time and place for their release, hunger tensions between periods of feeding, sex tensions in adolescence, and learn to release impulses to approach the person and property of others only through the socially sanctioned patterns of marriage, barter, purchase, contract, persuasion—not by raping, stealing, killing, etc. He refers also to the social sanction of the periodic, wholesale release of tensions in certain directions, as in Saturnalian orgies and suspended sex tabus.[1]

In this connection the social regulation of the release of the sexual impulse is a problem which has given rise to quite divergent definitions of the situation in different groups. It appears also that the concept of chastity is dependent to an extraordinary degree on other definitions and values and that in the culture complex of any given group it is never dominant but is subordinated to the general way of life.

China presents perhaps the most extreme example of the cultivation of chastity in women for the promotion of other values. A dominant concept in Chinese culture was the continuity of the family in this life and the ministration to its members after death. The veneration of parents during life and their commemoration and worship after death constituted "filial piety." Sons were prepared to make eunuchs of themselves in order to secure remunerative positions and erect shrines to their parents, and girls remained unmarried and young widows did not remarry in order to care for aged parents. And in this connection the emphasis on the separation of the sexes and on the sexual behavior of women among the Chinese upper classes was historically so great that on a rating scale it would be necessary to place them at one extreme, with promiscuity at the other extreme, and European nations some-

[1] Frank, L. K., "Physiological Tensions and Social Structure," *Proc. Amer. Sociol. Soc. for* 1927: 74–82; "The Management of Tensions," *Amer. Jour. Sociol.*, **33**: 705–736; "The Concept of Inviolability in Culture," *Amer. Jour. Sociol.*, **36**: 607–615.

where between. The Chinese "Record of Rites," which is an officially sanctioned book of etiquette comparable with a legal compendium,

deprecates the hanging of male and female garments on the same rack, and the using of the same face towel or hair comb by persons of opposite sex; . . . declares it inexpedient that a man should know the personal name of a woman who is not a relation, and that a father should sit in the same room with his daughter, or brothers share a place at table with a sister above the age of seven years. . . . Had Flora Macdonald been a Chinese heroine, she would have drowned herself in a well after her interview with "Bonnie Prince Charlie," as the young Ningpo girl did when the Prince Shaok'ang, to whom she had given asylum, made good his escape from the "Golden Tatars."[1]

The Jesuit missionary Navarette, who was in China for many years (before and after 1650) and wrote an extensive report to the officers of the Spanish inquisition, expresses several times his astonishment that women were rarely seen either in cities or in the country:

Now to return to the metropolis Hang Cheu, I must observe that having gone through a great part of it with my two companions, the throng of people was so great, that we could scarce make way through the streets. We saw not one women tho' we looked about very carefully, only to be satisfied of the great retirement of those women. . . . During the forty days I traveled, I never saw more than three women, either in towns, upon the road, or at the inns. . . . Among us it will seem incredible, among them it will seem too much that I saw three.[2]

The foot-binding of the women of the upper classes was favorable to keeping them out of circulation.

Under these conditions the administration of the sacrament to Chinese women by Catholic missionaries and the ordinary physical examination of women patients by European physicians were difficult or impossible. Barrow, writing in 1804, has described the native method of feeling a woman's pulse:

A silken cord being made fast to the wrist of the patient is passed through a hole in the wainscot into another apartment where the doctor, applying his hand to the cord, after a due observance of solemn mockery, decides upon the case and prescribes accordingly. About court, however, a particular class of eunuchs only are entrusted with feeling the pulse of the ladies.[3]

[1] Walshe, W. G., "Chastity," in *Encycl. Rel. and Ethics* (ed. J. Hastings), **3**: 490–491.
[2] Navarette, D. F., "An Account of the Empire of China," in Churchill, A. and J., *A Collection of Voyages and Travels*, **1**: 17, 245.
[3] Barrow, J., *Travels in China*, 348–349.

The cultivation of the attitude of filial piety is seen in the writings of Chinese philosophers and in the policy of the government. A treatise on Chinese marriage law, based on the current practice in the courts of Peking at about the year 1900, shows that the government rewarded with triumphal arches and commemorative tablets sons who were distinguished for filial piety, widows who remained single and devoted themselves to the families of their late husbands, and daughters who remained unmarried after the death of their fiancés (whom they had in no case seen):

If there is found in the provinces a son who is pious to an heroic degree, an attentive grandson, a just husband, a widow, chaste and endowed with filial piety, a young girl devoted to her parents, a wife of invincible virtue, who deserves to be distinguished by the emperor in order to perpetuate his (her) memory, the viceroy or the governor, in agreement with the provincial examiner for the baccalaureate . . . will propose them to the emperor. If the emperor receives the proposal, after confirmation by the Supreme Tribunal of Rites, the local mandarin will give thirty ounces of silver for each, that their families may erect a triumphal arch, *P'ai-fang*. Their names shall be engraved on a stone stela, *Pei*, erected in the Temple of Faithful and Just Men, *Tschong-i-se*, or in the Temple of Chaste and Pious Women, *Tsié-hiao-se*, which are found in all the prefects and subprefects. Their tablets, *P'ai-wei*, shall be erected in these temples, and every year, in the spring and autumn, the local mandarin shall offer a sacrifice to them. . . .

If a woman whose parents have neither son nor grandson devotes herself heroically to them during her whole life and for this reason renounces marriage she shall receive an imperial decoration in the same manner as a son who has behaved with heroic piety toward his parents. A sum of money will be given to erect a P'ai-fang, her name will be engraved on a stone stela, Pei, her tablet will be placed in the temple, Tsié-hiao-se, and sacrifice will be offered her. . . .

In the case of a widow, legitimate wife, or concubine, who shall have begun to preserve her widowhood before the age of thirty years, who shall have shown heroic devotion toward her father-in-faw and mother-in-law, just toward others and enduring a hard life, if she passed the age of fifty years or if she died after at least six years of widowhood, she shall receive an imperial decoration to perpetuate her memory, money will be given to erect a P'ai-fang, her tablet will be placed in the temple and sacrifices will be offered to her. . . .

If a widow has merely complied with her obligations and preserved her widowhood as prescribed above [without a life of misery] she shall receive as a mark of approbation an imperial inscription composed of these four characters, *Ts'ing-piao-t'ongkoan* ("chaste widow of perpetual memory"), her name shall be engraved on a stone stela [and her family is permitted to erect a triumphal arch]. . . .

If a young girl betrothed but not yet married preserves her virginity after the death of her fiancé, either in the home of her own family or in that of her fiancé, she shall receive as in the case of a widow [who does not remarry] an imperial decoration to perpetuate the memory of it.

If a young woman betrothed but not yet married vows to guard her continence after the death of her fiancé and dies of hunger, she shall receive an imperial decoration for the perpetuation of her memory.[1]

It is further reported by Hoang, who follows an older writer, that certain families wishing to secure a perpetual memory forced their daughters to commit suicide after the death of their fiancés:

In the province of Fou-kien it is customary among the natives to put to death a certain number of newborn girls. They wish those who are spared and attain maturity to show themselves heroic. If their fiancés die before marriage they force them for no reason to kill themselves, handing them a cup of poison, or showing them a rope attached to a beam with which to hang themselves. . . . They hasten to procure the imperial decoration, in order that their families may be celebrated forever.[2]

In parts of northern Africa the protective isolation of women is as extreme as in China but has taken a physical direction. These tribes have come under Mohammedan influence but instead of the seclusion of the harem they render the girl inaccessible by a surgical operation called infibulation. This always follows the female circumcision or excision, after a period of time, usually between the ages of five and nine. It is performed by a practiced woman, using a razor, and results in closing up the girl except for an opening secured by the insertion of a wooden cylinder about the size of a goose quill, which sometimes reaches the bladder. This remains while the wound is healing, which may require forty days. The knitting of the wound is assisted either by stitching or by bandaging. This is incredible enough, but a further series of operations is involved: (1) an operation to prepare the girl for the consummation of marriage, sometimes performed by the husband himself, (2) a wider operation to prepare the wife for the delivery of a child, since the scar tissue of the previous operations has destroyed the distensibility of this region, and (3) an operation after delivery to restore condition number one. But in rare cases the operation after childbirth repeats the original one, restoring the woman to a condition of complete inaccessibility to sexual

[1] Hoang, P., *Le Mariage chinois au point de vue légal*, 243–250 (Imprimerie de la Mission Catholique. By permisseson).

[2] *Ibid.*, 251.

approaches from her husband until the child has been weaned, when she is again enlarged. In these cases, therefore, the birth cycle involves four operations, and these must be repeated in connection with every birth, though some women, after three or four births, desist.

This practice is limited to certain cultural zones of Africa, including localities in the Sudan, Abyssinia, the Niger Delta, and tribes south of the Nile Cataract. Like the subincision of boys, which is limited to parts of Australia, it was probably a stepping up of the cutting of circumcision, but from a different standpoint—that of chastity, or at least abstinence, instead of discipline and fortitude.[1]

In other parts of Africa the value of chastity in women is quite secondary to their economic value and their capacity to bear children and is emphasized, if at all, in a complicated context of interests. For example, among the Mongwandi of the upper Mongala region the youth

selects by preference a girl child of six or seven years, because she can be bought cheaper at that age. Her price—some five years before the nubile age—is usually ten milch goats, ten spears, ten knives, and ten dogs.

On each visit of the betrothed husband to his parents-in-law he is expected to bring a spear or a knife; it is a species of rent. At the time when his betrothed has attained the required age and development, the intended husband comes to take her, leads her away to his house, and definitely takes up his abode with her. However, if after a given time the wife remains childless, the parents are obliged to take back their daughter and return a part of the price which has been paid them.

A grown woman who has already been a mother costs quite six times the price of a little girl. But after the Mongwandi wife has produced three or four children, the husband considers he has a sufficient family. He is then ready to "lease" his wife to another man for an initial period of ten or twelve months in return for a fixed sum in goods. If during the period of the "lease" the woman becomes a mother, her child is legally the property of the tenant. If, on the other hand, the child is born after the expiration of the agreed period, it is the property of the lawful husband. Sometimes, in return for a further sum, prolongations of the assignment are granted. Yet the Mongwandi are very rigorous on the subject of marital fidelity (where the woman is concerned). A woman who commits adultery either against her real husband or any temporary mate to whom he may have allotted her is punished as follows. Her body is coated with a mixture of soot and oil and her head is gro-

[1] Ploss, H., P. Bartels, and F. Reitzenstein, *Das Weib in der Natur- und Völkerkunde*, 1: 386–396; Bryk, F., *Die Beschneidung bei Mann und Weib*, 244–246; Seligman, C. G., and Z. B., "The Kababish, a Sudan African Tribe," *Harvard African Studies*, 2: 150–151.

tesquely decorated with cock's plumes. Then a string is tied to her waist and she is led by her relations to an enclosure in the village square made of hunting nets stretched on stakes. Inside this enclosure all her family defile before her, loading her with reproaches and whipping her with rods. Then the nets are drawn aside and the wretched woman makes a rush for her husband's house, followed by many missiles—sticks, stones, clods of earth.[1]

In different tribes, however, particular features of this general situation are emphasized to the exclusion of others. In some cases it is required or desirable that the girl shall have demonstrated her fertility before marriage. Among the Bagesu, a Bantu tribe,

it is no disgrace to a young woman to become a mother before marriage, nor does it prevent her from obtaining a husband; indeed men like to know that a woman can bear children, and her fault thus rather adds to her value than detracts from it.[2]

Similarly, among the Bushongo the engagement is arranged in childhood and

the little girl remains with her parents until puberty. Then she is promiscuous until she has borne a child, when she goes to live with her husband, saying, "Now I have passed my test and it will not be my fault if I do not give you children." The child already born is left with her parents and regarded as theirs. No shame attaches to this.[3]

Among the greater number of Bantu tribes and a considerable number of others a premarital play period is prevalent, recognized, and even encouraged, but it is a great disgrace to become a mother. Junod has described this play period for the Thonga and Smith and Dale for the Ila-speaking tribes of Rhodesia:

When a boy has gone through the puberty rites he is allowed to practice the *gangsia*. This word comes from *ganga*, which means "to choose a lover." Each girl is asked by the boys to choose one of them; they *make them choose* (*gangsia*, factitive derivative). . . . When a girl has made her choice, her boy plays with her like husband and wife, first building little huts, etc., but later in a less platonic fashion. In fact nothing is prohibited in the relations between young people of the two sexes. A married woman is sacred among the Thongas, but an unmarried girl is not. However, she must not become pregnant. . . . A boy who has no such flirt, no *shigango*, is laughed at as a coward; a girl who refuses to accept such advances is accused of being malformed.[4]

[1] Johnston, H., *George Grenfell and the Congo*, **2**: 677 (Hutchinson and Co. By permission).
[2] Roscoe, J., *The Northern Bantu*, 171 (Cambridge University Press. By permission).
[3] Torday, E., and T. A. Joyce, "Notes éthnographiques," *Ann. du Musée du Congo Belge* (3d series) **2**: 271.
[4] Junod, H., *The Life of a South African Tribe*, **1**: 97–98 (The Macmillan Company. By permission).

In some localities [among the Ila] the young girls go out of the village and build play huts of grass, and take up their abode there, being assisted in their preparations by the boys. They beg plenty of food—the new grain, new groundnuts, and milk. The night before the play begins they all collect at one of the huts in the village—perhaps the chief's—where they sleep. . . . Then they take the food they have collected and scamper off to the play-huts. There they set about putting things in order and cook the food. During the morning the boys put in an appearance, and eat with the girls. Having eaten their fill, one of the boys says: "*Atuone*" ("Let us sleep"). Then the boys and girls pair off and go to bed in the huts. Later in the day they rise, and as the sun is setting they go back to their homes. This may be kept up for a few days or even for a month. During all this time the boy and girl are as man and wife.[1]

Torday, who has made a comparative study of Bantu sex practices, raises the question whether this intercourse of young people is anything more than a form of "petting":

It is scarcely credible [he says] that Bantu parents and elders should be devoid of common sense to such an extent as to permit their children to have promiscuous intercourse and yet visit them with dire penalties when the natural consequence, pregnancy, follows.[2]

And in his volume on the Xosa, Soga,[3] himself a native, represents that this custom, called *ukumetsha* among his people (the verbal form of which is defined by Kropf in his Kaffir-English dictionary as "to be sweethearts; to have unclean intercourse of all kinds, externally"), is only extensive play and, in his opinion, preferable to European prostitution. He points out that girls are called the "cattle of the family," that is, real property, and their practices stop short of endangering their value.

It is plain, however, from a comparison of Bantu practices, that the chastity situation has been differently defined in different tribes. The early and general period of sex play is never entirely unregulated. The reprobation of pregnancy has been mentioned, and this is regulated by the young people themselves. There is also always an adult solicitude, and a code covering premarital indulgence. The whole aspect of the situation in one tribe—the limitation of any form of license to those who have been initiated, the attempt to make some provision for the sex life of the boys during the period following puberty (in which marriage is regularly delayed for some years), and the extreme forms of public dis-

[1] Smith, E. W., and A. M. Dale, *The Ila-speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia*, **2**: 37–38 (The Macmillan Company. By permission).

[2] Torday, E., "The Principles of Bantu Marriage," *Africa*, **2**: 256.

[3] Soga, J. H., *The Ama-Xosa*, 131–132.

approval of irregular births—is represented in the report of Schapera on the Bakxatla of Bechuanaland:

Marriage in the olden days was permitted only to those who had been admitted into a *mophato, i.e.*, to those who had been through the initiation ceremonies. The girls were generally married soon after they came out of the initiation "school." The boys, however, were expected to marry, not into the mophato of girls roughly contemporaneous with themselves, but into the one formed after that. This meant, in effect, that they had to wait anywhere from four to seven years after initiation before they could marry. Even then not all of them would be successful in obtaining wives immediately, for, owing to the practice of polygyny, many of the newly initiated girls would become the junior wives of elderly or middle-aged men. It was an accepted practice, however, that such boys should be allowed secret access to the younger wives of their male relatives in the same *kxoro* (lineage group). In particular, the boy's *rangwane* (father's younger brother) was expected to grant him this privilege. Any children born of such a union would, of course, be regarded as the legitimate offspring of the woman's husband, in accordance with the rights established by the transfer of *boxadi*. This practice, so far from being looked upon in the light of adultery, was held to be highly justifiable, especially when the husband was old and impotent. The main idea underlying it was that the boy should "raise up seed" in the junior "house" of his relative. My informants, however, also stressed the fact that it gave these boys an opportunity for acquiring sexual experience which, if denied to them, now that they were old enough to marry, might have led to frequent attempts at seduction and other illicit means of obtaining sexual satisfaction.

These privileges were allowed only to boys who had been admitted into their mophato, and the women are said to have thought it shameful to sleep with anybody who was not circumcised. Before they had been initiated the young people of both sexes were expected to live chastely. I found it very difficult to obtain satisfactory information regarding premarital sexual relations. All my informants insisted that boys and girls were not allowed to mix together freely. The boys were sent out to the cattle posts away from the villages, and were kept there as long as possible, sometimes even after they had been initiated. A boy's first wife was chosen for him by his parents, who, after making all the necessary arrangements, would call him home to marry her. This might be the first sight he had ever had of her. But in spite of this sexual segregation at adolescence, and although my informants maintained that premarital sexual intercourse in the olden days was an "unheard-of thing,"[1] it is obvious from what follows that chastity was not universally observed.

[1] This statement was not made for my special benefit. At a *phuthexo* (tribal gathering) called by the chief in June, 1931, to frame a statement of Kxatla marriage laws in response to a request from the Bechuanaland Protectorate Administration, the older men all said that seduction of unmarried girls was something unknown in the days of their youth. "These things are new," said old Rakabane; "we never heard of them until recently."

My informants could not tell me of the treatment meted out to youthful lovers who managed to avoid conception (and therefore in all probability discovery as well). On the other hand, they were able to describe to me, rather sketchily it is true, what happened to an unmarried girl who had conceived. But they all emphasized that such cases were very infrequent. It was regarded as a profound disgrace by her family if an unmarried girl became pregnant, and every effort was made to conceal the fact. If the matter ever became general knowledge, the unfortunate girl was subjected to every possible humiliation. She was stripped of all her decorations and no longer allowed to wear them; she might not cut her hair, but had to wear it long as a sign of disgrace; she was not allowed to mix with the other girls, lest she pollute them as well; she might not wash her head, nor smear her face and body with the usual ointment of fat; and if she had not yet been initiated she was not sent to the *bojale* (girls' initiation school) with the rest of her coevals, but was separately treated. It was even said that attempts would be made to bewitch her, so that she might die together with the child in her womb. She was called by all sorts of opprobrious names, such as *seaka* (whore), and above all she was publicly mocked by the other girls and women, who would gather at night round her *lapa* (household enclosure) and sing obscene songs reviling her and her people. [For example, "to eat" is vulgarly used in the sense of "to copulate," and one of the songs contains the words: "She is eaten by everybody."]

All night long they would sing in this strain, and nobody could check them. If the pregnant girl, maddened by their mockery, rushed out of her hut to swear back at them, they listened quietly without interfering, but as soon as she had finished they would renew their singing with additional emphasis. Even if the chief himself tried to intervene, they would revile him in their songs as well, for they feared no one at this time. They kept on in this way until the girl was delivered of her baby, and by then the whole tribe would have become aware of her disgrace. Their mockery is said to have been the most powerful sanction against premarital pregnancy, for it was the one thing which the girls feared above all else.

The child of an unmarried woman, when it was not aborted, was usually killed at birth by her parents. My informants admitted that abortion was practiced, but could give me no indication as to what happened then. They said it was more usual for the child to be born, as a close watch was kept upon the girl once her pregnancy became known. No penalty was attached to the killing of the child; it was the custom of the whole tribe, for they were afraid to let such a child live. It was said that if it were allowed to mix with other people it would bring evil upon them, *o ka fefa batho.* In the rare instances where convention was defied and the child permitted to live, it could not be carried about in a *thari* (skin cradle) on its mother's back, it might not mix with the other children, and above all it dare not sit with other people around the fireplace at the *kxotla* (men's gathering place).

Concerning the treatment of the girl's lover I could obtain but little information. It was said that the girl was forced by her mother to reveal his name, and the matter would then be reported to his parents. There was a conflict of opinion as to whether he would be expected to marry the girl. Some informants said that under no circumstances would her parents consent to the match. Others insisted that he was forced to do so if he was eligible for marriage, *i.e.*, if he was already the member of a mophato, and that if he was not, one of his father's younger brothers would be asked to do so instead. In any case, it was agreed that his conduct was regarded as extremely disgraceful, and that he would be violently reproached for dishonoring his family and his tribe. If he had not yet been initiated, he was treated with special severity when he went to the *boxwera* (boys' initiation school), and one old man hinted that it was by no means unusual for such a boy to be killed during the course of the ceremonies.[1]

From the Ila, already mentioned, Brelsford has recently reported on a remarkable and complex compact between husbands for the lending out of wives which is of recent origin, tends to be recognized in the mores and in native law, and is spreading as a fashion among neighboring populations:

In Smith and Dale's book[2] *lubambo* was described as "a species of polyandry," or a public acceptance of a system of paramours; any wife or husband, with connivance of the other spouse, may take a lover, the male lover always paying a gift of cattle to the husband of the woman with whom he temporarily cohabits. The custom, thus baldly described, is peculiar to the Baila, and is a stumblingblock in the path of English administration. The arrangement is usually made by husband and lover, the wife among the Baila not being regarded as a free agent in matters of this description.

The custom, repugnant though it is, is fiercely adhered to by the Baila proper, in spite of the frowns of a superimposed English legal system, and, with the growing sense of security and consequent increased tribal intermingling, lubambo is showing a disconcerting tendency to be adopted by people surrounding the Baila. Government officials in combating the custom consistently refuse to take cognizance of claims arising from its practice, although chiefs in their own courts still consider it. But, like most customs discouraged by the Government, lubambo is gradually losing some of its former inherent characteristics. Smith and Dale, in their treatment of the subject, describe a gathering of hundreds of people, all dressed in finery, singing and dancing round a grove, preparatory to a lubambo being made between two people. During this public ceremony a procession of men meets a procession of women, and one of the men presents a woman with an ox, the woman in return giving the man a

[1] Schapera, I., "Premarital Pregnancy and Native Opinion," *Africa*, **6**: 64–68.
[2] *The Ila-speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia.*

spear. The whole community now know that these two are lovers, and the dancing and singing are renewed. The ceremony so described has vastly altered of recent years, as will be told. It has become more plain and bare, lacking in many of its former ceremonial trappings, and in the face of continual official reproach, it will inevitably become still more subdued. It is still too strongly interwoven with social and marital tradition to hope for a quick total extinction.

I propose to describe the existing system and its ramifications under three main heads, namely—*lubambo*, *musedia*, and *kusenana*.

Lubambo: The word itself means, literally, "an arranged thing," and although the wife and her lover may have met and talked previously, or even have had sexual intercourse previously, the arrangement of the relationship lies between the lover and the husband of the woman, and it is not lubambo until husband and lover have met and discussed the affair. There is no definite length of time laid down by custom during which the wife may continue to visit her lover. Sometimes the affair may only last for a few months, but one old Mwila native named Mukaba informed me that he himself had had a lubambo over a period of five years, and that such lengthy affairs were by no means uncommon. But he also stated that during that period, at the request of the husband, he had given him other gifts of cattle at various times in addition to the original gift of a cow. The husband has the right to ask for further payments in the case of a long lubambo.

At present there is no special or definite point of time in the progress of the relationship at which the lover must make his initial gift of cattle to the husband. Often he will sleep several times with the woman before paying, or sometimes the husband may demand the cattle before the lover is allowed access to the woman. The husband, accompanied by his wife, may make one or more visits to the kraal of the lover in order to choose the cattle himself, but this is not always done.

In the event of the lover being a member of another village, the agreement is made at the hut of the husband, and the lover then returns to his own village. After a suitable interval of a few days, the husband tells his wife that it is time she went to see her *mambakwe* (paramour). [Note: *mamgangu* = my paramour; *mambako* = your paramour; *mambakwe* = his or her paramour.] The woman then dresses herself in all her finery, and accompanied by a band of nine or ten of her female friends, also in their finery, she walks to the village of her lover. One of the women carries a small *indandala* drum, an instrument used by hunting and war parties, but which on this occasion is beaten as the procession approaches the village of the lover. The woman, the mambakwe, also carries gifts for her lover, gifts whose value is in proportion to the payment made to her husband, but which always include spears, specially made for the occasion. If the husband has received an ox or a heifer, the woman's gift is usually of four or five spears alone; if a cow has been given, to the spears may be added a blanket or a piece of cloth; and if a cow in a pregnant state, the additional gift will be a braided leopard skin. This skin is

preserved by the lover and worn at dances and other ceremonial occasions. The spears must be newly made by the blacksmith, although the husband may provide the iron and the wood. Payment to the blacksmith was formerly made in tobacco, but now money is generally used.

As the women approach the village, the wives and sisters of the mambakwe, accompanied by other women of the village, run out to meet the procession, and the two bodies of women then advance into the village singing songs. These songs are composed of the usual string of phrases concerning the matter in hand decked out with rhythmical "ya's" and "oh's." I give one short example of such a song, freely translated:

> "But Shibweto's wife is coming; to whom you gave a cow; whom you met at Nzovu's village. Kaleta is the man who brought the head of cattle. Kaleta, son of Mumba, killed a lion in the grass and hid himself in the skin. Shibweto's wife comes today."

Whilst the procession is approaching the man usually sits on the verandah of his hut, but he makes no move to go out and meet his mambakwe. The gifts brought by the woman are given to his wife, who takes them into the house, and who then thanks the other woman for bringing them. The man then rises and greets his lover, and makes presents of tobacco to the women who have accompanied her. Sometimes more singing and dancing may be indulged in by the women, but more often they sit and smoke and talk for a time, then return to their huts or to their own village. The work of the day goes on, the mambakwe helping her lover's wife in her work, but at night the man's wife sleeps in a different hut, leaving her husband and his lover together. For lovers living in the same village the ceremony is the same.

The woman stays with her lover for three or four days only, and then she returns to her husband. There is no procession on the return journey. The woman is accompanied only by her lover, who, however, turns back before the village of the woman is reached. A month, or some such interval elapses, and then the lover may send a message to the husband by another man, asking again for his mambakwe, or the husband, if he thinks fit, may send the woman on his own initiative without waiting for a message from the lover. The wife goes unaccompanied. After the first journey there are no more processions or dances. Again she stays for several days with her lover, and returns to spend a much longer period with her husband. And so the lubambo goes on, the woman making her visits at intervals of about a month, until the husband decides to put a stop to the arrangement, or until the lovers tire.

As can be imagined, these affairs are a constant source of litigation in the chief's court. The most frequent cases arise out of disputes as to payment. After the first gift of a head of cattle, the husband may desire more, and he still may not be satisfied if he considers that his wife is making more visits to her lover than is proportionate to the payment.

But other quarrels arise when lover and wife become so attracted to each other that the wife spends more time with her mambakwe than with her husband, or, as sometimes happens, when the wife refuses to return to her husband. In the former event the husband may bring his complaint before the chief and gain extra payment from the lover, and if the wife refuses to return to him he may ask the chief for a divorce and also gain compensation from the mambakwe. Any such breach of the original arrangement or if the understood custom of lubambo is tantamount to adultery, *i.e.*, sexual intercourse with another man without the consent of the husband, and if the chief upholds the complaint, the mambakwe, now an adulterer, may have to compensate the husband with a number of head of cattle. The number may range from five to ten head, according to the wealth of the offender; for fines are usually imposed by chiefs with as much regard to the wealth of the offender as to the heinousness of the offense.

As long as a lubambo lasts, the woman is debarred from entering into a sexual relationship with any other man. She must confine her attentions to her lover and her husband, although they are not under the same restrictions with regard to sleeping with the one woman alone. Should the woman cause a breach of lubambo by having intercourse with another man, the lover may complain to the husband and receive compensation from him by way of a head of cattle and that lubambo usually comes to an end then.

Musedia: Literally this word is a prefix indicating "namesake." (Note: *Musediangu* = my namesake; *musediakwe* = his or her namesake.) A whole series of tabus and courtesies center around the custom of creating namesakes, but I am merely concerned with the sexual side of the relationship and its association with lubambo.

On the morning after the marriage has been consummated, and whilst the morning meal is being eaten, a bridegroom may bestow upon his wife the name of a male friend of his wife, this in addition to his wife's proper name. This male friend must be of the husband's own age, that is to say, both men must have gone through the puberty rites together (*musama* = my fellow initiate).

When the friend hears that his name has been bestowed upon the woman, he sends the husband a stool (*chuna*) as an acknowledgment. There is no ceremony attached to the giving of the stool, the friend may take it himself, or he may send it by another man who happens to be passing through the village of the husband.

When the friend calls upon man and wife for the first time after the marriage, in the evening the husband leaves the hut and allows the two new namesakes to sleep together and have intercourse. The two namesakes do not call each other by their actual names, the invariable form of address being musediangu (my namesake). Should by chance the actual birth name be uttered during conversation, the offender, in former days, gave the other a small gift, such as a bangle, to wipe out the evil done by uttering the name. Later this gift took the form of a small sum of money,

about a shilling, but at the present time this practice of atonement is almost extinct. The mentioning of a birth name between namesakes merely causes a little bantering accusation and laughter.

After the man has slept with his namesake once, or twice, according to the temper of the husband, he gives his musediakwe a present whose value will vary with his wealth; it may be cloth, or money, or cattle. The relationship may now, and in almost every case does, merge into a lubambo. The present of cattle is made to the husband, the wife is sent to her musediakwe accompanied by her procession of women, and the relationship follows the usual course of the lubambo. Throughout their lives, unless the name is taken away from the woman through some quarrel or fault, these two remain namesakes, although after their own original lubambo has finished, each may make other lubambo. Moreover, even though their own lubambo has ended, and each has had similar affairs with other men and women, the continued relationship of being namesakes seems to confer the right to have sexual intercourse with each other whenever the opportunity occurs. If the husband has ended the lubambo, and he finds that the two are having intercourse secretly, he has no remedy in tribal custom. By bestowing his friend's name upon his wife he has given that friend right of access to his wife. The only way he can legally stop this is to go before the chief and publicly take away the name from his wife, and by so doing the chief will decide that he must pay the friend a certain number of cattle to compensate the friend for depriving the wife of his name. As a general rule, however, matters do not come to such a pass, and most husbands reconcile themselves to the occasional, often surreptitious, visits of their wives' namesakes.

A variation of musedia is seen in the custom whereby a man gives to his bride the name of his brother-in-law, the man who has married his sister. In this case, too, the brother-in-law whose name is used must be of the same puberty set as the bridegroom, but the variation lies in the fact that the brother-in-law is not allowed to have sexual intercourse with the bride, his namesake. Although there is no blood relationship, and the two are namesakes, a man may not have sexual intercourse with the wife of his brother-in-law, he only has the other privileges and duties of a namesake, for example, interfering and acting as arbiter in quarrels between his musediakwe and her husband. But should intercourse actually be indulged in by the two namesakes, the husband has no legal redress. It is a wrong, a mere abstract moral wrong, that cannot be regarded as adultery, and the husband is liable to be made fun of as a man who cannot look after his wife, if the occurrence is made public.

Kusenana: Kusena is a verb meaning to lend a wife. *Kusenana* to lend each other wives, whilst another verb, *kushinta*, to give in exchange, is also sometimes used with reference to this particular custom.

The essential difference between lubambo and kusena is that in lubambo it is the lover who approaches the husband with a view to becoming the lover of the wife, but in the latter custom the initiative lies with the husband who lends his wife to his friend. Kusena is a matter

of courtesy between friends. The wife does not leave her own hut as in lubambo, but the friend is allowed access to her on certain occasions. If the friend is also married he allows the husband access to his wife, and the arrangement becomes one of kusenana. Sometimes gifts are exchanged on each occasion that the one sleeps with the other's wife, one giving the other presents of cloth, tobacco, or money, but usually cattle are exchanged between the two husbands, and the mutual privileges are extended for a certain period. Sometimes the woman may visit the hut of the friend, but the initial difference and the absence of the procession distinguish the custom, in this event, from lubambo. Should the relationship continue for a long period, further gifts are exchanged. All disputes can be settled by the chief, and since this custom is more vague in its conditions than the two previously mentioned, it is naturally productive of more litigation.

Smith and Dale state that a married man will often lend his wife to a bachelor on condition that when the latter marries he will allow the other access to the bride. Bachelors may, of course, make lubambo, but I have failed to discover, of recent years, any actual agreement such as the one described, between a bachelor and a married friend. But, although no specific arrangement seems to be made, when a bachelor does marry, he usually allows the husband of a former paramour to sleep with his wife. There is no customary obligation for him to do so, and he makes no arrangements to that effect, but it is rather a matter of courtesy that he should do so.[1]

The Ila practice is a variation, with special features and an economic emphasis, of the custom of lending wives in a friendly and hospitable way, frequently found, especially among arctic peoples. Among the Chukchee of Siberia, for example, there is an organization of "companions in wives" between a number of married couples, the arrangement being one of convenience and exclusive of near neighbors and close kin:

> The Chuckchee group marriage includes sometimes up to ten married couples. The men belonging to such a marriage union are called "companions in wives." Each "companion" has a right to all the wives of his "companions," but takes advantage of his right comparatively seldom, namely, only when he visits for some reason the camp of one of the "companions." Then the host cedes him his place in the sleeping room. If possible, he leaves the house for the night; goes to his herd, for instance. After such a call, the companion visited generally looks for an occasion to return the visit. . . .
>
> The union, in group marriages, is mostly formed between persons who are well acquainted (. . . "looking [on each other] companions"), especially between neighbors and relatives. Second and third cousins

[1] Brelsford, V., "Lubambo: A Description of the Baila Custom," *Jour. Anth. Inst.*, **63**: 433–438.

are almost invariably united by ties of group marriage; brothers, however, do not enter into such unions. In ancient times this form of marriage was obviously a union between the members of a related group. . . . The inmates of one and the same camp are seldom willing to enter into a group marriage, the reason obviously being that the reciprocal use of wives, which in group marriage is practiced very seldom, is liable to degenerate into complete promiscuity if the members of the group live too close together.[1]

The Chagga, situated north and east of the other Bantu tribes just mentioned, have an extensive body of educational precepts equaling the Old Testament in volume and systematically communicated to boys and girls by old men and women, in which extraordinary emphasis is placed on chastity in both sexes. Their word corresponding with "virgin" is "unimpaired," and the following is a representative lecture to a girl on this as a value:

Listen, my child, be very careful how you wander around. The bird builds a nest and lays eggs in it and hatches them out carefully. And as long as the little ones remain in the nest they remain unimpaired. But then one flutters about, cannot fly properly, and falls to the ground. A boy comes along, picks it up, and says, "Here is my breakfast."

And you, my child, listen carefully. You are still unimpaired because I carried you on my bosom and fed you. But now you are able to run around and make excursions. That fluttering little bird is you.

Maybe you go to the home of your older sister and stay until twilight. And you think, "I will go home." But while you are on the way night falls. And if you meet a man you don't know who he is in the dark. But he knows this is a girl going by in the dark, so he throws his coat over you. You can't defend yourself and so you are ruined on the way. So I say, my child, a little bird that is not restless won't fall into the hands of a boy to be laid on the hearth and roasted. And I tell you this, my child, be very careful, so that you may be married unimpaired, and receive your bride instruction unimpaired.

If it gets dark while you are at your sister's, sleep there, until it is light and you can come home in the daylight. Your father can't beat you on this account. Or if you are with your mother's brother, sleep with your grandmother, your mother's mother.

It is not suitable for a girl who is growing up to run around in the dark. Night is the time that girls come to grief. They meet a man who has been drinking beer and is drunk. The beer excites him and he commits the unholy deed.

So I say, be very sensible. As long as I had you on my breast you were unimpaired. Now you are able to take care of yourself. See that you do it.

[1] Bogoras, W., "The Chukchee," *Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., Mem.*, **11**: 602–603.

Don't flutter about like a bird that falls out of the nest and is picked up by a boy, who lays it on the fire and does not esteem it as a bird, but says, "I had some meat."[1]

Not infrequently, however, the girl is impaired before the engagement, and in this case the groom, who will surely be informed by old women, will usually not quite fill the beer kegs when making one of the many bride gifts at the home of her parents, indicating in this indirect way that he is aware of the situation.

The instruction for boys is also extensive and concerns their obligations both to girls and to wives and admonitions about shunning temptation. At the close of the initiation ceremonies a group of women appears and their leader makes a long and obscure address to the boys, intimating that they are in great danger of becoming "crooked." When the women withdraw the master of ceremonies interprets this address as follows:

Listen, my young brothers. What your mothers hinted and were ashamed to speak openly, they have turned over to me to tell you everything plainly, as it ought to be told. They spoke to you of being straight for they wanted to prepare you to be good and upright. And they said that you would start on your way of life erect as you now are. On your way you will meet a good-looking young married woman or a ripe girl who is drinking tobacco [dipping snuff]. But you are carrying a little horn of tobacco in your belt. This introduces the "temptress" [whom your mothers mentioned] and this is what I have to explain.

This young wife says to you, "Give me some tobacco." And you say to her, "I have none, little mother." Then she says to you, "*Tscha,* why are you so stingy with your tobacco, my friend?" And you say to her, "*Tscha,* if I am stingy with it, have I ever drunk of your tobacco?" And she answers, "Did you ever ask me to drink of mine and I refused you?" And you say to her, "My girl, if I asked you to give me some would you be willing?" And she answers, "Why shouldn't I be willing?"

When you have gone that far the matter goes further. That is the way of the temptress, precisely that. You take out tobacco and give it to her, and you think, "Well, well, she loves me!" When the affair progresses you arrange a place of meeting, and when you are together you do what you will. And then an affliction will come upon your body and you will hover between life and death (that is, he will be sick because the divine person [ancestral spirit] is angry).

That is what your mothers instructed me to explain. If you have done a thing of that kind you will acquire unsuitableness. You will no longer be without defect, you will be no longer quite upright, you will become crooked. Then neither wise old man nor woman can teach you.

[1] Gutmann, B., *Die Stammeslehren der Dschagga,* 1: 210 (C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung. By permission).

You will be called a marriage outlaw. People will say that you are damaged.

That is why your mothers say that a temptress will seduce you and you will get a hump. Therefore I say, if you meet one who tries to draw you into a conversation, just go on your way. If you want to give her tobacco shake it out in this way (showing how he shall hastily shake it into his hand and hand it to her with averted face). Give her so or so much and look in another direction. Give it as if you did not want to talk. So the second time, and you will be married unimpaired, and will have no crook which will make you hunchbacked. You will be judged as an upright person.[1]

In some tribes chastity is emphasized after marriage and not before, and in others it is emphasized before and not after. The Thonga, just mentioned, illustrate the first situation and their neighbors, the Pedi, the second:

Comparing the habits of the Pedi and of the Thonga we meet with this strange fact: Amongst the Thonga the unmarried girl is quite free and the married woman is tabu. Amongst the Pedi it is just the reverse: girls are absolutely prohibited from having any sexual relation before their marriage and, on the contrary, after marriage, a woman who has had children can have intercourse with other men than her husband. . . . As far as I could make it out, the explanation is this: The Pedi fathers *lobola* girls for their sons much earlier than the Thonga. They push the provision so far that a man will buy "a womb," *viz.*, a girl before her birth for his baby son! This girl not yet born will be given a name, the name of her future son; and if everything happens in conformity with these provisions, that name will be definitely adopted for the girl on the day she is married! If however the child which is born happens to be a boy, the money will be given back. . . . In that way, girls are not free: they must keep absolutely pure; in some clans . . . they must even undergo a physical examination on the day of their marriage at the hands of the old female relatives of the husband to prove their virginity. If afterwards, being married women, they are allowed to lead a very bad life . . . it is probably due to the dreadful fear of the *lochia* to which we have already alluded.[2]

The *lochia* belief is that a woman is rendered very dangerous by childbirth, that this danger persists for an indefinite period and to such a degree that a vengeful woman may cause the death of a man by seducing him to cohabitation. Men who can afford it frequently never cohabit with a wife after she has borne a child, permitting her, however, to be patronized by the lower classes. Junod's inference may, in fact, be justified in this case, but we know

[1] *Ibid.*, 670 (C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung. By permission).
[2] Junod, *op. cit.*, 1: 98–99 (The Macmillan Company. By permission).

that divergent practices arise in this situation when the conditions mentioned do not exist.

Among the Masai, a non-Bantu group living north of the Chagga, the situation is clearly defined in two directions. Prenuptial cohabitation is one norm and marriage is another, and they are kept strictly separate. The Masai are a pastoral robber group, and all the men between the ages of about sixteen and twenty-six live in warrior camps. No man marries before retirement from the warrior class, but each has a girl living with him in his camp, and he is free to cohabit with any girl (excluding incestuous relations) except the one he is eventually to marry. The Masai girl has similar privileges, but it is a serious matter if she becomes pregnant:

> During the period of engagement the two do not meet. The man shuns the kraal in which the girl lives, or if he should enter it the girl conceals herself. . . . He lives with a certain number of warriors and girls in one camp and she with a certain number of girls and warriors in another. If the girl becomes pregnant during this time she is disgraced and the engagement is usually broken. Or, in exceptional cases, they are married as soon as possible. Otherwise [after confinement and the weaning of the child] the girl goes to a distant warrior camp in the hope of finding a husband there.[1]

Barton has pointed out that the same practice of congregating girls in the barracks of the men is present in a less developed form among the neighboring Kipsikis and suggests that in both cases it originated in the fact that in seeking pasture the men formed temporary camps which the girls visited in order to carry milk to the main settlement.[2] This is plausible in this case, but the visitation of the bachelors' quarters by girls is a widespread practice, and it is sometimes regarded as more honorable to do this than not to do it. In the Mariana Islands, for example, a class of girls called *maolitao* visisted the bachelors' quarters regularly, and were ranked higher than unmarried women who did not. The *Ulitao* society, which decided questions of social rank, contained married women and admitted these girls also if they desired it, but not chaste girls. The old navigator Freycinet says:

> In general a maolitao, no matter how young, had more consideration than a person of her sex of advanced age who had remained in a state of chastity.[3]

In American Indian life the chastity pattern was not in general excessively emphasized. There was a good deal of premarital

[1] Merker, M., *Die Masai*, 44 (Dietrich Reimer. By permission).
[2] Barton, J., "Notes on the Kipsikis or Lumbwa Tribe of Kenya Colony," *Jour. Anth. Inst.*, **53**: 68.
[3] Freycinet, L. de, *Voyage autour du monde*, **2**: 485 (1824).

license among young people, but it was a distinguished virtue to remain chaste. Among the Crow, in selecting a virtuous girl to head the procession going for the lodgepole of the sun dance,

if a young man was able to say of a candidate for the honor, "She has a hole in her moccasin," some other girl had to be chosen. One informant said that if an unchaste woman attempted to lead, someone would shout, "You are crazy! You have done so and so!"[1]

Also in selecting a man to lead the expedition to get white clay to be used in the dance a chaste youth was desired or a man who had never taken sexual liberties with any woman but his own wife:

If a pretender attempted to serve, some one of his sisters-in-law would cry out: "You played with me!" "You touched my breasts!" . . . "His moccasin is soleless."[2]

Among the Dakota, who have perhaps the most severe standards among the Plains tribes, there is an examination of the girls who seek permission to stand by the sun dancers:

The Superior should announce the names of female relatives of the Candidates who will be permitted in the Dance Lodge to sing and shout encouragement to the dancers and to give them such assistance or relief as will be permitted. These names the herald should loudly proclaim. When these appointments are made the maidens to be appointed as female attendants should be tested. The Superior should sit with the maidens desiring appointment in a circle around him and the people should assemble about this circle. Then the herald should loudly call the name of each maiden, who when called should stand and declare that she has never had carnal intercourse with a man. Anyone may challenge her declaration. If she is challenged and remains silent, it is considered that she is not a maiden. But she may stand and repeat the declaration and bite a snakeskin, or the effigy of a snake. If her challenger is then silent, her declaration is considered true. If the challenge is repeated, the challenger must also bite the snake, but if he does not, it is considered that his challenge is a slander. If he does, then a decision should be held in abeyance until a snake decides by biting the one who gave false testimony, as a snake will surely do.[3]

Among several Plains tribes there were periodic confessions of sexual irregularities:

It was formerly the custom to call a public confession of illicit sexual intercourse at intervals. Some man, given the right in a dream to call such an assembly, gathered the people together in his lodge, where

[1] Lowie, R. H., "The Sun Dance of the Crow," *Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., Anth. Pap.*, **16**: 35–36.
[2] *Ibid.*, **16**: 42.
[3] Walker, J. R., "The Sun Dance and Other Ceremonies of the Oglala Division of the Teton Dakota," *Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., Anth. Pap.*, **16**: 99.

they owned up. First the elders, then the youths, and then the women. A large painted spirit rock was present, placed in the center of the floor, to render the occasion one of solemnity. The stone heard their words, and disaster overtook all liars. Men who did not tell the truth were certain to be slain on their next war party. The participants sat in a circle in the tent about the stone and were quizzed one after another by the dreamer-host. Those who had unnatural intercourse with their spouses were obliged to confess it. Once, according to Dauphin Myron, a girl refused to speak, and her father was sent for, who ordered her to make a clean breast of her sin, whereupon she confessed that she had transgressed with him. . . .[1]

More frequently there was a "calling off of mistresses' names" on war parties which had clearly two aspects, the one a clearing of the conscience with reference to success on the expedition and the other more in the way of a boast and a pledge to accomplish some exploit in the name of the mistress:

There were at least two forms of this ["women's calling off"]. When the Crow were on the warpath and had reached the enemy's territory, they might stop, and each man would take out some trinket presented to him by his mistress and call out her name. The more common method, described by several informants, was the following. When on the warpath, a party of Crow would kill a buffalo, cook its guts, and pass them about from one man to another. Each broke off a piece, saying, "I shall bring a horse for So-and-so," mentioning the name of some girl or woman whom he had lain with. Indeed, a warrior might openly announce the fact. After the declaration a man ate the piece of sausage. Sometimes four bark shelters were erected by the warriors, and then the inmates of one tent might bring a pipe to those of another and challenge them to proclaim who their mistresses were. This would oblige them to comply with the request. Once the challengers were surprised to have the other party call off the names of the challengers' wives, and tried to put an end to the announcements. Ralph Saco states that this custom of breaking off pieces of sausage and calling off mistresses' names was practiced the night before sighting an enemy's camp and that only names of married women were mentioned on that occasion. However, he refers to another mode of calling off, when either single or married women might be named.

A young woman explained that the calling off rested on the principle that inasmuch as the warriors were liable to get killed they might as well divulge their secrets.

Deer-gets-up says the form employed in calling off was first to mention the woman's and her husband's name, and then to add, "I slept with her." It was believed that if all the members of a war party spoke the truth they would have good luck. According to one statement, a man naming his mistress said in substance, "I wish to perform such and

[1] Skinner, A., "Political Organization, Cults and Ceremonies of the Plains-Ojibway and Plains-Cree Indians," *Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., Anth. Pap.*, 11: 506–507.

such a deed as truly as this story I tell is true." Sometimes the woman thus charged with adultery denied her guilt. At times the husbands happened to be of the party and were present at the calling off of their wives' names; some did not seem to care and caused no trouble on their return, while others might leave their faithless spouses.[1]

In one of the Siouan tribes there was a society of "praiseworthy women" composed of all ages who had led blameless lives, and a periodic feast for women called" Owns-alone" who had reached forty years or more and had been true to the marriage relation:

At certain times it will be shouted out by a herald, that the Owns-alone (*isnula ikitcun*, for your exclusive use) will feast. They assemble in the open air where all who feel qualified may join. Here they are subject to challenge by the men. If a man sees one with whom he has been familiar, he may go into the circle, take up the feast bowl of the guilty one and toss it away. Then the crowd will shout and deride. The woman may require her accuser to take an oath. One form is to hold a gun barrel, a knife, or an arrow in the mouth. If he swear falsely he will be killed by a weapon. Sometimes a lighted pipe is prayed over and then smoked.[2]

The Chinese situation was mentioned above where a girl who had an innocent association with a man might nevertheless commit suicide on that account, and an equally fantastic pattern is found among several Indian tribes. A man could claim a girl, and she would not refuse, if he had touched her even during sleep (called "stealing a contract"), if he had seen her without clothing while bathing, or if he had by a trick of language seemed to obtain her consent:

Women had to be extremely careful of their persons, for if they were careless enough to let these things happen, the man could claim them. They had to be careful in their conversation with men, also, for if they answered "yes" to a simple question the man might say, "Now you have yielded to me, for although I asked you a simple question with my lips, I had another in my head and that you have consented to." Young women used to be bound and tied from the hips down by their grandmothers, mothers, or aunts before they slept and were usually placed to sleep near the fire and away from the edge of the tent, because a man of low character might pull up the tentpins at night, crawl in [and attempt to touch her while she slept] in which case she was obliged to consent to marry him. Such an act on his part was held in derision because he had no power to charm the girl and had to resort to stealing her.[3]

[1] Lowie, R. H., "Social Life of the Crow Indians," *Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., Anth. Pap.*, **9**: 224–225. See Wissler, C., "Ceremonial Bundles of the Blackfoot Indians," *Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., Anth. Pap.*, **7**: 267.

[2] Wissler, C., "Societies and Ceremonial Associations in the Oglala Division of the Teton-Dakota," *Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., Anth. Pap.*, **11**: 76–77.

[3] Beckwith, M. W., "Mythology of the Oglala Dakota," *Jour. Amer. Folklore*, **43**: 361, note.

A more circumstantial description of the roping custom in another Plains tribe is given by Grinnell, where "stealing a contact" did not, however, give a claim to the woman:

The Cheyenne young women and young girls always wore the protective rope, and most of them still do so. This is a small rope or line which passes about the waist, is knotted in front, passes down and backward between the thighs, and each branch is wound around the thigh down nearly to the knee. The wearing of this rope is somewhat confining, yet those who wear it can walk freely. It is worn always at night and during the day when women go abroad.

It is a complete protection to the woman wearing it and is assumed by girls as soon as the period of puberty is reached. All men, young and old, respect this rope, and anyone violating it would certainly be killed by the male relations of the girl.[1]

It is remarkable that while in English and Continental literature and life there is an idealization of the virtuous woman there is also an idealization of the male seducer, and there are parallels of this among the Indians:

To all appearances, at least, virginity is held in very great esteem and extreme precaution is taken to guard the girls of the family [among the Blackfoot]. They are closely watched by their mothers and married off as soon as possible after puberty. For a girl to become pregnant is regarded as an extreme family disgrace. She will be scolded privately; but none of the family will speak of the matter in public if it can be avoided, they bearing their shame silently. No special demands are made of the copartner in her shame, the girl alone being the one held responsible. Marriage may result, but the initiative is usually left to the man, since he is not regarded as having erred or fallen into disfavor. The formal virginity tests and puberty ceremonies practiced among the Siouan tribes seem to have no place in Blackfoot society. The male lover enjoys unusual liberties. His efforts at debauchery are not only tolerated but encouraged by his family and should he lead a married woman astray is heralded as a person of promise. Thus, while great pains are taken to safeguard young girls, boys are, if anything, encouraged to break through the barriers.[2]

In Polynesian groups there is a devotion to pleasure most resembling what is reflected from the records of ancient Crete, and most removed from the chastity pattern in China. No unlimited promiscuity exists in any tribe, but in the Marquesas Islands a premarital period of license is socialized, with no penalties and with none of the hesitation and economic calculation noted in Africa:

[1] Grinnell, G. B., *The Cheyenne Indians: Their History and Ways of Life*, **1**: 131 (Yale University Press. By permission).

[2] Wissler, C., "Social Organization and Ritualistic Ceremonies of the Blackfoot Indians," *Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., Anth. Pap.*, **7**: 8–9.

In the social order the term *ka'ioi* was anciently used to designate all males and females from adolescence to the time of settling down with more or less permanent mates to raise families. In other words, it included all individuals described by the terms *mahai* and *poko'ehu*, youth and maid. Ka'ioi signified in no way an organization but rather a native convention that approached a social institution. Every native during the years of adolescence and early maturity literally ran wild. . . . During this phase of their life youths and maids were totally free sexually. An old European resident of the Marquesas has told me that it seems to be an irresistible instinct with natives of both sexes to run wild for a few years after adolescence, in pursuit of amusement in general, but of the satisfaction of their abundant sexual appetite in particular. A girl was looked down upon in native society if she did not run wild in this way, to withdraw from the others being thought unnatural and hence something to be ashamed of. Although youths and maids at this period usually lived at home, they had absolute freedom. A mother's pride was greatest and it was a matter of boasting if her daughter had the greatest number of suitors in her train. A party consisting of one girl with from ten to twenty youths would sometimes spend the night together in the bush. A favorite pastime was the making of nests in the bush and spending the night in pairs or in small groups. Du Petit-Thouars says that some of the young girls did not attain puberty before leaving the paternal roof. Being their own mistresses, they went their own way, abandoned themselves to every caprice, led the most licentious life that can be imagined, until at last each attached herself to one, who having obtained the place of preference in her heart, wished to become her husband.[1]

In the Marquesas Islands there is also a curious temporary suspension of the incest rules called "permission to steal," where the violation of the code is assimilated to the concept of stealing food in case of pressing hunger:

Temporary or occasional cohabitation only was allowed to father- or mother-in-law with son- or daughter-in-law (*motunoai* with *hunona*). Permanent mating was not allowed on the part of these, even if the formally affianced (*tuia*) husband or wife were dead. What is meant by temporary or occasional cohabitation is what is expressed in native parlance by the phrase *e koana i te kamo*, literally "to be permissible to steal," the sense being, apparently, that one could snatch such temporary relationship if occasion offered. The occasion was usually the absence of the regular husband or wife. A man had the right to sleep with his brothers' wives or with his wife's sisters with the consent of their husbands, but such permission appears to have been given only when the *ahana* [husband] was absent.[2]

[1] Handy, E. S. C., "The Native Culture in the Marquesas," *Bernice P. Bishop Mus., Bull.*, **9**: 39–40.
[2] *Ibid.*, **9**: 99.

A further feature of primitive behavior is the relaxation of inhibitions and the release of tensions periodically—on occasions of stress and excitement, during and following painful ceremonies, as conciliatory approaches to others in critical situations, in connection with death, during routine collective labor, and even as stimulant of the interest and activity of spirits. Stealing, sexual orgies, disregard of incest barriers, and obscenity accompany these temporary conventionalizations of license.

The most general background of the relaxation of tabus is the psychological necessity of the periodic relief of tension as mildly seen in the alternation of work days and rest days, expressed in the German saying,

Tages Arbeit, Abends Gäste,
Saure Wochen, frohe Feste,

but in a perseverative way primitive groups have developed extreme expressions of the tendency in several directions. The disorder is a social pattern substituted temporarily for the conventional one, and in some cases the periodic release of tension may be regarded as a physiological relaxation preparatory to the resumption of the state of sustained tension.

Orgiastic behavior accompanying initiation rites does not usually include the initiates but is limited to the members of the population who have undergone initiation:

> During the whole of this time [says Williams of a New Guinea ceremony] the *ehamei* [candidates] . . . have neither drunk water, nor, except for banana and sugar cane, broken their fast since morning. These ordeals, however, must continue throughout the night, which is occupied with singing and dancing and with the *ai sumbasiona*, or abusing of the women. This latter consists of highly obscene choruses and action songs, to which the women respond in kind and with no lack of spirit. It may be that under the circumstances morality is loosened. I quote a sentence of Chinnery and Beaver's: "In ordinary circumstances an initiation is a time of somewhat general license, promiscuous intercourse being permitted between any initiated man and woman." Witnesses have assured me that such promiscuity is confined to the initiation ceremonies. The initiates bear no part in it, but between their elders it is unrestricted. No husband might object if another man made free with his wife, for, it was said, he would fear retaliation by sorcery if he interfered.[1]

In a Fijian initiation ceremony described by Fison,

> when [the women] . . . emerge from the *nanga* [enclosure], the men who have been hitherto concealed rush upon them with a sudden yell, and an

[1] Williams, F. E., *Orokaiva Society*, 192 (Oxford University Press. By permission).

indescribable scene ensues. . . . All my informants agree in stating that the men and the women address one another in the filthiest language, using expressions which would be violently resented on ordinary occasions, and that from the time of the women's coming to the nanga to the close of the ceremonies very great license prevails.[1]

In the same paper Fison reports the following ceremony, where the disorder is further designed to secure spiritual intervention and the accompanying noise, obscenity, and license serve to attract and fix the attention of the spirits and emphasize the seriousness of the situation:

On the day appointed, the son of the sick chief is circumcised, and with him a number of other lads whose friends have agreed to take advantage of the occasion. Their foreskins, stuck in the cleft of a split reed, are taken to the nanga [enclosure] and presented to the chief priest, who, holding the reeds in his hand, offers them to the ancestral gods, and prays for the sick man's recovery. Then follows a great feast, which ushers in a period of indescribable revelry. All distinctions of property are for the time being suspended. Men and women array themselves in all manner of fantastic garbs, address one another in the most indecent phrases, and practice unmentionable abominations openly in the public square of the town. The nearest relationships—even that of own brother and sister—seem to be no bar to the general license, the extent of which may be indicated by the expressive phrase of an old Nandi chief, who said, "While it lasts, we are just like the pigs." This feasting and frolic may be kept up for several days, after which the ordinary restrictions recur once more. The rights of property are again respected, the abandoned revelers settle down into steady-going married couples, and brothers and sisters may not so much as speak to one another. Nowhere in Fiji, as far as I am aware, excepting in the nanga country, are these extravagances connected with the rite of circumcision.[2]

During the ceremonies of initiation, obscenity (licentious words) and sexual exhibitionism on the part of the candidates may be encouraged and emphasized, especially in Africa. Among the Akamba of East Africa, for example, the boys and girls are collected in the same camp and sing alternately songs which Lindblom describes and illustrates as "indescribably lewd."[3] There is also in many African tribes a period of sexual license following initiation.

Among the clans of the African Thonga the death of a member is followed by an elaborate *ndjaka* ceremony of purification. The term signifies the objects left by the deceased but also "the frightful malediction accompanying death." Junod's informant said, "It

[1] Fison, L., "The Nanga, or Sacred Stone Enclosure, of Wainimala, Fiji," *Jour. Anth. Inst.*, **14**: 24.
[2] *Ibid.*, 28.
[3] Lindblom, G., "The Akamba," *Arch. d' Études orientales*, **17**: 50.

is something which kills a great many men." During the whole mourning and during the days preceding an imminent death all sexual intercourse is tabu because the village is in a state of contamination. "It cannot come back to the ordinary course of life without a special collective purification." At the same time there is a compensatory indulgence in verbal obscenity and sexual exhibitionism. At a high emotional moment an animal is slowly sacrificed:

The animal was crying pitifully; its agony lasted five minutes at least and the whole time the women were shouting with pleasure, because it is necessary that a victim should cry! . . . Then, while the *batukulu* [uterine nephews of the deceased] and the old men were busy with the victims, cutting them up, squeezing the *psanyi* (half-digested grass) out of the bowels, the other mourners began to sing and to dance. First an elderly woman, of a very clear complexion and a Mephistophelean face, very tall, with a curiously licentious smile, came in the middle of the place, opened wide her arms and *suma*, and began to sing. Together with her song, she was performing a strange mimicry with her thighs. This mimicry took a more and more lascivious character: it became a regular womb dance, so immoral that the men dropped their eyes, as if they feared that she would take off all her clothing. But the other women seemed to thoroughly enjoy this horrible performance and were encouraging her by clapping their hands and beating their drums. The words of her songs were also of a very doubtful character. She was describing an adulterous woman going during the night from one hut to the other, seeking for lovers, knocking on the walls (to attract the notice of the men?).

"The walls of the hut have deceived her fellow women when she goes knocking on them. . . . "

Another old woman, of at least seventy years of age, followed her and, running with a mincing gait through the place, was uttering words of the same kind.

This seems very immoral indeed. Let us remember however that, in the opinion of the Thonga, these songs which are tabu in ordinary life are specially appropriate to the mourning period. "These women have been uncovered by the death of their husband," said Mboza. "There is no longer any restraint on them. They are full of bitterness when they perform those lascivious dances." The reason is perhaps deeper, as it is not only the widows who sing these words: we are still in a marginal period, the period of mourning, and these phases of life are marked for the Bantu by this stange contrast: prohibition of sexual intercourse and a shameless overflowing of impure words and gesticulations.[1]

Referring to similar mourning ceremonies among the Ila, Smith and Dale say:

[1] Junod, *op. cit.*, 159–160 (The Macmillan Company. By permission).

When we have expressed our astonishment at women singing such songs—for it is the women that sing them—the elders have quoted a proverb, *Ushildilwe taitwa ku bushu,* "a mourner is not to be passed before the face," *i.e.,* he or she has license to do whatever he or she pleases. Under ordinary circumstances it would be reckoned tabu for women to utter such things in the presence of men; but at funerals all restraints are removed; people do as they like. Grass may be plucked out of thatched roofs; the fields may be robbed of the growing corn; all passions are let loose; and no complaints for damage, theft, or adultery can be made.[1]

African women employ obscenity in connection with certain serious or critical labors. Among the Thonga, in ridding the fields of pestiferous insects

the women sing their impure songs . . . to which they would never dare give voice on ordinary occasions, and which are reserved for these ceremonies: rain seeking and *nunu* [insect] hunting.[2]

Among the Thonga clans the lack of rain has become associated with ancestral displeasure over irregularities connected with childbirth, which is the avenue through which the ancestors are reincarnated, and the measures taken to remedy the fault and secure rain are emphasized by extreme obscenity:

The terrible calamity of drought is put in direct relation with . . . the miscarriage of women when the fetus has not been dealt with according to rule, the birth of twins, the death of children who were not yet aggregated to the tribe by the ceremony of *boha puri* . . . and who have not been buried in wet ground; these are the great natural causes which prevent the rain from falling. . . . What then must be done? The chief will collect his men and ask them: "Are you in a normal state"? (literally, "are you right"?). They answer: "Such and such a woman was pregnant but nobody knows what she has brought forth." This woman will be arrested and told to go and show us where she has put it. . . . Then the women assemble. They must remove all their clothing, only putting on some grass round their loins and, with a peculiar skipping step, singing a special song: *Mpfula nana*—"rainfall"—they go to all the spots where children prematurely born have been buried in dry ground, on the hills, take what they find in the broken pots, and collect all that impurity in a secret place, so that children may see nothing of what they are doing. Water is poured on these graves in order to "quench them." On the evening of the same day they go and bury these impurities; this is done in the mud, near the river. No man must approach during that work: women would have the right of striking the imprudent one and of asking him questions on the obscene formulas of circumcision; the man would

[1] Smith and Dale, *op. cit.,* 113 (The Macmillan Company. By permission).
[2] Junod, *op. cit.,* 2: 402.

answer them in the most impure words he could find, as all the language tabus are suspended on that day: nakedness even is no longer tabu, "because," says Viguet, "it is the law of the country!" Everybody consents to the suspension of the ordinary laws.[1]

Paralleling somewhat the view in Bücher's *Arbeit und Rhythmus* that rhythm and singing have an importance in sustaining the tedium of labor, Evans-Pritchard has gone over this ground for parts of Africa, given examples of the obscene songs, and emphasized their relation to labor:

We have seen [he says] that obscenity, in particular obscene songs, is often correlated with a definite act of joint labor. . . . Such obscenities are found accompanying sowing, smelting, fishing, launching canoes (Ba-Ila); pounding mealies, carrying roofs of huts, smearing floors of huts (Ba-Thonga); threshing, grinding, carrying stones in government labor (A-Zande); building cairns (*didinga*); cutting and carrying grass. . . .

The songs described in the early part of this paper have not only rhythm, but are all characterized by their erotic meaning. The special privileges allowed to the workers in singing vulgar songs, considered as shocking and indecent at other times, must be regarded as one of the concomitant palliatives of labor which assist the workers to combat weariness and monotony. Those who have seen natives beating millet or grinding malted grain for hours together know how exhausting a labor it is. Those who have seen native men carrying the roof of a hut from any distance, or who have seen a woman or girl pounding grain, know how arduous is the one, how monotonous is the other. Carrying canoes, sowing, fishing, smelting, can all be tiring occupations, and are carried out efficiently owing largely to the palliatives allowed to the workers.[2]

In America initiation of the African type did not prevail but among Plains tribes entrance into manhood was associated with the purchase of membership in societies, and at the time of purchase there was a toleration of license in the form of stealing, and also some sexual license as reward to the ceremonial "fathers" who had sponsored the purchasers. But both forms showed a good deal of restraint.

Of the ceremonial surrender of wives to sponsoring "fathers" Lowie says:

One of the features of the purchase . . . is the ceremonial surrender of the purchasers' wives to the sellers. This was carried so far that if a young man chanced to be single, he would make a long journey to some friend in another village in order to borrow his wife for the purpose. The

[1] *Ibid.*, 294–296, *passim* (The Macmillan Company. By permission).

[2] Evans-Pritchard, E. E., "Some Collective Expressions of Obscenity in Africa," *Jour. Anth. Inst.*, 59: 328, 323, 330.

friend would then take his wife with him, accompany the buyer, and make the surrender in his stead. Sometimes three or more wives were offered to the same father. My best Hidatsa authority, Hairy-coat, confirms these statements for his own tribe. A single man, according to him, would borrow a fellow clansman's wife, as it was customary for members of one clan to help one another in the purchase of an organization by gifts of horses and what not. Hairy-coat also said on another occasion that the Stone Hammers, not being as yet married, would borrow the wives of their older "friends," but this view remains unconfirmed. From various statements I get the impression that while the buyers of an age society were expected to offer their wives to the sellers, the latter, for fear of bad luck, rarely exercised the privilege thus granted them. . . . One Hidatsa informant, however, thought that [clan] fathers did in most cases avail themselves of the offer except when the wife was a relative of his, in which case he would refuse to go outside with her and would pray for both his son and his son's wife in the lodge.

This surrender of wives in the purchase of age societies seems to be merely a special application of an established custom. Lewis and Clark, as well as Maximilian, refer to this surrender as a feature in a tribal buffalo ceremony. According to Maximilian, a woman covered only by her robe would approach one of the most eminent tribesmen, stroke his arms from the shoulder downward, and thus invite him to accompany her to a secluded spot. He might avoid intercourse by presenting her with a gift, which, however, was rarely done. Elsewhere Maximilian says that on other occasions individual Indians eager to obtain the blessing of another man before some undertaking would offer their wives in essentially the same manner. Hairy-coat said that sometimes clan fathers were invited to a feast by their clan sons apart from any purchase, and the latter would then offer their wives to them. Clan fathers who had no special powers to pray as a result of a vision would not go with the women. If a father refused four times, his son would say, "I'll consider you an old enemy," thus making it necessary for the father to yield.[1]

Accompanying the sun dance of Plains Indians, which includes the terrible self-torture feature mentioned in Chap. XIII, there is a short period of relaxation of the sex inhibitions. Of the Arapaho Kroeber reports:

At the sun dance an old man, crying out to the entire camp circle, told the young people to amuse themselves; he told the women to consent if they were approached by a young man, for this was their opportunity; and he called to the young men not to beat or anger their wives, or be jealous during the dance: they might make a woman cry, but meanwhile she would surely be thinking of some other young man. At such dances the old women say to the girls: "We are old, and our skin is not smooth;

[1] Lowie, R. H., "Societies of the Hidatsa and Mandan Indians," *Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., Anth. Pap.*, **11**: 225–228.

we are of no use. But you are young and plump; therefore find enjoyment. We have to take care of the children, and the time will come when you will do the same."[1]

Spier, in a comparative review of the sun dance among all the tribes, points out, however, that only two tribes formally approve the license by specifying the time at which it may occur:

While the ordinary restraints may not be enforced during this period of festivity, a definite time when sexual license is permitted occurs among only two tribes: Oglala, at the preliminary dance, and Arapaho, on the night of torture.[2]

Among the Australian Arunta sexual license accompanies important ceremonies, and the cutting ceremony for girls which immediately precedes their marriage is accentuated by the selection of a girl's near classificatory relatives to cohabit with her:

Whilst under ordinary circumstances in the Arunta and other tribes one man is only allowed to have marital relations with women of a particular class, there are customs which allow, at certain times, of a man having such relations with women to whom at other times he would not on any account be allowed to have access. We find, indeed, that this holds true in the case of all the nine different tribes with the marriage customs of which we are acquainted, and in which a woman becomes the private property of one man.

In each tribe, again, we find at this particular time when a woman is being, so to speak, handed over to one particular man, that special individuals representing groups with which at ordinary times she may have no intercourse, have the right of access to her. In the majority of tribes, even tribal brothers are included amongst them. The individuals who are thus privileged vary from tribe to tribe, but in all cases the striking feature is that, for the time being, the existence of what can only be described as partial promiscuity can clearly be seen. By this we do not mean that marital rights are allowed to any man, but that for a time such rights are allowed to individuals to whom at other times the woman is *ekirinja*, or forbidden. . . .

So far, then, as the marital relations of the tribes are concerned, we find that whilst there is individual marriage, there are, in actual practice, occasions on which the relations are of a much wider nature. We have, indeed, in this respect three very distinct series of relationships. The first is the normal one, when the woman is the private property of one man, and no one without his consent can have access to her, though he may lend her privately to certain individuals who stand in one given relationship to her. The second is the wider relation in regard to particular men at the time of marriage. The third is the still wider relation

[1] Kroeber, A. L., "The Arapaho," *Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., Bull.*, **18**: 15.

[2] Spier L., "The Sun Dance of the Plains Indians: Its Development and Diffusion," *Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., Anth. Pap.*, **16**: 475.

which obtains on certain occasions, such as the holding of important corroborees.[1]

Reports of this character led to an early theory termed by Lubbock "the expiation of marriage." It was conceived that there had been an earlier stage of sexual communism and that the approach of a number of men to a bride before she was relinquished to her husband was an assertion and survival of communal rights and a penalty paid by the husband for appropriating an individual woman. But there is nowhere any indication of an original state of sexual communism, and this particular practice is only one item in a series of relaxations of sex tabus. During the tribal ceremonies of the Arunta, there is exchange and proffering of women, for example, to honor certain persons, as in the case of the Hidatsa above.

In the Banks Islands one of the functions of the *tamate* societies is to protect property, but on ceremonial occasions they destroy it and also relax sexual tabus:

> As the [*kolekole*] procession passes along [says Rivers], its members may cut down any trees on their way, whether coconuts, breadfruit, or bananas, but they do not touch yams or taro. When they are thus destroying property they express pity for the owners, but the latter never complain and profess to regard the matter as a joke . . . [and] there are several occasions on which the injury or destruction of property is directly due to the action of the *tamate*. In one case there is reason to believe that this destruction has a definite ceremonial significance, *viz.*, the destruction of the house of the candidate for entrance into the *tamate liwoa*. This is probably symbolic of the ceremonial death of the candidate, and if we knew more of the other occasions on which property is destroyed we might find that these have in every case their meaning. At the same time they are very suggestive of the occasions for general relaxation of law which are so often found among rude peoples. Just as there is reason to believe that at certain festivals the most fundamental laws regulating the relations of the sexes are not merely broken but that an excessive degree of relaxation is allowed or enjoined, so may it be that we have on the occasions when the tamate destroy property in a wholesale way a general relaxation of the laws regulating the protection of property in which the tamate societies normally take so prominent a place.[2]

In other islands of the Pacific obscenity is plainly and elaborately dramatized to attract the attention of the gods and excite

[1] Spencer, B., and F. J. Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, 92–93, 96–98, *passim* (The Macmillan Company. By permission).

[2] Rivers, W. H. R., *The History of Melanesian Society*, 1: 135, 142 (Cambridge University Press. By permission).

them sexually. It is known in this connection that indelicate words may be used as a sexual excitant and approach. A mild expression of this may be seen in some European shops kept by women who may tolerate and blush over rather obscene remarks made by male customers and thus promote their business. In the Marquesas Islands this physiological reaction is stepped up to an elaborate pattern designed to interest the gods and stimulate them to fertility and the promotion of fertility:

The greatest of all feasts were the memorial festivals celebrated long after the actual death of chiefs and chiefesses, inspirational priests, or ceremonial priests for the purpose of deifying their spirits. The fact that these were not celebrated until long after the death appears to have been due to two things—first, to the time required for preparation; secondly, to the necessity of waiting for such celebrations till a time of plenty. These festivals, with the rites that immediately followed the death of such great personages, constituted deification rites, having as their object the elevation of the spirits in the next world, giving them power, and thereby increasing the abundance of food and of human offspring in this world. For the spirits that were thus elevated were virtually the tribal gods, who were looked upon as the source of all earthly and human fertility. During the preparation of such festivals and the celebration of them, war was strictly forbidden. All tribes, whether friends or enemies, joined together in the celebration of these rites. The descriptions given below show clearly that these memorial festivals were feasts in honor of spirits of the dead and at the same time rites to forward fertility and generation. Chants, chiefly *uta*, or love songs, were sung; pantomimic performances connected with childbearing and death were enacted; and nude dancing with sexual abandon was a prominent feature. In all the celebrations youthful libertines, called *ka'ioi*, played a prominent part.[1]

[1] Handy, *op. cit.*, 216.

Chapter XI

SPIRITUAL INTIMACIES AND AVOIDANCES

The conception that the immediate dead of the family and sib haunt the neighborhood raises the problem of how they shall be treated, and the definition of this situation takes two opposite directions—a policy of cultivating further relations with them and utilizing them on the one hand, and of avoiding and being rid of them on the other. The continuance of relations may be indicated by some simple gestures of remembrance:

> The simplest and most common sacrificial act is that of throwing a small portion of food to the dead; this is probably a universal practice in Melanesia. A fragment of food ready to be eaten, of yam, a leaf of mallow, a bit of betel nut, is thrown aside, and, where they drink kava, a libation is made of a few drops, as the share of departed friends, or as a memorial of them with which they will be gratified. This is done perhaps with the calling of the name of someone recently deceased or particularly in remembrance at the time, or else with a general regard to the ghosts of former members of the community. It is hardly thought that this becomes in fact the food of the departed, but somehow it is to their advantage, at any rate it pleases them.[1]

At this level of the practice there is evidently a social feeling about not breaking off too abruptly the relation of the dead with the living. Thus the Mossi of the Niger region in Africa symbolize the continuance of the dead man for a certain time among the living by designating someone to impersonate him:

> Every Mossi, who dies a natural death, whether man, woman, child, or chief, survives in the person of the *kourita*. If it is a married man the *kourita* or *koutoarsa* (who imitates the dead man) is a woman of his family, usually one of the wives of one of his younger brothers who has a certain resemblance to the deceased. She is chosen by the family and sometimes even designated by the dying man. She takes the dead man's clothes, his jacket, his blanket, his hat, his old shoes, his bracelets, and his rings; she wears his belt and knives, walks with his staff, mattock, and his *doré* [ornamental weapon]; she carries his *assegai*, point downwards. She walks like the man she is representing and tries to imitate him in everything; she continues him amongst his people. If the man

[1] Codrington, R. H., *The Melanesians: Studies in Their Anthropology and Folk-lore*, 128 (Clarendon Press. By permission).

was usually accompanied by a child carrying his bag the kourita will have her child following with the same bag, but turned inside out. If the deceased was leprous and had no fingers she will act as though she had none; if he was a laugher she will laugh; if he was a scold and controverted everybody she will not fail to represent this. The children of the deceased will call her father, his wives will call her husband, and prepare the mealie dish for her. If the deceased was a *naba* (chief) she will be called *naba*.

She will act thus until the day of the *kouré*. On that day she shaves her head like the other members of the family and her role is over. But she keeps the name of kourita and when the inheritance is divided she will receive a garment and will return the clothes of the dead man. If the heir is generous and the inheritance is adequate she may receive also some cattle and perhaps a child. The kourita will die sooner than if she had not played this part because the spirits of the ancestors will come for her, and consequently this function is not popular.[1]

The dead are thus regarded as members of the family and sib who have become more powerful because of their spiritual nature. Though they may sometimes be malicious their names are carefully preserved and handed down in some cases, in order that they may be called upon in certain situations. Father Egedi reports of a New Guinea tribe:

In hunting and fishing the spirits of the dead invoked for success are called upon in the same places where *they* had hunted and fished and this seems the chief reason influencing the Kuni to remember religiously the names of their ancestors. When a native, in the course of my genealogical investigations, was unable to give the name of his grandfather or great-grandfather the bystanders exclaimed, "But how do you get along in hunting?"[2]

In some tribes ancestor worship is developed, with formal food offerings and supplications. African and especially the Bantu-speaking tribes are remarkable for this direction of attention. These groups suppose that good and evil are largely determined from this source and their sacrifices are frequent and their requests copious. But the spirits seem rather hard, inattentive, and even malicious. This must seem so since men never receive all they ask for and at the proper time, and frequently they are visisted by very hard punishments—death, drought, famines, etc. This appears particularly unsuitable on the part of ancestors since they are of the same blood and should be more attentive and tender. Junod points out that in the case of some misfortune or sickness among the

[1] Mangin, E., "Les Mossi," *Anthropos*, **9**: 732–733.
[2] "La religione e le conoscenze naturali dei Kuni," *Anthropos*, **8**: 206.

Thonga a regular part of the petition to the ancestors is a scolding, as if the ancestors were inefficient and inattentive old men:

There are two words used to designate this curious part of the prayer: *holobela*, or *holobisa*, to scold the gods, or *rukatela*, the actual word for "to insult." [The following may be the words in the case of a sick child, where it is claimed that an ox is sacrificed, while, in fact, it is only a hen:] "You are useless, you gods; you only give us trouble! For, although we give you offerings, you do not listen to us! We are deprived of everything! You, so and so [naming the god to whom the offering must be addressed in accordance with the decree pronounced by the bones, *i.e.*, the god who was angry and who induced the other gods to come and do harm to the village by making the child ill], you are full of hatred! You do not enrich us! All those who succeed, do so by the help of their gods! Now we have made you this gift! Call your ancestors [so and so], call also the gods of this sick boy's father, because his father's people did not steal his mother; these people [of such and such a clan] came in the daylight (to *lobola* [make gifts for] the mother). So come here to the altar! Eat and distribute among yourselves our ox [the hen!] according to your wisdom.[1]

Father van Wing's account of the Bakongo (a Western Bantu tribe) contains a similar record of supplication and scolding. In case of a serious illness the diviner may decide that the ancestors are displeased and claim more solemn funeral honors:

The elder of the clan then convokes the other elders and discusses with them what is to be done. If they agree, the date of the great festivity of the ancestors is fixed, beginning with the first meeting with them in the cemetery.

This ceremony consists of three distinct proceedings: (1) The ancestors are informed that they will receive the honors they claim, on condition that they restore the health of the patient and the prosperity of the clan; (2) the presentation of the small cattle to be sacrificed on the occasion and the fixing of the day of the ceremony; (3) the performance of the rite itself. . . .

The elder goes to the cemetery with his people, the members of the kindred. They bring five plates and five calabashes of palm wine, drawn from the flowers of palm trees. When the elder has arrived at the grave of his own predecessor, he kneels down and addresses all the ancestors as follows. . . . :

"Behold, we have come to you
Whom you, forbears, have left behind [with the clan].
When you were alive, you told me:
'Thou shalt remain with the clan and the clan will help thee;

[1] Junod, H., *The Life of a South African Tribe*, **2**: 423, 396 (The Macmillan Company. By permission).

Take good care of the human wealth.'
But behold, how we stand:
The earth is ill, the sky is ill.
We are told: activate the fetishes.
[This done] they repeat: 'More fetishes!'
We go to the diviner
Who says: 'Attend to the graves of the ancients.'
This is the reason why we have come. . . .
They say that you are seeking the honors of burial.
But I declare, before you seek the honors
Spare our young people in the village;
Give us fecundity.
At present we reap not the fruit of our labor,
I have not yet paid my taxes to the state.
Whenever I have a franc, they say:
'Look after that woman,'
Whenever I have half a franc, they say:
'The child of So-and-so has died,
Of this or that relative by marriage the brother died!'
Where is the labor which will allow me to afford the expenses of your grave?
Today I bring you five plates,
Eat the *matondo*, love procreation and human wealth.
I bring you five calabashes of the rich wine *nsamba*.
Favor procreation and human wealth.
You have taught us the proverb:
'The drawer of palm wine with his palm wine,
The hunter with his chase [obtain their needs],'
But I, whenever I earn a little money
It is gone.
I raise fowls
And the weasel takes them;
If I let the goats run about
The leopard of the forest is on the lookout.
And you, you ask for funeral honors!
How am I to meet the expense?
The hiding place of treasures, open it,
Then I shall come again to your graves.
When the young men go to the forest
May they take big game in their traps,
And he who climbs the palms
May he descend with two calabashes filled.
I stretch out my hands [to implore you],
He who extends his hands cannot die!
As we have no luck,
Here are the presents, they are the last.
Expect no more plates,

[Expect] no more palm wine, no more gunpowder:
Where do you want me to steal them?
Were I to do so, it would be said: that subject [of the clan] is a thief;
Have his forbears left him no money [that he is reduced to steal]?
Give us human riches
That we, your subjects, may remain alive,
That we may prosper.
And if any of us were to go by night
To the village of our female subjects [to eat, by witchcraft, their children]
If you see him, capture him,
Take him where you are.
We, among ourselves, in the plains,
Will mutually exhort each other [to abstain from evil].
All ye [ancestors] at the waters, be like the hairs of the dog
Which lie all on the same layer,
That we remain to see joy.
If then the secret treasure is opened
Your grave will be adorned.
But if it is to the contrary, expect no more honors.
But there, where we dwell,
Come and take us, it matters not;
When we all shall be exterminated
We shall see who will honor your graves; whence will he come?
And of the *safu* trees and the palms, who will eat the fruit?
It will be foreigners, who will inherit your village
As I have said. I have finished."[1]

Among the Bangala

if the family of the deceased man were troubled with much sickness, and a witch doctor said that it was due to the dissatisfaction of the spirit of such an one because no offering had lately been made to him, then the family would kill a slave as a sacrifice, and send him with a message to their troublesome relative, and a request that he would not cause them any further misfortune. We induced them to give up this custom, but the timorous ones compromised the matter by burying in the grave of their deceased relative some brass rods equal to the price of a slave.[2]

Dr. and Mrs. Herskovits have reported on the attention to the dead among the Dahomans of the West Coast:

The oldest living male and the oldest living female members, the Xenuga and the Akovi . . . represent the link between the living and the dead, and their authority is reinforced by the power of the dead, for whom they are spokesmen No Dahoman, for example, would dare

[1] Wing, J. Van, "Bakongo Incantations and Prayers," *Jour. Anth. Inst.*, 60: 414–418.
[2] Weeks, J. H., "Anthropological Notes on the Bangala of the Upper Congo River," *Jour. Anth. Inst.*, 39: 454.

offend the Akovi, the oldest woman of the family, for it is she who cares for the bodies of the dead, and, if angered, she might speak what message she chose to the dead. When a man succeeds to his father's title and property, it is these family heads, the man and the woman, who seat him on the ancestral stool in the name of the ancestors. The ancestors must eat of the new harvest before the living may eat; the ancestors are propitiated when a girl is given in marriage to a man of another sib, who will have control over the children born of the marriage. . . . So important is it to discharge the duty to the dead that the most serious offense leading to divorce is a man's failure to make the ritual contributions to the funeral of the wife's mother or father.

Annually sacrifices are given to the ancestors, and all whose names are known are called by name to come and partake of the food and drink offered, while for the unknown dead there are also offerings. Once in three or five years, at least, lavish ceremonies must take place, wherein the important dead are summoned to enter the body of a living member of the family who will dance, impersonating the dead ancestor. It is not possible in this outline to sketch even briefly the extremely complex and spiritually dangerous ceremonies involved in establishing a temple for the family dead—in achieving the initial deification of them, and later, at intervals of ten years, or longer, arranging the deification of the more recent dead. In native thinking, no sib head who initiates these ceremonies will live more than a year after they are completed, and no sib but will lose many members when these are conducted, for if but one name be omitted in calling the dead, that ancestor will be angered and will be avenged.

A sib must exercise the greatest care to keep the souls allotted to it. The final burial ceremonies of a deceased member must be completed within three years of his death, or else his soul will be lost to the sib, and, not being properly embarked for the land of the dead, will harass his relatives because of their neglect. Such a soul may become the emissary of a sorcerer, as may any of the unprovided dead, who are homelessly adrift between the land of the living and the dead. Mawu, it is said, allows three years to the living in which to meet their obligations to their dead. If the family is not interested or able to retain the soul of its dead member for itself, Mawu will appropriate it, or allow it to be appropriated for other uses. For a sib to let this happen is rare indeed, since thus the births allotted to the sib would be fewer, so that in time it would come to an end. So strong is this desire to retain for the sib the souls of all its members that, when smallpox kills a person and the body is taken over by the Sagbata cult members to be disposed of according to their cult practices, before three years have elapsed the group seeks to discover by divination the ransom, required by the god who killed the victim, for releasing the soul. The whole matter is attended to quietly, so that none but the elders of the family know, but ransomed it is. This practice also obtains for women who die in childbirth, for lepers, and for other dead, such as criminals punished by the king. For them mats are rolled

up to simulate a human body, or effigies are made and a quiet, secret burial is given, so that the soul of the dead may remain in the sib.[1]

As a further step in this direction there are in Dahomey "family" deities or *tohwiyo* (in addition to a pantheon of "sky" gods) who are the legendary founders of the sibs and continue their rulers and judges:

The role of the *tohwiyo* in daily life as evidenced in belief and cult can best be understood in terms of the importance of hierarchical rule as governing sacred and secular institutions alike. When Mawu—or whatever name the Dahoman of a given cult attributes to the founder of the supernatural kingdoms—wished to see mankind multiply and flourish, beings were sent into the world to mate with humans already on earth, in order that from these matings might come founders of the sibs. We have seen, also, that before his death, the supernatural parent instructed the tohwiyo in the destiny of his group—the foods to avoid in order to survive, the enterprises to follow in order to thrive, the regions in which to found settlements in order to grow powerful. The function given him was that of king, with the prerogatives of kingship. Consequently, in all of the sibs it is the tohwiyo who passes the sentence of death on sib members who offend against the welfare of the group over which he rules. The tohwiyo also avenges the infidelity of a wife of a sib member, and does it in one of two ways. In some sibs the woman is killed by the husband's tohwiyo if she does not confess her guilt, while in others the husband is killed by his own tohwiyo, because knowing of his wife's infidelity he fails to seek redress. Again, in the native courts, when witnesses are sworn in, they swear by the tohwiyo of their sibs, not by any of the gods. Another example of the power of the tohwiyo is seen in the need to make certain ceremonial gifts to obtain the sanction of the tohwiyo of a woman's sib when a man and woman unite under the form of marriage whereby the children born of the mating will become members of the father's sib. Yet another instance is met in those cases in which, by divination, it is determined that the soul of the newly born child has come from the tohwiyo. The mother must thereupon consider herself the wife of the tohwiyo until some two years after the child is born, when she must go through a complex and costly ceremonial of being freed from the tohwiyo. During the two-year interval she must avoid all men, and must be avoided by them, for were she to accept an object from the hand of any man, she would be violating the code established for the wife of a supernatural husband, and such a violation would require large additional expenditure, in order that sacrifices might be made to appease the anger of the tohwiyo. Most important of all, however, is the power of the tohwiyo as it is manifested when a serious dispute arises between two sibs, and no redress is offered by the offending one. The head of the aggrieved sib has the right to pronounce a divorce

[1] Herskovits, M. J. and F. S., "An Outline of Dahomean Religious Belief," *Amer. Anth. Assn., Mem.*, **41**: 31–32.

between all the women of his sib married to men of the other. When this happens, messengers are sent out to all the villages however remote they may be, where women of the sib are to be found, and the message given to each is: "The tohwiyo calls you home." When the women hear this, they leave their husbands at once, and it devolves upon these husbands to appeal to their sib head for a settlement of the dispute.[1]

In Western Bantu tribes a conception is found that the individual possesses two souls. One of these seems to represent the maternal and the other the paternal line, and the initiatory ceremonies undertake to incorporate the souls of the paternal ancestors in the initiates:

Father Van Wing was told about spirits, very powerful spirits indeed, who dwell in virgin forests near or in the rivers. These are the *nkita* (or *bakita*), spirits of men who have died a violent death; the greatest among them are those of heroes fallen in war, the ancestors from the beginning, the first progenitors . . . probably the conquerors of old who had led the tribe to its present home.

[The *kimpasi* or *ndembo* of Western Bantu life has been referred to usually as a secret society, but] internal evidence leaves no doubt that it is a puberty rite connected with the absorption of youths and maidens in the totem, and their incorporation into the gens (tribe) to which their nkita ancestry calls them. It is believed that by union with the original ancestors of the nation or tribe they will acquire some of their virile powers, and thus succeed in producing the riches valued by them above all—"human riches," *i.e.*, children. The ceremony takes place in an enclosure, called in ordinary language "*nzo lufuba*," but spoken of by the initiates as the "nkita village" or "*our Kongo.*" The principal officiating priest is called for the occasion *Na Kongo* (Lord Kongo). The enclosure must be in the forest near water, as it is in such places that the nkita ancestors dwell. When several gentes are initiated at the same time, a separate hut is reserved for each, and some distinction is made between children of pure descent and such as have the blood of slaves in them. Should the initiation be delayed, barrenness of women and other misfortunes will remind the villagers of their duties to the nkita. Young people of both sexes are admitted; they are supposed to die the nkita death, travel to nkita life, and, finally, after resurrection, return to their homes as newborn nkita children. Ordinary death implies the loss of both souls, and is final; nkita death means the gradual merging of the individual paternal soul into that of the tribe and totem. The verb used by Father Van Wing's informants to describe the journey of the soul to its new sphere is "*futumuka*" (*i.e.*, to ascend); had they wished to express a change they would have said "*vilula.*" With the nkita death the sensory soul leaves the candidate, and, while it ascends, he (or she) must pretend to be insensible to the ill-treatment to which the neophites

[1] *Ibid.*, 29–30.

are ungrudgingly subjected. The boys and girls are laid out naked in pairs, "but must not know each other, even as if they were palms." This appears to be symbolical of their loss of the senses, especially if taken in connection with the sexual excesses, such as coitus, masturbation, and pederasty, which are practiced after the recovery of, or reunion with, a special powerful "ripened" sensory soul. Every individual's soul is a fraction of the undivided tribal soul, as every tribal soul is an integral part of the Kongo soul—hence the saying that the novices "go to Kongo, our Kongo."[1]

Among the Kikuyu, an East African Bantu tribe, the degree of attention to the dead is determined by their social status, and only the more distinguished persons are buried at all:

When a death occurs the elders decide whether the person is to be buried or not. Only elders above what is known as the "three-goat" grade are buried; these are called *athuri ya mburi tatu*, which means that they have reached the grade, the entrance fee to which is three goats; the next grade is *athuri ya mburi nne* or the "four-goat" grade. No elder is a fully qualified member of council till he reaches that rank. Generally speaking, it works out that only those elders who have grown-up children are buried. In the case of a person not entitled to burial, it is the duty of the elders to decide the place in the bush where the corpse shall be deposited . . . [and among the Ukamba] the head of a village is buried if his wife, wives, or any sons are alive. If they are all dead the body is thrown out.

A man of importance and of high social grade is nearly always buried and is interred at the side of his cattle kraal. The head wife of an elder is buried. . . .

If a childless wife, who is the first wife, dies, she is buried inside the village. In the case of a second or third wife, the body is thrown out, but curiously enough it must not be taken through the gate; a special opening is made in the village fence for the purpose, the opening being afterwards closed up again. Presumably this is to prevent her spirit from finding its way back into the village.[2]

The Nandi, a non-Bantu East African tribe, have the singular practice of exposing their dead to be eaten by hyenas, thus incorporating them by a magical-eucharistic principle in that animal, which in this way becomes sacred and helpful:

The only animal that all Nandi, like most East African tribes, hold in respect or fear is the hyena, which animal was once aptly described by Sir A. Hardinge as the living mausoleum of their dead. It is true that the Nandi will kill or wound a hyena if it is on nobody's land, but they

[1] Torday, E., "Dualism in Western Bantu Religion and Social Organization," *Jour. Anth. Inst.*, **58**: 241–244.

[2] Hobley, C. W., *Bantu Beliefs and Magic*, 99, 101 (H. F. and G. W. Witherby. By permission).

will not touch him if he prowls round their houses. . . . After a death has occurred the body is taken away at nightfall a few hundred yards to the west of the hut, towards the setting sun, and placed on the ground. . . . The body is visited on the second day after death to see if the hyenas have eaten it. If it is found that they have not been near the spot, a goat is killed and the meat is placed on and near the corpse to attract their attention. Except with the Tungo clan, the body is also turned over on the other side. Should the hyenas still not come it is understood that the deceased has been killed by witchcraft, and the relations proceed to a medicine man to ascertain who is responsible for the death.[1]

The bodies of eminent persons, particularly chiefs and kings, are sometimes preserved for a time close at hand in the belief that they continue to exercise a good influence. Volz reports on this point from the Kpelle, a Liberian tribe:

Baurumeh [a recently deceased head chief] is not yet buried but is in the house of Kutubu. Bodies of chiefs are often not buried until long after their death because a good influence is ascribed to them. Baurumeh will later be buried in his native district in the Guma country. . . . The bodies are either embalmed by opening them and filling them with certain herbs or they are smoked over a fire. The temporary grave of Baurumeh is now in the bedroom of Kutubu. A grave was dug and the sides covered with wood so that the earth would not fall in. In it the box containing the deceased was placed and surrounded with numerous of his possessions —guns, powder, spears, clothing, etc. Then the grave was covered with wood, and earth was strewn over the floor so that nothing is noticeable, but the body is easily accessible. Kutubu's bed stands over the grave. The eminent Baurumeh is still thought to render important services to the city. Recently when the enemy was approaching it is said that he blew his horn and moved noisily in his coffin as a warning that they should be on their guard.[2]

Among the American Indians the worship of the dead was not developed, but, in addition to the name avoidance mentioned in Chap. IV, the attention to them took several directions. In some tribes there were affectionate farewells and even formal addresses to the dead before burial, and these sometimes contained requests, as among the Tewa, that they help their people:

I may repeat in this connection the significant San Juan prayer or injunction to the deceased, "Whether you become *kayapowaka* or *kayatsauwe* or *kayatseyi* or *kayapi* or *kayatsae* or *kayanohu* or *kayataemaegi*, from the mountains and hills you have to help your people."[3]

[1] Hollis, A. C., *The Nandi: Their Language and Folk-lore*, 7, 70, 71 (Clarendon Press. By permission).
[2] Volz, W., *Reise durch das Hinterland von Liberia im Winter* 1906–1907, 105 (A. Francke. By permission).
[3] Parsons, E. C., "The Social Organization of the Tewa of New Mexico," *Amer. Anth. Assn., Mem.*, **36**: 269–270.

Morgan has reported the farewell address of an Iroquois mother to her son, and Jones an address among the Fox, but in neither case is there a request for help:

"My son, listen once more to the words of thy mother. Thou wert brought into life with her pains. Thou wert nourished with her life. She has attempted to be faithful in raising thee up. When thou wert young, she loved thee as her life. Thy presence has been a source of great joy to her. Upon thee she depended for support and comfort in her declining days. She had ever expected to gain the end of the path of life before thee. But thou hast outstripped her, and gone before her. Our great and wise Creator has ordered it thus. By his will I am left to taste more of the miseries of this world. Thy friends and relatives have gathered about thy body, to look upon thee for the last time. They mourn, as with one mind, thy departure from among us. We, too, have but a few days more, and our journey shall be ended. We part now, and you are conveyed from our sight. But we shall soon meet again, and shall again look upon each other. Then we shall part no more. Our Maker has called you to his home. Thither will we follow. *Naho!*"[1]

[Among the Fox] usually a man far advanced in years . . . takes his place near the head of the coffin. He is to say farewell to the dead not only for his own behalf, but for all who are present, likewise for others who are away. This man performs the office sometimes at the request of the relatives of the dead, and as frequently it is his own seeking, because of a personal desire to do it. It is, however, not customary for a relative to deliver the farewell. Now and then it may be long and wordy, but as a general rule, it is soon over with. Here is an example of what the shorter, more typical kind is like:

"My son, depart in peace and continue in that state of mind as you journey along the way. Sad are your kindred, for sorely they grieve to see you leaving them. But do not tarry, and let not their sorrow sadden you, and be not grieved that you are leaving them behind; for you are going to our nephew, to the place where the sun goes down are you going. When there you have come, he will set food before you. He will ask you about your kindred, and then you can tell him about them. Convey to him these messages which they send, hand to him this offering of tobacco which they send for him to use. Ever be mindful of their welfare. So beseech of him pity for them, beg of him to deliver them from hunger, want, and distress. Ask for them health and long life. And then seek for the kindred that have since gone before you. They will ask for them that are yet to come, and tell them about them.

"Do not linger by the way, never look back but keep even on. The path you follow leads straight to the place where the sun goes down.

"That is all, my son, that is all I have to tell you."

At intervals in the course of the farewell, the speaker pauses and sprinkles pinches of powdered tobacco about over the body; and when his

[1] Morgan, L. H., *League of the Hodenosaunee, or Iroquois*, 169, note.

talk is ended, he adds a little more in silence and then withdraws. Thereupon up step, one after another, the relatives and others who each in turn sprinkle over the body the holy tobacco; some place a bit of it in the palms of the dead, and some murmur a parting phrase. When the last has passed by the dead, then two vessels are put beside the body; one vessel contains water and the other food; for it is said that the way to the spirit world is far, and the soul might famish with hunger and thirst before it reaches there.

The face is then covered again, the mat is drawn together so as to overlap over the body, and then the coffin is closed. The timbers are pulled away from beneath and the coffin is let down with ropes; in a little while the grave is filled up with most of its own earth. A shed is quickly erected over the grave, and at the foot just outside is driven a stake pointing westward. It is generally colored red, and from its top a feather or a shred of cloth usually flutters in the wind. In front of the stake is laid a dog that has been choked to death; it lies on its belly with legs extended as if running westward; it is said to be guide and companion to the soul on the way to the spirit world. It is common to kill more than one dog, and puppies are generally preferred.[1]

No fear is expressed in this address but it exists and is implied. The desire to help him on his way is shown in the advice not to linger and a dog is killed to guide him. A positive fear is, however, pointed out by Jones and explained:

It often happens that a person makes the dying request to be buried with a knife or a tomahawk. The request is made for a reason. It is believed that the path to the spirit world leads past a place where dwells an old woman, Cracker-of-Skulls by name; that she sits by the wayside watching for ghosts journeying westward; that she seizes them but detains them only for a while, just long enough for her to crack open the top of their skulls and dig out a fingerful of brain from each. The knife and tomahawk are asked for that they may be means of defense against the old hag. It is seldom, however, that the request is granted, and the refusal likewise has for its basis a belief, which is to the effect that spirits of the dead can be present among us at all times and that they see and know all that we do; that sometimes by some act of ours whether intentional or not we commit infractions which bring down upon us the anger of the spirits, thus rendering ourselves liable to chastisement by them; and that when they inflict punishment it is likely to be with the very weapon placed with the body at burial. Hence, relatives are reluctant to have weapons like knives and tomahawks placed with the dead.[2]

The attitude of the Pueblo Indians inclines also to fear. The family is ritually washed, the corpse is fed, they store food at a

[1] Jones, W., "Mortuary Observances and the Adoption Rites of the Algonkin Foxes of Iowa," *Congrès International des Américanistes, Quinzième Session*, 1: 266–268.
[2] *Ibid.*, 265–266.

distance and invite the dead to it, and on their return they make a cut across their trail as a sign of separation. While very affectionate, the death ritual is designed to hasten the forgetfulness of the dead, and their own forgetfulness:

In Isleta [says Benedict] a priest who is known as the Black Corn Mother and who is a functionary of one of the four "Corn" divisions of the Pueblo, officiates at death. He is called immediately and prepares the corpse, brushing the hair and washing and painting the face with identification marks to indicate the social affiliation of the dead. After this the relatives come in, bringing each a candle to the dead, and the Corn Mother prays and sends the people away again. When they have gone he and his helpers "feed" the dead man ceremonially with the left hand—associated with ghosts—and make an altar in the room. Only once again during all this ritual tending of the dead are the relatives admitted, and that is when the priest has ready a small smudge from the combings of the dead man's hair. The bereaved breathe this in and will thereby cease to grieve over the dead person. The burial takes place the following day, but the family and relatives are ceremonially tabu for four days and remain in retreat in the house of the dead man, receiving certain ritual washings from the priest. The formalities that more nearly correspond to burial in other regions are performed over the burial of food for the deceased on the fourth day. They go outside the village for this, and after it is over, they break the pot in which water was carried, and the hairbrush that was used to prepare the body for burial, and on their return cut their trail with a deep incision with a flint knife. They listen and hear the dead man come, far off, to the place where they buried food for him. The house is filled with people awaiting their return, and the Black Corn Mother preaches to them, telling them this is the last time they need be afraid of the dead man's returning. The four days has been as four years to him and therefore those [of the dead] who remain will be the readier to forget.[1]

Extensive precautions against the return of the dead are reported by Nelson from the Eskimo around Bering Strait:

These people are very averse to having a dead body in the house, and the corpse is placed in the grave box at the earliest possible moment. This is so marked that the relatives frequently dress the person in the new burial clothing while he is dying in order that he may be removed immediately after death. After death the body is placed in a sitting posture on the floor; the knees are drawn up and the feet back, so that the knees rest against the chest and the heels against the hips; then the head is forced down between the knees until the back of the neck is on a line with the tops of the knees; the arms are drawn around encircling the legs above the ankles and just under the forehead. It is then tied with strong cords to hold it in this position and drawn up through the smoke

[1] Benedict, R., "Configurations of Culture in North America," *Amer. Anth.*, N.S., **34**: 8–9.

hole in the roof and carried to the graveyard, where it is placed upon the top of an old grave box while one is being made for it. . . . When the box is ready, usually the next day, the body is placed in it upon a deerskin bed, while other deerskins or cloth covers are thrown over it. All of the small tools of the deceased are placed in the box and a cover of rough planks is fastened down over the top with wooden pegs. Just before the body is placed in the box the cords that bind it are cut, in order, they say, that the shade may return and occupy the body and move about if necessary. . . .

None of the relatives touch the body, this work being done by others. The housemates of the deceased must remain in their accustomed places in the house during the four days following the death, while the shade is believed to be still about. During this time all of them must keep fur hoods drawn over their heads to prevent the influence of the shade from entering their heads and killing them. At once, after the body is taken out of the house, his sleeping place must be swept clean and piled full of bags and other things, so as not to leave any room for the shade to return and reoccupy it. At the same time the two persons who slept with him upon each side must not, upon any account, leave their places. If they were to do so the shade might return and, by occupying a vacant place, bring sickness or death to its original owner or to the inmates of the house. For this reason none of the dead person's housemates are permitted to go outside during the four days following the death. . . .

The night following, when the people prepared to retire, each man in the village took his urine tub and poured a little of its contents upon the ground before the door, saying, "This is our water; drink"—believing that should the shade return during the night and try to enter, it would taste this water and, finding it bad, would go away.[1]

Making it hard for the ghost to find its way back by taking the body out through a hole in the roof or wall is a widespread avoidance device and was even more prevalent formerly in peasant Europe than among savages. There was a bitter relation between parents and children due to hard economic conditions and the death of the old was openly wished and their return correspondingly dreaded:

A ghost can only find its way back to the house by the way by which it left it. Hence our ancestors carried the corpse out by a hole made in the wall, and this hole was carefully stopped up as soon as the body had passed through. . . . These "doors of the dead," as they are called, are still to be seen in a village near Amsterdam, and they were common in some towns of central Italy, *e.g.*, Perugia and Assisi.[2]

[1] Nelson, E. W., "The Eskimo about Bering strait," *Bur. Amer. Ethnol., Ann. Rep.*, **18**: 314, 313.
[2] Frazer, J. G., "On Certain Burial Customs as Illustrative of the Primitive Theory of the Soul," *Jour. Anth. Inst.*, **15**: 75, note.

In many tribes (Australia, Africa, America) the hut in which a person died is burned or abandoned and the camp is removed to a different locality. This seems in some cases a rationalization of the fact that frequently a number of persons of the same family or sib die successively and in short order after a given death, owing to what we know as contagion. This is good logic from a bad premise. This conception is not to be taken as the origin of avoidance in general, but as a confirmatory and convergent development. An example is given by Hrdlička:

A beneficial custom, which was probably general in former times and is still followed in many localities, is the abandonment or destruction, after the death of an adult person, of the house in which he died, and also the destruction of his clothing, and other personal property. Whatever may have been the original reason for this custom, today many of the tribes recognize clearly that the burning of everything with which the deceased came in contact hinders contagion.[1]

In Australia near relatives smear themselves with white pipe clay, charcoal, or mud, or allow dirt to accumulate on their faces until they are unrecognizable.[2] This practice seems more generally a mourning custom, but it is also in some cases apparently used as a disguise, resulting from the observation that near relatives are particularly threatened following the death of one of their number.

Those murdered or killed in battle, whether friends or enemies, were especially feared:

It was believed [by the Omaha] that the spirit of a murdered man was inclined to come back to his village to punish the people. To prevent a murdered man from haunting his village he was turned face downward, and to impede his steps the soles of his feet were slit lengthwise. The return of a spirit to haunt people was called *wathide*, "disturbance." Such a haunting spirit was supposed to bring famine. To avert this disaster, when a murdered man was buried, besides the precautions already mentioned, a piece of fat was put in his right hand, so that if he should come to the village he would bring plenty rather than famine, fat being the symbol of plenty. Even the relatives of the murdered man would treat the body of their kinsman in the manner described.[3]

Once [said Mr. Barron] on approaching in the night a village of Ottawas, I found all the inhabitants in confusion: they were all busily engaged in raising noises of the loudest and most inharmonious kind.

[1] Hrdlička, A., "Physiological and Medical Observations among the Indians of Southwestern United States and Northern Mexico," *Bur. Amer. Ethnol., Bull.*, **34**: 230.

[2] Smyth, R. B., *The Aborigines of Victoria*, **1**: xxx; Danks, B., "Burial Customs of New Britain," *Jour. Anth. Inst.*, **21**: 351; Man, E. H., "On the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands," *Jour. Anth. Inst.*, **12**: 141.

[3] Fletcher, A. C., and F. La Flesche, "The Omaha Tribe," *Bur. Amer. Ethanol., Ann. Rept.*, **27**: 215.

Upon inquiry, I found that a battle had been lately fought between the Ottawas and the Kickapoos, and that the object of all this noise was to prevent the ghosts of the departed combatants from entering the village.[1]

The most singular measures of contamination avoidance were taken by the Pima of the Southwest. When on a war expedition one of them killed an enemy, he did not, like his neighbor the Apache, wait until he reached home for purification but quit the scene at once and devoted himself to this for sixteen days. Captain Bourke[2] says that all the Pimas retired as soon as a man was killed, either of the enemy or of their own party. Of this situation Russell says:

> There was no law among the Pimas observed with greater strictness than that which required purification and expiation for the deed that was at the same time the most lauded—the killing of an enemy. For sixteen days the warrior fasted in seclusion and observed meanwhile a number of tabus. This long period of retirement immediately after a battle greatly diminished the value of the Pimas as scouts and allies for the United States troops operating against the Apaches. The bravery of the Pimas was praised by all army officers having any experience with them, but Captain Bourke and others have complained of their unreliability, due solely to their rigid observance of this religious law.
>
> Attended by an old man, the warrior who had to expiate the crime of blood guilt retired to the groves along the river bottom at some distance from the villages or wandered about the adjoining hills. During the period of sixteen days he was not allowed to touch his head with his fingers or his hair would turn white. If he touched his face it would become wrinkled. He kept a stick to scratch his head with, and at the end of every four days this stick was buried at the root and on the west side of a cat's claw tree and a new stick was made of greasewood, arrow bush, or any other convenient shrub. He then bathed in the river, no matter how cold the temperature. The feast of victory which his friends were observing in the meantime at the villages lasted eight days. At the end of that time, or when his period of retirement was half completed, the warrior might go to his home to get a fetish made from the hair of the Apache whom he had killed. The hair was wrapped in eagle down and tied with a cotton string and kept in a long medicine basket.[3]

At the close of his purification rites the Pima Indian mentioned above was given a medicine bag containing hair of his victim. The meaning of this is pointed out by Dr. Benedict in a parallel ceremony among the Papago Indians:

[1] Keating, W. H., *Narrative of the Expedition to the Source of St. Peter's River*, 1: 109.
[2] Bourke, J. G., *On the Border with Crook*, 203.
[3] Russell, F. "The Pima Indians," *Bur. Amer. Ethnol., Ann. Rept.*, 26: 204–205.

A bit of the hair of the man he has killed is placed by his [ceremonial] "father" in a buckskin bag along with an owl feather to insure its blindness and a hawk feather to kill it, and by the ceremony this medicine is made subservient to his will. He embraces it, calling it "child," and uses it thereafter to bring rain. The whole ceremony is one for drawing the teeth of a dangerous power and freeing the perpetrator from curse, to the end that the power may be rendered beneficent.[1]

This amounts to a compulsory adoption of the dead enemy, and among the Pueblo the ceremony is along more social lines. The scalp of the dead enemy is kissed and fed by the women, he is adopted into the tribe, and assigned a function in the spirit world:

Pueblo scalp ceremonial was an initiation of the dead enemy into the tribe in order that he might become a rain maker, a potent rain spirit to aid his adoptive people.[2]

Similarly, among the Dyak head-hunters the victim was in some cases conciliated by hospitality and adopted into the tribe:

On shore and in the village, the head, for months after its arrival, is treated with the greatest consideration, and all the names and terms of endearment of which their language is capable are abundantly lavished on it: the most dainty morsels, culled from their abundant though inelegant repast . . . [are] thrust into its mouth, and it is instructed to hate its former friends, and that, having been now adopted into the tribe of its captors, its spirit must be always with them: *sirih* leaves and betel nut are given to it, and finally, a cigar is frequently placed between its ghastly and pallid lips. None of this disgusting mockery is performed with the intention of ridicule, but all to propitiate the spirit by kindness, and to procure its good wishes for the tribe, of whom it is now supposed to have become a member.[3]

The Jibaro Indians of Ecuador remove the bones from the heads of their dead enemies and by a process of curing reduce them to the size of a doll's head, preserving the features remarkably. These objects are called *tsantsa*, and by an elaborate ceremonial treatment of them the spirit of the dead man is subjugated and made subservient in a form of compulsory adoption (or enslavement) while at the same time its powers are mysteriously increased and transferred to the service of the adopting community:

If [says Karsten] we analyze the numerous ceremonies we find that all of them are founded upon certain fundamental ideas: (1) That in the trophy (tsantsa) the spirit or soul of the killed enemy is seated; (2) that

[1] Benedict, *op. cit.*, 16.
[2] Parsons, E. C., "Some Aztec and Pueblo Parallels," *Amer. Anth.*, N.S., **35**: 616.
[3] Low, H., *Sarawak: Its Inhabitants and Productions*, 207.

the spirit, attached to the head, is thirsting for revenge and is trying to harm the slayer in every possible way; (3) that in case this danger is paralyzed through the different rites of the feast, the trophy is changed into a "fetish," a thing charged with supernatural power which the victor may make use of in different ways and in different departments of life. . . . The measure to keep the trophy tied to the murderous weapon, the "demoniacal" *chonta* lance, the rattling with the shields at the most important ceremonies, the attempts to inspire the spirit with fear by making noise, by threatening movements and dancing, and to "wash off" its malignity and desire for revenge by washing the head in a magical solution, all illustrate, in different ways, the primitive conception that the Jibaros have about the supernatural beings and the possibility of influencing them.

It seems somewhat more difficult, at first glance, to understand the fundamental idea mentioned in the third place, namely, that the trophy, in case all rites are properly performed at the feast, is turned into a real fetish and becomes a source of blessing to the slayer himself and his whole family. The power which the trophy is supposed to possess, of course, is due to the spirit attached to it, just as the natural magical power of the living human body depends upon the soul or vitality inherent in it. . . . Some of the ceremonies at this feast also, as we have seen, have for their object to increase by artificial means the natural power of the trophy, in much the same way that an electric battery is charged with electric force.

A curious idea appears in the tsantsa feast, in that the victor himself on the one hand is believed to be in danger from the spirit of the killed enemy, but on the other hand, on account of his having gained possession of the enemy's head, is invested with a special mysterious power. Moreover, he is able to transfer this power by contact to other persons and to things. This explains why the victor must assist, for instance, at the brewing of the manioc wine for the feast and at the preparation of the sacred drink *natema*. Similarly, something of his power is transferred to his wife and daughter and may, through them, become effective in agriculture and in other departments of life.

With a similar mysterious power the priest (*whuea*) and the priestess (*ohaha*) are endowed. As a "priest" or conductor of the ceremonies at the feast . . . only an old warrior can officiate, who himself has killed at least one enemy and celebrated a victory feast. His insight, experience, valor, and other prominent military qualities, acquired during a long life, and especially the magical power he has acquired by slaying his enemies, seems to be conceived almost as a physical reality, and his power can, like that of the victor, in a certain degree be transferred to other people. It is for this reason that he is always holding the hand of the victor at the most important ceremonies, the idea being that the action in question will thus attain more emphasis and importance. The same holds good of the priestess, through whose cooperation all actions performed by the women, and particularly by the wife and daughter of the victor, secure the tone and stress necessary.

The important role that the women in general play at this feast of the warriors is naturally due to the fact that the principal object of the tsantsa is to promote those phases of the economic life of the Indians with which the women have most to do; first of all, agriculture and the increase of the domestic animals.

The tsantsa of the Jibaro Indians, thus, is not a "trophy" in the common sense of the word; not exclusively a mark of distinction or a visible proof that an enemy has been killed. The Jibaro warrior not only tries to take the life of his enemy, but above everything wants to secure control of his soul. Conformably to this, the so-called *einsupani* is not merely a victory feast in the sense familiar to us, but at the same time, and first of all, a kind of mystery feast.[1]

Among the Australian Murngin there is also a weird custom of compelling the spirit of a slain enemy of another group to serve the killer, especially for the multiplication of food, and this is accomplished partly by the use of the name of the slain:

When a man kills another during a tribal or interclan feud, he returns home and does not eat food that has been cooked, but only subsists on cold edibles. He continues to do this until the soul of the dead man approaches him. He can hear the dead man's soul coming because the shaft of the spear which hangs from the stone head within the man drags on the ground and hits against the trees and bushes as he walks. When the spirit is very near him the killer can hear sounds coming from the wound in the dead man (in a night fight the attacker usually strikes the sleeper's gullet).

As the killer is a young man this frightens him very much, and in his fear he runs to the camp of the old men. An old man tells him that he should not be afraid, but to return and take the spear that he has killed the man with, remove the spear head, and put the spear end of the shaft between the big toe and the toe next to it. The other end of the shaft is placed against the left shoulder. The left foot and side of the killer are used if he is right-handed, and the right side is used if he is left-handed. This is done so that the soul will not be afraid of the hand that killed its body.

The soul then enters the socket where the spear head was, and pushes its way upward into the leg of the killer, and finally into the body. It walks like an ant. It finally enters the stomach and shuts it up. The man feels very sick and his abdomen becomes very feverish. The killer rubs his stomach and calls out the proper name of the man he has killed (not his totem name, but his profane name). This cures him and he becomes normal again, for the spirit leaves the stomach and enters his heart. When the spirit enters the heart it has the same effect as if the blood of the dead man had been given to the killer. It is as though the

[1] Karsten, R., "Blood-revenge, War, and Victory Feasts among the Jibaro Indians of Eastern Ecuador," *Bur. Amer. Ethnol., Bull.*, **79**: 87–89.

man, before he died, had given his life's blood (powers, physical and spiritual) to the man who was to kill him.

The slayer, grown larger and exceedingly strong, acquires all the life strength the dead man once possessed. When the slayer dreams the soul tells him that he has food for him. The latter gives directions where to go to find it. He says, "Down there by the river you will find many kangaroo," or, "In that old tree there is a large honeybees' nest," or, "Near that large sand bank you will harpoon a very large turtle and find many eggs on the beach."

The killer listens, and after a little time he sneaks away from the camp by himself and goes out in the bush. Once there, he meets the soul of the dead man. The soul comes very close to him and lies down by him. The slayer is frightened, and cries, "Who is that? Somebody is near me." When he draws near where the spirit of the dead man was he finds a kangaroo, or, if he has gone to the sea beach, he discovers a turtle. It is unusually small. He looks at it and understands the meaning of its being there in the place where he had heard the movements of the dead man's soul. He takes sweat from under his arm and rubs it on his right arm, if he is right-handed, and on his left if he is left-handed. He picks up his spear and calls out the name of the dead man and spears the animal. The animal is immediately killed, but becomes much larger while dying. The man attempts to lift it. He finds it impossible because it has grown so large. He leaves the kill and returns to camp to tell his friends. He says when he arrives, "I have just killed the soul of the dead man. Do not let anyone hear of this because he might get angry again." His more intimate friends and relatives go out with him to help skin the animal and prepare it for eating. When they cut it up they find fat everywhere, which is considered one of the greatest delicacies in the native larder. When they cook it only very small pieces are placed on the fire at first. They are tasted with much care, and the meat always tastes unpleasant.[1]

Frequently attention to the dead is expressed with no apparent motives of fear or favor (though these are hardly absent) but from the desire to provide an equipment which will enable the departed to continue life in the next world on the same basis as in this. The habit factor is operative here also. It is difficult to conceive the separation of a dead person from his temporal surroundings. Clothing and weapons will naturally go with him and a temporary supply of food. A simple example of this attitude is seen in the treatment of an Eskimo woman:

Should the deceased be a woman, her workbag, needles, thread, and fish knife are placed beside her in the box. Her wooden dishes, pots, and other belongings are placed by the grave, and to the corner post are hung her metal bracelets, deer-tooth belt, and favorite wooden dish, and some-

[1] Warner, W. L., "Murngin Warfare," *Oceania*, 1: 463–464.

times a fish knife. The markings upon the grave box, or on the small board made for the purpose, are those of her family totem, or illustrate the exploits of her father, as is done in the case of a man.[1]

More particularly a wife is required by a man, and the sacrifice of widows to accompany their husbands is very widespread. When, for example, the British government was suppressing the suttee in India it was petitioned by a large number of persons to permit the continuation of the practice:

> According to Mr. Pearce, at this time [1826] the annual number of Satis [suttees] in Bengal was about 1,200; and when Lord William Bentinck passed an Act forbidding it, a petition was sent in to the Privy Council signed by 18,000 people, many of whom represented the best families of Calcutta, asking that this practice might be allowed to continue.[2]

Where royalty is concerned the tendency is to take not only wives but a considerable number of servants and retainers. Sheane says of East African Bantu tribes:

> The funeral ceremonies of the Awemba are most impressive. As soon as a king, as the late Mwamba, had breathed his last, two of his wives were instantly sacrificed. Then the body was laid in state inside his principal hut, which was lavishly decorated with calico, beads, and tusks of ivory. The house was closed, and no one was allowed access to it, until his successor was appointed, who alone could give permission for his predecessor's burial. On the burial day, when the body of the chief, now reduced to a skeleton, was laid to rest wrapped in a bull's hide, all his servants, councilors, and his wives were paraded before the tomb, and smitten between the eyes with a club. They were then left for dead at the tomb, and if by chance anyone managed to survive, he was not seized again, as the *basinganga* who preside at these functions say that he is not acceptable to the dead chief's spirit. Thus there is a man working at the Mission at Kilubula today who was left for dead on the tomb of the former Kitimkulu.
>
> When a Wabisa chief died, instead of sacrificing all his attendants as the Awemba did, his people only killed his head wife (*mukolo*), and this too when the chief had lain for a long time in state, and only his bones were left. Her body was split in twain, and the bones of the chief were put inside, and buried in this ghastly winding sheet. Two months after the death of the chief, *lupupo* is held. They mourn while the beer is being made, and then have a great dance, and drink beer in honor of the defunct. The *basinganga* preside at the libations and sacrifices, which are offered by the successor to his ancestor's *mupashi*.[3]

[1] Nelson, *op. cit.*, 311.
[2] Wilkins, W. J., *Modern Hinduism*, 389.
[3] Sheane, J. H. W., "Some Aspects of the Awemba Religion and Superstitious Observances," *Jour. Anth. Inst.*, **36**: 157.

Rattray has emphasized the point that the so-called "blood lust" of the Ashanti, shown on a great scale on the death of kings, has been misappreciated. The funeral is a very bloody affair but the slaughter of many wives, servants, and officials represents the removal of an establishment from one world to another, and the victims frequently volunteer to go along:

The first intimation that the king had breathed his last would be, so I am informed, the sight of blood pouring from the royal bathroom. Here the body had been carried to be washed and dressed; at each stage of the process some attendant or other had been killed, one "to carry his bath mat, one the sponge and soap, one the bathrobe," and so on. The Queen Mother, perhaps the most powerful person in the kingdom, was immediately informed. She in turn dispatched messengers to the royal harem, for certain of the late king's wives to prepare themselves to accompany their husband on the journey upon which he had set out. The king, before his death, might have informed the Queen Mother which of his women he wished to go with him, and she also might choose others for this privilege. Others again would volunteer to share their fate. The message delivered to these women of the harem was, "*Me ka kyere wo se wo ko bi*" ("I bid you set out for a certain place"), and the answer always was, "*Ma te Akoranto*" ("I have heard Akoranto"). These women then sent for their relatives, bade them farewell, decked themselves in white, as for a ceremonial feast, and put on all their gold ornaments. On the night the royal body was removed from the palace to the first and temporary mausoleum (the *Barim Kese*), the women, who had drunk themselves into a state of semiconsciousness with wine or rum, were strangled with leather thongs (*abomporo*) by men or women executioners. An alternative method of killing them was to twist their necks "with strong hands." Strangling in Ashanti is considered the aristocratic method of killing, because blood is not shed and there is not any mutilation.

Representatives of each section of household officeholders were killed in order to accompany the king; these included many young boys to act as elephant-tail switchers and heralds. The latter had their necks broken over the large elephant tusk upon which the king used to rest his foot when bathing; they were smeared with white clay as a sign of joy. Besides all those who had not any option, freemen and sometimes slaves would volunteer for death. "*Okom de me*" ("I am hungry") they would say, and should the executioner refuse to dispatch them they would swear the great oath, saying: "*Me ka Ntam Kese se wonkum me na me ne me wura nko, na okom de me*" ("I swear the great oath . . . that you must kill me that I and my master may set out, for I am hungry"). Such volunteers could always choose the manner of their death; some choose to be shot, others preferred to be strangled, and they were also accorded full funeral rites. They could, moreover, choose such articles as they wished to take with them; these were put into the grave. . . .

It will be recollected that certain of the wives of the dead king had already been strangled, and dispatched to join him in the *samandow* (place of ghosts); the *saman yere* (wife of the ghost) must not be confused with them. These "wives of the ghosts" had never been wives of the kings during their lifetime but were women chosen from certain families to minister perpetually to the supposed wants of their respective skeleton spouses. Each of the royal skeletons had his "wife." She was "wedded" to a ghost for her life; when she died she was buried behind the harem and her place was immediately filled by another. These women brought their ghost husbands their food. Each week, when the day for the "washing of the soul" came round, they would shave their heads, and dress in white and come with their chewing sticks and sit beside the bones of their "husband." They had to observe all their "husband's" *ntoro* tabus that he had observed during life, just as if they expected to bear him children. No one, not even the reigning King of Ashanti, might have speech with them. Should they ever have occasion to leave the precincts of the mausoleum, they were preceded by boys carrying whips who continually shouted *fwe! fwe!* (look out! look out!); anyone who saw them coming had to kneel down and cover his head with a cloth. Food, clothes, and personal adornments were supplied them by the King of Ashanti, and they were guarded by eunuchs; not even a cock bird was permitted within the walls of the *hia* (harem).

The skeletons at Bantama had their own special men cooks. These cooks had to "drink the gods" that they would not poison the reigning king, the reason for this being that the food exposed before the skeletons on the Monday following a Sunday *adae* ceremony, and on the Thursday following a Wednesday *adae*, was afterwards taken to the king, who, having previously fasted, was compelled to eat it. "It made the king fruitful," I was told. Any of the food left over was eagerly sought for by women who were barren. The skeletons were fed about 11 a.m. and were served with palm-wine about 4 p.m. All their food (*ntoro*) tabus were rigidly observed; we have already seen that their wives observed the same tabus. . . .

An immense treasure in gold dust and massive gold ornaments was stored near the bones, possibly in the "brass coffers" mentioned by Sir Robert Baden-Powell. This wealth belonged to the "ghosts," but could be "borrowed" from them in cases of great national emergency and also to finance national festivals.[1]

The vikings of early Scandinavia placed meat, drink, weapons, household furniture, domestic animals, servants and wives or volunteers in the boat of a dead comrade and heaped earth over it. Ibn Fadlan (or Foszlan), an Arabian who visited a viking settlement on the Volga in the year 922, as representative of the caliph of Bagdad, has left a description of the voluntary death of a girl in this connection:

[1] Rattray, R. S., *Religion and Art in Ashanti*, 108–120, *passim* (Clarendon Press. By permission).

I saw the Russians [vikings] who had arrived with their goods and set up camp on the bank of the Itil [Volga]. I never saw people better developed physically, they are straight and tall like palm-trees, pink and red of complexion. . . . When one of their chiefs has died, the family asks his boys and girls: "Which one of you wishes to join him in death?" Then one of them answers: "I do." As soon as he has spoken this word he is bound and is never given an opportunity to change his mind. Should he insist on being let off, no attention is paid to it. For the most part, however, it is the girls who volunteer. Consequently, when the man whom I mentioned above had died, they asked his girls: "Who wants to die with him?" One of them said: "I do." Then she was put in the charge of two other girls, who were to guard her and accompany her wherever she went. At times they even washed her feet. The people then busied themselves with matters pertaining to the dead man, made his shroud and did whatever else had to be done. Meantime, the girl drank every day, sang, and was happy and contented . . . she walked up and down and finally went into one of the tents that they had there. Then the resident of that tent lay with her and said: "Tell your master that I did this only because of my love for you."

When Friday afternoon arrived, they led the girl to a structure they had erected and which resembled at the top the projecting cornice of a door. She stepped on the upturned palms of the men, looked down upon this cornice and in so doing said something in her language, whereupon they let her down. Then they let her step up again and she repeated the procedure. Again she was let down and then the same ceremony was repeated a third time. Then they handed her a hen, she cut its head off and threw it away. The body of the hen, however, was taken and thrown into the ship. I inquired of the interpreter what she had done. "The first time (he replied) she said: 'Lo, here I see my father and my mother!'; the second time: 'Lo, now I see all my dead ancestors sitting (together)!'; but the third time: 'Behold, there is my Master, he sits in Paradise. Paradise is so beautiful, so verdant. With him are his men and boys. He is calling me; bring me to him!'" Thereupon they led her away to the ship. But she pulled off both her bracelets and gave them to the woman whom they called the Angel of Death and who was to kill the girl. She also removed her anklets and handed them both to the girls who had served her and who were the daughters of the woman called the Angel of Death. Then she was placed on the ship, but was not yet allowed to enter the tent (*kubba*) [of the corpse]. Now the men arrived with shields and staffs and handed her a goblet of intoxicating liquor (*nabis*). She took it, chanted and drank. This, said the interpreter, is her manner of saying farewell to her dear ones. Thereupon a second goblet was handed her. She took this, too, and started a long chant. Then the old woman ordered her to hurry, empty the goblet, and step into the tent where her Master lay. But the girl had become frightened and undecided; she wanted indeed to go into the tent, but only put her head between the tent and the ship. Immediately

the old woman grasped her by the head, brought her into the tent and went in with her. At once the men began beating with their staffs on the shields, so that none of her cries should be heard, which might frighten the other girls and make them disinclined eventually to follow their masters in death. Then six men stepped into the tent, each and all of whom lay with the girl. After that they stretched her out beside her Master. And two grasped her by the feet, two by the hands. And the old woman, called the Angel of Death, put a . . . rope about the girl's neck and gave the free end to two men who were to pull at it. She herself stepped up with a large, broad-bladed knife which she sank between the ribs of the girl and then withdrew it again. And the two men strangled her with the rope until she was dead.[1]

Whatever the separate origins of attention to the dead it is a direction in which the perseverative tendency is conspicuous. The Ashanti example illustrates one phase of this, but even in relatively simple groups the grief situation may be stepped up to the level of a competitive exhibitionistic orgy involving the whole community. Durham reports a case of this character from Montenegro:

A youth, Stevo, cousin of my guide, died in Manchuria (he was with the Russian army), when I was living at Dugi do. The poor lad had been in his grave six months when we got the news. But (with the exception of course of the burial) all the usual rites had to be carried out.

The boys were sent out to all the villages to tell all the tribe the day fixed for the mourning. We roasted and ground the coffee at our house. My tribe has made a rule to give no *rakija* (spirit). The old mother of Stevo was not told of his death, but sent on a visit to her married daughter, that she might not see the funeral preparations till all was ready. I was horrified at this, but was told that if she knew she would begin to cry at once, and that as she was very old she would then be too exhausted to wail in public on the proper day. On the morning of the day we went to the house of Labud, Stevo's elder brother, and there a *trpez* or table was arranged. That is, in default of a body to mourn over, a dummy is made. Coat, waistcoat, knickerbockers, white gaiters and leathern sandals are laid out on the table in the semblance of a man and girded with the sash and weapons. A cap is laid where the head should be. I have seen this more than once. The forlorn emptiness of the man's actual clothes give an almost more poignant idea of loss than the actual corpse. Early on the day of mourning . . . they all met up by the church, and came in procession, all the men first and then the women. When within a hundred yards or so of the house they raised the death wail; an awful wailing rhythmical chant. You can hear it miles away . . . :

[1] Frähn, C. M., *Ibn Fosslans und anderer Araber Berichte über die Russen älterer Zeit*, 5–18, *passim*.

Le, le, s'nama Stevo, moji brate;
Le, le, s'nama krilati brate, [etc].
Woe, woe to us Stevo oh my brother;
Woe, woe to us, my winged brother!

The cry is taken on a quick breath which rapidly becomes a convulsive sob. The procession arrives in a state bordering on frenzy. I knew most of these people well. I confess I was almost terrified when they dashed into the little dark cottage; I was just inside the door. I went indeed as one of the family. The men hurled themselves into the room. I ran into the corner or I believe they would have gone right over me quite unconsciously. They danced madly in front of the *trpez*, leaping a yard from the ground, thumping their heads and breasts with their clenched fists, and yelling frightfully. The tears streamed from them. They threw themselves on the dummy body, almost fighting to kiss it. Behind the table was the aged mother supported by her two married daughters. The younger, a most beautiful woman, had ripped her face down with her nails and, sodden with blood and tears, was, with her mother and sister, singing the praises of the dead boy. These songs are improvised, but contain a great number of stock phrases (they are called *tuzenje*).

The men were allowed some five minutes (a howling orgy of grief), then Pop [priest] Gjuro, who was master of the ceremonies, cried, "Brothers, you have wept enough. Make place for others." They withdrew, some reeling with exhaustion. Pop Gjuro caught all those that were far gone and handed each a cup of strong black coffee as a stimulant. The women came in next and the same ceremony was gone through, but they did not jump. The three women behind the table sang incessantly in a kind of awful possession, apparently unconscious of all that went on.

And so, village by village, came the whole *pleme*. And not only the people on the spot, but all the married relatives, even those from Cetinje, a long four hours' tramp across the snow.

The odd part of this is the mechanical way in which tears are caused by the mere fact of le-le-leing (*naracanja*). The Vrbica men mostly did not know the poor boy's name and had to be coached in the details before beginning to wail, but within a minute or two of beginning they were sobbing bitterly. Coming home people compared notes as to who had cried best.

In former days when the Montenegrins shaved their heads and wore a long crown lock only, it was customary to cut off this lock and to throw it into the grave. Women also cut off their hair. I have seen a long tress of a woman's hair fastened to the wooden cross on a grave in the Herzegovina.[1]

Among the ancient Israelites there was a concentration of attention on the blood and bones of both dead men and animals.

[1] Durham, M. E., "Some Montenegrin Manners and Customs," *Jour. Anth. Inst.*, **39**: 92–93.

It was thought that the blood was the life of the organism, that it was informed with spirit, and that there was only a given amount of it in the world, which should not be consumed as food but released at the death of the animal. It was important to preserve the bones also, and not break them, since they were the frame upon which life would reassemble itself. In the case of men it was necessary to preserve the bones to secure the final resurrection of the body:

"A bone in it ye shall not break." The priestly legislation in Exodus 12 makes this provision for the Paschal lamb. Numbers 9:12 repeats the prescription. . . . Comparing the statement of John 19: 33–36, that none of the bones of Jesus were broken, with two modern instances, recorded by Curtiss, of the bones of the sacrifice remaining unbroken, and then citing several cases from comparative mythology of animals being eaten, but their bones being carefully preserved, flesh being then brought back upon them and the animal thus restored to life, Kohler has suggested that the prohibition of breaking the bones of the Paschal lamb points to the belief in its subsequent resurrection and reincarnation. . . . Manifold evidence proves this belief and practice current in early Semitic life, particularly in the nomad state, and thereby confirms Kohler's hypothesis.

The Testament of Abraham makes Sarah say, "When you slaughtered the perfect calf and served up a meal to them (the three angels), the flesh having been eaten, the calf rose again and sucked its mother in joy." Kohler has compared this tradition with that of Ezra's ass, recorded in Sura 2: 261, the bones of which, after having lain for one hundred years, were reclothed with flesh and restored to life. . . . In Ezekiel's vision of the valley of dry bones, the bones came together at the word of God, bone to its bone, and flesh came upon them and the spirit entered into them and they stood upon their feet alive. Unquestionably the same conception of the possibility of restoration of life so long as the bones are preserved underlies Ezekiel's vision, and proves conclusively the existence of this belief in ancient Israel. Certainly Ezekiel did not invent the picture nor was he the first to conceive the idea. Possibly the same thought is implied in Psalm 34:21, "He guardeth all his bones; not one of them is broken." Certainly it is implied in the imprecation frequently applied in Rabbinic literature to such archenemies of Israel as Nebuchadnezzar, Titus, and Hadrian . . . "May his bones be crushed," in other words, may he be denied all possibility of resurrection. Possibly we may also find here the explanation of the extreme care with which in ancient Israel the bones of the dead were guarded and given proper burial. This would also explain why burning was the extreme punishment for crime, and also why burning the bones of the dead, and thus depriving them of all possibility of resurrection, was the extreme of indignity, and regarded by Yahweh as an unforgivable crime. . . . [We may] compare also the tradition that just before his death Titus ordered

his body burned and his ashes scattered, in order that God might not be able to restore him to life and judge him. . . .

It would seem [also] that, in common with so many other primitive peoples, the early Semites, dwelling upon the hunting or pastoral plane of civilization, conceived of the number of individual animals of each species as definitely limited. Hence their fundamental problem of existence was to maintain the number of these individual animals undiminished. Still today the nomad in the desert lives primarily from the milk products of his sheep and goats. And as still today, so too in ancient times, animals were killed only exceptionally, and generally, it would seem, with proper precaution, such as the preservation of the bones, to ensure eventual rebirth or reincarnation and the consequent maintenance of the original number of individual animals.

Here we have the explanation of that other prohibition, so frequently recorded in the Bible, of eating the blood. For the soul and the life were one; the soul was in the blood. To have eaten the blood would have meant to consume the soul, and this in turn would have meant the reduction of the number of individuals of the species by one. Ultimately the entire species might thus be made extinct. This was prevented by allowing the blood, with the soul, to flow upon the ground, whence the soul could easily at the proper moment enter its next body. This was greatly facilitated if the bones of some previous body were preserved and a frame were thus ready to hand. For this reason animals improperly killed or dying natural deaths, whose blood therefore had not been poured out, might not be eaten, lest the soul be consumed with the blood. This custom still persists among the modern Bedouin. Musil writes, "The blood should not be eaten, because the soul, *nefs*, dwells in it. This would thereby pass into the eater. Likewise the flesh of animals that die natural deaths should not be eaten." That this practice of letting the blood flow out upon the ground was in no wise sacrificial in character, as is so frequently claimed, is best evidenced by the fact that the procedure is prescribed for all animals, even such as could under no condition be sacrificed, such as the deer and the antelope, and by the additional fact that although Deuteronomy 12 strips the slaughtering of animals for food of its original sacrificial character, it still insists upon the pouring out of the blood.[1]

In this connection a technique of slaughtering was developed for freeing the body of the whole quantity of blood. This is called "kosher killing" and has survived through the centuries down to the present. The underlying idea is that the operation of cutting must be so smooth that the animal will not feel a spasm of pain contracting the blood vessels and causing a portion of the fluid to be retained. The knife is inspected after each killing and if the edge is jagged the meat is rejected. It costs the Jews of New York

[1] Morgenstern, J., "The Bones of the Paschal Lamb," *Jour. Amer. Orient. Soc.*, **36**: 146–152, *passim*.

City $3,120,000 a year to eat kosher meat over and above the normal cost of meat.[1]

The ancestor-worshiping Thonga of South Africa look upon the destruction of blood in one of its forms as the ancient Jews looked upon the destruction of the bones of the body. In their belief an abortion, or voluntary destruction of blood destined to form a new being and a reincarnation, is one of the most serious of crimes against the ancestors and is punished by the prolonged withholding of rain:

> Let me quote [says Junod] the *ipsissima verba* of Mankhelu, the great medicine man of the Nkuna Court. I shall never forget the earnest tone of his voice, his deep conviction, when he was speaking to me in the following words, as a kind of revelation: "When a woman has had a miscarriage, when she has let her blood flow secretly and has burnt the abortive child in an unknown place, it is enough to make the burning winds blow, and to dry up all the land: the rain can no longer fall, because the country is no longer right. . . . Rain fears that spot. It must stop at that very place and can go no further. This woman has been very guilty. She has spoilt the country of the chief, because she has hidden blood which had not yet properly united to make a human being.[2]

Contrary to the ancient Jewish ideology that bones must be preserved unbroken as a framework for the resurrected body, the Andamanese and many Pacific tribes continue an association with their dead by wearing their bones. It is a different definition of the situation, in which kinship intimacy is continued, apparently without any magical meaning:

> The skulls and jawbones of deceased relatives [says Brown] are preserved for a long time, and are worn round the neck either in front or behind. The photograph in Plate XVIII shows a woman wearing the skull of her deceased sister. Like all their other possessions these relics are lent or exchanged, passing from one person to another, until sometimes a skull may be found in the possession of a man who does not know to whom it belonged. . . . The other bones are made into strings, such bones as those of the hand and foot being used as they are, while ribs and vertebrae are broken up into pieces of convenient size. The bones or pieces of bone are attached to a length of rope by means of thread and the string thus produced is often ornamented with the dried yellow skin of the *Dendrobium* and with shells. The whole is covered with red paint. These strings of bone are worn as cures for and preventives of illness. If a man has a headache, for instance, he will attach one of the strings round his head. They are in almost constant use in every camp and every man and woman is sure to possess one or two. The bones are

[1] *The Jewish Communal Register of New York City* (1917–1918), 320.
[2] Junod, *op. cit.*, 317.

made into strings by the female relatives of the deceased and are then given away as presents.[1]

The frequent practice of disinterring the bodies of relatives and cleaning their bones is in general for the purpose of retaining ancestral influence in the group, and sometimes of facilitating the entrance of the dead into the spirit world. In 1905 the Dutch government in the East Indies came into conflict with natives of the Central Celebes by forbidding this practice. Investigation revealed that the practice had an important and pious meaning in the mind of the natives:

The people of Poso [says Schrieke] used to take the bodies of their dead out of their coffins several months after burial, clean the bones, and replace them. For reasons of health the authorities decided that this must cease. They were allowed to celebrate the Feast of the Dead which accompanied the cleaning of the bones, but they were not allowed to remove the bodies from the coffins. The authorities did not realize that in doing this they were banning the essential feature of the Feast of the Dead and the ancestral worship. The people believed that as long as the dead stank, they were not allowed to enter the Death City. This was why the bones were cleaned, after which the pure soul was carried to the Death City to the accompaniment of the chants of the priests. What was the use of all these ceremonies, if the soul was to remain "unclean," because they were not allowed to clean the bones.[2]

The attention to other than ancestral spirits leads also to a variety of definitions of the situation with reference to the form of conciliation, supplication, and sacrifice by which they can be approached. We have seen that in parts of Africa the belly determines the sacrificial pattern; the offerings are food. But in other regions we find the pattern of undergoing some painful experience to secure some benefit or guidance, or to avert an impending misfortune, such as the death of a child or other relative. One of the simplest of these sacrifices is that of a joint of a little finger:

It was a frequent practice with . . . the Friendly Islanders to cut off one or two of the bones of their little fingers. This, indeed, was so common, that scarcely an adult could be found who had not in this way mutilated his hands. On one occasion, the daughter of a chief, a fine young woman about eighteen years of age, was standing by my side, and as I saw by the state of the wound that she had recently performed the ceremony, I took her hand, and asked her why she had cut off her finger. Her affecting reply was, that her mother was ill, and that, fearful lest her

[1] Radcliffe-Brown, A. R., *The Andaman Islanders*, 112–113 (Cambridge University Press. By permission).

[2] Schrieke, B., *The Effect of Western Influence on Native Civilizations in the Malay Archipelago*, 5–6 (Batavia: G. Kolff & Co.).

mother should die, she had done this to induce the gods to save her. "Well," I said, "how did you do it?" "Oh," she replied, "I took a sharp shell, and worked it about until the joint was separated, and then I allowed the blood to stream from it. This was my offering to persuade the gods to restore my mother." When, at a future period, another offering is required, they sever the second joint of the same finger; and when a third or a fourth is demanded, they amputate the same bones of the other little finger: and when they have no more joints which they can conveniently spare, they rub the stumps of their mutilated fingers with rough stones, until the blood again streams from the wound.[1]

Michelson, who has recorded the life histories of several Indian women, states that in the following parallel case the finger was sacrificed to the sun:

After my sister had been married several years and had had several children, she became sickly. Realizing the responsibility I was facing in the custody of her children in the event of her death which seemed evident by the failure of two of the best Arapaho doctors after periodical gifts for their services, I unhesitatingly made a vow to sacrifice my left little finger, so that my sister's life might be spared, so that her small children, who were a pitiful sight to me as they were about their helpless mother, might again enjoy happiness with their mother, and so the rest of us would be relieved from the impending sorrow, especially my father and mother who thought so much more of this daughter, as she always was somewhat frail. The next morning an Arapaho woman was called to remove my finger in the usual way. [The finger is usually cut off by one of the same sex as the sacrificer.] . . . My sister commenced to get better, improving very quickly. . . . At the time I made the vow my father expressed his gratitude very forcibly, and praised me for my thoughtfulness. I had just one thought, and that was that my sister was going to recover.[2]

This approach to spirits may reach the extreme form of the sacrifice of a child or other dear objects in great emergencies. Maning, who for many years was a judge in New Zealand, has given an example of this among the Maori which may be compared with the vow of Jepthah (Joshua 11–12) and the sacrifice of his daughter:

Sacrifices were often made to the war demon, and I know of one instance in which, when a tribe were surrounded by an overwhelming force of their enemies, and had nothing but extermination—immediate and unrelenting—before them, the war chief cut out the heart of his own son as an offering for victory; and then he and his tribe, with the fury of despair and the courage of fanatics, rushed upon the foe, defeated them

[1] Williams, J., *A Narrative of Missionary Enterprises in the South Sea Islands*, 490–491.
[2] Michelson, T., "Narrative of an Arapaho Woman," *Amer. Anth.*, N.S., **35**: 609–610.

with terrific slaughter, and the war demon had much praise, and many men were eaten.[1]

Among many of the Semitic tribes the sacrifice of the dearest object, the first-born child, has been regularized as a sign of allegiance to the chosen God:

The Israelites, in common with other Semites, practiced human sacrifice, that is, the frightful sacrifice of children. The law which claims every first-born [everything that first opens the womb] for Yahweh (Exodus 13: 2) was originally certainly intended to be taken literally. That a redemption price was required in the case of first-born children indicates that their sacrifice was originally carried out. The narrative in Genesis 22 [the sacrifice of Isaac] would also be meaningless if it did not assume the original sacrifice of the first-born. The command not to dedicate your children to Moloch (Leviticus 18: 21; 20: 2) does not give the impression of being directed against a *foreign* custom. Among the Hebrews, as among the Greeks, cultural progress tended to suppress these barbarous practices at an early time, while they continued in full force among the equally religious but culturally cruder Carthaginians. But time and again the practice reemerged in the later history of Israel.[2]

The practice of redeeming the first-born by giving a sum of money to the rabbis (usually a fee of five shekels or twenty groschen) persisted among the European Jews until recent times.[3]

Nowhere perhaps has the variety, continuity, and intensity of human sacrifice reached such a point as in ancient Mexico. The sun was assumed to be the source of life and the Aztecs conceived that it was important to renew the solar forces by the sacrifice of human victims and the holding aloft of their bleeding hearts. Continuous wars were waged to secure the large number of victims necessary in this huge undertaking:

When the great temple of Huitzilopochtli was dedicated in 1486, the chain of victims sacrificed on that occasion extended for the length of two miles. In this terrible massacre the hearts of no less than seventy thousand human beings were offered up! . . . These victims were nearly always captive warriors of rival nations, and it was on rare occasions only that native Mexicans were led to the stone of sacrifice unless, indeed, they were malefactors.[4]

The old historians disagree greatly as to the number sacrificed. Las Casas places all sacrifices at an insignificant figure, and

[1] [Maning, F. E.,] *Old New Zealand: Being Incidents of Native Customs and Character in the Old Times*, by a *pakeha* Maori, 134–135 (Smith, Elder and Co. By permission).

[2] Nöldeke, T., "Baethgens Beiträge zur Semit. Religionsgeschichte," *Zeit. der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellsch.*, **42**: 483.

[3] Löw, L., *Die Lebensalter in der jüdischen Literatur*, 110–118.

[4] Spence, L., *The Mythologies of Ancient Mexico and Peru*, 41.

Zumarraga estimates that 20,000 were sacrificed annually in the capital.[1]

Furthermore, the Mexicans accompanied each stage of the growth of their corn crop with sacrifices of victims of a comparable age level:

> The ancient Mexicans also sacrificed human beings at all the various stages in the growth of the maize, the age of the victims corresponding to the age of the corn; for they sacrificed newborn babes at sowing, older children when the grain had sprouted, and so on till it was fully ripe, when they sacrificed old men. No doubt the correspondence between the ages of the victims and the state of the corn was supposed to enhance the efficacy of the sacrifice.[2]

In another form of Mexican sacrifice the youths and maidens (captives) designated for this were finely dressed, pampered, indulged, and adored as gods for a time before the sacrifice. Parsons, comparing this with the Pueblo scalp ceremony in which the dead enemy was adopted, points out that Aztec captives were adoptive in the warrior's family, and suggests that this Aztec impersonation of gods was to introduce the victims as gods into the spirit world:

> I am tempted into an hypothesis on the still unexplained facts of human sacrifice among the Aztec, an hypothesis suggested by Pueblo scalp ideology and ritual. Pueblo scalp ceremonial was an initiation of the dead enemy into the tribe in order that he might become a rain maker, a potent rain spirit to aid his adoptive people. . . . I suggest that the Aztec treatment of captives was homologous, at least in the case of those who were considered impersonations of the god. They were treated as impersonations before death because after death they were to join the gods, become gods. . . . Sahagun practically states that for them a future life was expected. When the women to be sacrificed burned their clothing, jewels, chests, spindles, and weaving sticks it was said "that all these (jewels) would be given back to them in the other world after their death."[3]

Among the Khonds of India human sacrifice was seasonal as well as occasional and was regarded as indispensable to the prosperity of the crops. According to Campbell, one of the English governors active in the suppression of the custom,

> the Khonds supposed that good crops, and safety from all disease and

[1] Bancroft, H. H., *Native Races of the Pacific States*, 3: 442.

[2] Frazer, J. G., *The Golden Bough: Spirits of the Corn*, 1: 237–238 (The Macmillan Company. By permission).

[3] Parsons, "Some Aztec and Pueblo Parallels," 616.

accidents, were ensured by this slaughter. They considered it peculiarly necessary when engaged in the cultivation of turmeric. They very coolly reasoned as to the impossibility of the turmeric being of a fine deep color without shedding of blood.[1]

From an extensive report by Macpherson it appears that the Khond sacrifices are viewed as a means of national defense, that the whole population is involved in a scheme of taxation to defray the expenses, that the contribution of victims is regarded as a patriotic duty, that the victim is indoctrinated with the idea that he will become a god, that the gathering, rearing, and sale of victims becomes an occupational activity among some of the neighboring tribes, and from a passage not included below it appears that other tribes receive and harbor refugees, as did the abolitionists during slavery days in the United States:

In the worship paid to Tari Pennu by her sect, the chief rite is human sacrifice. It is celebrated as a public oblation by tribes, branches of tribes, or villages, both at social festivals held periodically, and when special occasions demand extraordinary propitiations. And besides these social offerings, the rite is performed by individuals to avert the wrath of Tari from themselves and their families.

The periodical common sacrifices are generally so arranged by tribes and divisions of tribes, that each head of a family is enabled, at least once a year, to procure a shred of flesh for his fields, and usually about the time when his chief crop is laid down. When a tribe is composed of several branches, the victims for the fixed offerings are provided by the branches in turn, the cost being defrayed by contributions borne by each person according to his means. And such contributions are imperative not only upon members of the tribe, but also upon persons of every race and creed that may be permanently associated with it, as, through receiving its protection, or by employment in it, or by possessing land within its boundaries, the express tenure of which is the discharge of a share of the public religious burdens.

Special common offerings by a tribe are considered necessary upon the occurrence of an extraordinary number of deaths by disease, or by tigers; or should very many die in childbirth; or should the flocks or herds suffer largely from disease, or from wild beasts; or should the greater crops threaten to fail: while the occurrence of any marked calamity to the families of the chiefs, whose fortunes are regarded as the principal index to the disposition of Tari towards their tribes, is held to be a token of wrath which cannot be too speedily averted. And that victims may be readily forthcoming when such special occasions for sacrifice arise, whoever then gives one for public use receives its value, and is, besides, exempted from contribution to the three next public offerings. . . .

[1] Campbell, J., *A Personal Narrative of Thirteen Years Service Amongst the Wild Tribes of Khondistan for the Suppression of Human Sacrifice*, 56.

A victim is acceptable to Tari only if he has been acquired by the Khonds by purchase; or was born a victim, that is, the son of a victim father; or if he was devoted as a child to the gods by his father or natural guardian. The principle is, that the victim must be, either naturally or by purchase, the full property of the person who devotes him; and thence, should the full right of that person be interrupted or weakened in any way—as, for example, by the escape of a victim to an asylum amongst the sect of Boora, or by his being carried off by force, or his being delivered up to a British magistrate—his acceptableness is at an end, and it cannot be renewed unless full property in him be reacquired, and he be again dedicated by a Khond.

Victims are generally supplied to the Khonds by men of the two races called "Panwa," or "Dombango," and "Gahinga," apparently aborigines like themselves, and attached in small numbers to almost every Khond village for the discharge of this and other peculiar offices. The Panwas purchase the victims without difficulty, or kidnap them in the low country from the poorer classes of Hindus, procuring them either to the order of the Khonds, or on speculation; and they, moreover, constantly sell as victims their own children, and children of whom, as relatives, they are the guardians. Khonds when in distress, as in times of famine, also frequently sell their children for victims, considering the beatification of their souls certain, and their death for the benefit of mankind the most honorable possible. . . .

The *meriah* is brought blindfolded to the village by the procurer, and is lodged in the house of the *mullicko* or chief—in fetters if grown up, at liberty if a child. He is regarded during life as a consecrated being, and, if at large, is eagerly welcomed at every threshold. Victims are not unfrequently permitted to attain to years of maturity, and should one then have intercourse with the wife or daughter of a Khond, thankfulness is expressed to the deity for the distinction. To a meriah youth who has thus grown up, a wife is generally given, herself also usually a victim, and a portion of land and of farm stock is presented with her. The family which springs from their union is held to be born to the condition of the father; and although the sacrifice of lives so bound to existence is often postponed, and sometimes foregone, yet, should propitiations be required not easy to be afforded, the whole household is immolated without hesitation. . . .

When the victim is cut to pieces, the persons who have been deputed by each village to bring its share of the flesh instantly return home. There the village priest and everyone else who has stayed at home fast rigidly until their arrival. The bearer of the flesh carries it rolled up in leaves of the googlut tree, and when he approaches the village, lays it out on a cushion formed of a handful of grass, and then deposits it in the place of public meeting, to give assurance to all of its arrival. The fasting heads of families then go with their priest to receive the flesh. He takes and divides it into two portions, and subdivides one of these into as many shares as there are heads of families present. He then says to the earth

goddess: "O Tari Pennu! our village offered such a person as a sacrifice, and divided the flesh among all the people in honor of the gods. Now, such a village has offered such a one, and has sent us flesh for you. Be not displeased with the quantity, we could only give them as much. If you will give us wealth, we will repeat the rite." The *janni* then seats himself on the ground, scrapes a hole in it, and taking one of the two portions into which he divided the flesh, places it in the hole, but with his back turned, and without looking. Then each man adds a little earth to bury it, and the janni pours water on the spot from a hill gourd. Each head of a house now rolls his shred of flesh in leaves, and all raise a shout of exultation at the work done. . . . Finally, each man goes and buries his particle of flesh in his favorite field, placing it in the earth behind his back without looking. And here may be noticed the idea which secures the distribution of the flesh of every victim to the greatest possible extent—that, instead of advantage arising to anyone from the possession of a large share of the flesh, all are benefited by a sacrifice in proportion to the number of shares into which the flesh is subdivided.[1]

Behind the attitudes and practices of this kind we find the concept of the residence of power in certain objects and persons which is capable of transfer by contact or ritual. The power may be conceived as impersonal and generally diffused through nature, but capable of being manipulated by magical rites, or it may be personalized and hierarchized in pantheons. There is found also the independent concept that a spirit world exists above and around the human world, but notably in America and Polynesia we find the initial emphasis apparently on the diffused aspect of mystic power with a tendency to personalize it in several directions.

The concept of *manitou* among the Eastern Algonkin and the parallel *wakan* concept of some of the Plains tribes illustrate the recognition of a diffused power or mystery, sometimes without any attempt to manipulate it. Jones' description of the Algonkin manitou (limited to the Fox, the Sauks, and the Kickapoo) contains examples of passive recognition and of efforts to transfer the power by magical practices:

In the first place the term *manitou* is a religious word; it carries with it the idea of solemnity; and whatever the association it always expresses a serious attitude, and kindles an emotional sense of mystery. The conceptions involved in its use can best be shown by taking up some features of Algonkin religion.

The essential character of Algonkin religion is a pure, naïve worship of nature. In one way or another associations cluster about an object and give it a certain potential value; and because of this supposed potentiality, the object becomes the recipient of an adoration. The

[1] Macpherson, S. C., *Memorials of Service in India*, 113–130, *passim*.

degree of the adoration depends in some measure upon the extent of confidence reposed in the object, and upon its supposed power of bringing pleasure or inflicting pain. The important thing with the individual is the emotional effect experienced while in the presence of the object, or with an interpreted manifestation of the object. The individual keeps watch for the effect, and it is the effect that fills the mind with a vague sense of something strange, something mysterious, something intangible. One feels it as the result of an active substance, and one's attitude toward it is purely passive.

To experience a thrill is authority enough of the existence of the substance. The sentiment of its reality is made known by the fact that something has happened. It is futile to ask an Algonkin for an articulate definition of the substance, partly because it would be something about which he does not concern himself, and partly because he is quite satisfied with only the sentiment of its existence. He feels that the property is everywhere, is omnipresent. The feeling that it is omnipresent leads naturally to the belief that it enters into everything in nature; and the notion that it is active causes the mind to look everywhere for its manifestations. These manifestations assume various forms, they vary with individuals and with reference to the same and different objects. Language affords means of approaching nearer to a definition of this religious sentiment.

In the Algonkin dialects of the Sauk, Fox, and Kickapoo, a rigid distinction of gender is made between things with life and things without life. When they speak of a stone they employ a form which expresses the inanimate character of the stone; in the same way, when they speak of a dog they use another form which indicates the animate nature of the dog. Accordingly, when they refer to the manitou in the sense of a virtue, a property, an abstraction, they employ the form expressive of inanimate gender. When the manitou becomes associated with an object, then the gender becomes less definite. Some reasons for this confusion will become evident farther on.

When the property becomes the indwelling element of an object, then it is natural to identify the property with animate being. It is not necessary that the being shall be the tangible representative of a natural object. To illustrate a concrete instance of this sentiment, here is the comment made by a Fox apropos of an experience in the sweat lodge: "Often one will cut one's self over the arms and legs, slitting one's self only through the skin. It is done to open up many passages for the manitou to pass into the body. The manitou comes from the place of its abode in the stone. It becomes roused by the heat of the fire, and proceeds out of the stone when the water is sprinkled on it. It comes out in the steam, and in the steam it enters the body wherever it finds entrance. It moves up and down and all over inside the body, driving out everything that inflicts pain. Before the manitou returns to the stone it imparts some of its nature to the body. That is why one feels so well after having been in the sweat lodge." The sentiment behind

the words rests . . . on the perception of a definite, localized personality. Yet at the same time there is the feeling that the apprehended reality is without form and without feature. . . .

Falling in line with what has just gone before is the belief that the virtue can be transferred from one object to another. The virtue in both objects is of the same fundamental nature, but of different degree and of unequal value. In the transfer, the virtue of one object reinforces that of the other. Such is the idea implied in the following abridged narrative.

A body of Sauks had wandered out on the Plains in search of buffalo. While approaching a vast herd they came unexpectedly upon some Comanches who were much fewer than they and who were creeping upon the same herd. The Sauks rushed them, and the Comanches at once took to flight. But in the pursuit the Sauks were delayed by a lone Comanche. He had chosen to sacrifice his life in order to give his comrades a chance to escape. He accomplished his purpose. The man's deed and the bravery he displayed aroused a feeling of admiration from his foes. And out of honor for the man they chose not to take his scalp nor to count coup upon him. But instead they cut out his heart. Passing it around, they all ate of it.

So much for the narrative in brief. To the Algonkin the heart was endued with the manitou, the sense of the manitou being an impersonal essence, a supernatural virtue. The men ate the heart to get its supernatural quality. They believed that the quality was what made the Comanche so brave, and that by eating the heart they could come into possession of its quality. They felt that it would react upon them in the same way as it had upon the Comanche; and furthermore, that the combined effect of the quality within them and what was in the Comanche would render it possible for them to become better fighters than they could otherwise have become. The example betrays the reliance placed upon the help of the cosmic substance rather than upon human aid. The reliance does not rest upon a random hope, but on an assurance that the expected will come to pass with a happy result.

It is natural to confuse the property with an object containing the property. The confusion is frequently met with in what are considered mediums of manifestations. For instance, there is an Algonkin story which contains an episode of the cosmic hero taking upon himself the form of a pretty maiden. The girl comes to a lodge where she is entertained by an aged woman. The old woman prepares two grains of corn and a bean, and putting them into a small bowl, invites the girl to eat. The girl nibbles one grain at a time, and for every grain that is taken out, there is always another to take its place. Finally the girl eats up the food and returns the vessel empty to the hostess. The old woman looks with wonder at the empty bowl, and then turning to the girl, remarks, "You must be a manitou!"

It is desirable to point out two arrestive features, arrestive to the sense of an Algonkin who is a passive, uncritical listener to the tale.

One is the continued multiplication of the food, and the other is the interruption of the performance. One's unconscious feeling about the food is that its recurrence was due to the work of the impersonal, mystic property with which the food was charged and because of which it was replenished; and that the amazement of the old woman was due to the surprise felt at the sight of a miraculous interruption of a miraculous multiplying process. She laid the cause to the girl, whom she addressed as an animate form of the substance. Naming her an animate manitou was the same as making the property and the creature one and the same thing.

Here is another story which illustrates the ambiguity, but in a different relation. It is the story of a man and his wife who had gone off on a distant hunt for game. One evening they caught sight of some Sioux who had been shadowing them. In the gathering darkness and during a drizzling rain they set out in flight. The Sioux were moving about them on every side, and were signaling back and forth with the cries of birds and animals in an effort to locate the pair.

Despairing of escape by their own help, the man and his wife stopped and dismounted. The man was not able to get into rapport with the mystery, and so called upon his wife. In a little while she heard words coming to her from on high. They were words spoken to her by her elder brother when she was a child; he had spoken them during a fast and on the day he had died. They were: "If ever in the course of your life you meet with adversity, then think of me." With these words were others telling how she and her husband should escape. The story goes on to tell how the pair followed the advice and how they made their escape.

The story has one purpose: it is to tell of deliverance by the help of a transcendent agency; in this case it is an elder brother who comes as a mystic apparition invested with the cosmic substance, and having the attribute of prophecy and guidance.

Further instances of the confusion are to be found in the narratives of individual experiences in trance and dream transport. Boys and girls begin early to practice seclusion, and at the time refrain from touching food. During the earlier periods the fasting is of short duration, and with hardly any further meaning than that of a preparation for the ordeals yet to come; the performance becomes more serious during adolescence, and it is of the utmost importance during maturity. One then fasts and keeps vigil in the hope of gaining insight into the mystery of life. One adjusts one's self to a particular mental attitude, and so goes seriously prepared to see, to hear, and to feel. In this mental condition one sometimes sees strange objects, one sometimes hears prophetic warnings, and one sometimes feels the spell of an all-pervading presence. It is during one or more of these experiences that one is said to come into possession of hidden revelation.

Vision does not come to everyone that fasts. But when one is fortunate enough to experience a mystic transport at the sight of something

animate, or inanimate, then one is apt to make that object an ideal of divine guidance. Of or through it one invokes aid in the critical moments of life. It is not easy for an Algonkin to convey a definite idea of the nature of the object: it may be the inanimate, mystic property, or it may be a medium of the property. Much depends upon what the individual reads into the manifestation, and this in turn is colored by instruction received before the transport.

Some, however, do not see the objects themselves, but they hear their sounds or their voices. To judge from the testimony of individuals who have had the transport, it would seem that it is more common to hear than to see. The words caught convey a profound sense of authority; they must influence the course of one's actions. It is from this kind of experience that some claim to have derived sacred songs and forms of ritual. It was from this source that came the ghost dance, at least so was it taught the Sauk, Fox, and Kickapoo. Its ritual, its songs, its step, its teaching were all said to have been revealed to a young woman, who in turn transmitted it all to the people of her nation.

The most common experience seems to be that of being overwhelmed by an all-encompassing presence. It is an experience least susceptible of an articulate report, and yet it is the one looked upon as the source of greatest authority. It is not easy to induce an Algonkin to speak of any of these experiences. It is even urged upon the individual never to reveal the details except on particular occasions, and in critical moments like that of approaching death. Many of them, however, have passed into tradition, and here is the shortened account of one of the experiences:

A youth once accompanied a party of warriors on a raid against a people of the Plains. The party was beaten and the youth was killed. In accordance with an Algonkin custom, the family of the slain adopted another youth to take the place left vacant by death. The adopted youth had been a bosom friend of the slain. The act of his adoption placed upon him the responsibility of avenging the death of his friend.

Before entering upon the mission he went, as was the custom, into a fast, that he might obtain mystic guidance. Accordingly, so goes the story, the youth had a vision, and there was opened to him a view of the battlefield where his friend had been slain, of the location of the enemy that had caused the death, and of the path to be taken in order to come upon the foe. And in the vision he saw himself eating of the enemy. This last was for him a symbol that his mission would have a happy issue.

The narrative is typical of the more usual forms of revelation. The youth had gone primed to meet with a particular experience; he received tidings of just the sort of thing he was looking for. It is not easy to find out how much of this sort of thing is fraud. Beyond doubt there is some fabrication, and much is read into an experience; but there is also reason to believe that it is seldom done with intent; and that it is usually the result of an unconscious self-deception. The visitation is attributed to animate beings. "The manitou beings have taken pity upon me" is

the stock phrase uttered by one coming out of such a vision. These "beings" are not tangible realities. The term manitou beings is but an intelligible form of expressing the exciting cause; it is more natural to identify the communication with animate beings, in spite of the consciousness that the beings themselves are vague and inarticulate.

There is no doubt in an Algonkin's mind about the reality of these revelations; the feeling that one saw something arrestive, that one heard impressive voices, that one was overcome by an objective, mysterious presence is proof enough to establish the reality of the revelation. But it is doubtful if an Algonkin would think of going into the question of authority. One is sure of it, but why, one does not know, any more than that it is the inspired assurance of a transcendent agency.

The interpretation of the cause of the revelation varies with individuals. If the cause is something present to the thought, then it is likely the work of the mystic activity. This is the interpretation sometimes given by one who has been overcome by the presence of the mystery without form and without feature. In another sense and one more frequent, it is the effect of the combined presence of all the manitou beings taken together. If the object of the revelation be present to the sense, then the interpretation is liable to confusion. For instance, if the revealing object be an owl, then the interpretation is likely to take one or the other of these two forms: either the owl is a vessel or conveyance of the property; or else the owl is the property itself. In the first case, the manitou manifests itself through the agency of an owl. The notion here of a difference between the object and what it contains differentiates the vessel from the property. In the other case, the property becomes so intimately associated with the object that the object and the property come to be one and the same. The confusion of the object and the property does away with the consciousness of any differentiation. The personification is easy and of unconscious mold. The notion that the object and the property are one and the same thing is the interpretation one more commonly meets with. The sense of incongruity or improbability does not enter to disturb the mind.

So universal and easy is this lack of mental discrimination that it is no trouble for an Algonkin to invest an object with the mystic substance, and then call the object by the name of the substance. The process suggests a possible explanation of how an Algonkin comes to people his world with manitou forces different in kind and degree; it explains in some measure the supernatural performances of mythological beings, the beings that move in the form of men, beasts, birds, fishes, and other objects of nature. All these are a collection of agencies. Each possesses a virtue in common with all the rest, and in so far do they all have certain marks of agreement. Where one differs from another it is in the nature of its function, and in the degree of the possession of the cosmic substance. But the investment of a common, mystic virtue gives them all a common name, and that name is manitou.[1]

[1] Jones, W., "The Algonkin Manitou," *Jour. Amer. Folk-lore*, **18**: 183–190.

Similarly, in her definition of the *wakan* and *wakonda* of a number of Plains tribes Fletcher has noted the same impersonal and personal aspects of this term:

[The term *wakonda* is] employed by the Omaha, Ponca, Osage, Quapaw, Kansa, Oto, Missouri, and Iowa tribes of the Siouan family when the power believed to animate all natural forms is spoken to or spoken of in supplications or rituals. . . . The word *wakonda*, spelled *wakanda* by Riggs in his Dakota Dictionary, is given by him as a verb signifying 'to reckon as holy or sacred, to worship'; the noun is *wakan*, and is defined as 'a spirit, something consecrated.' The same authority gives the meaning of *wakan*, as an adjective, as 'spiritual, sacred, consecrated, wonderful, incomprehensible, mysterious.' The same general meaning that runs through the Dakota words *wakanda* and *wakan* inheres in the word *wakonda* as used by the Omaha and their cognates; with the latter the word may be regarded as an appellative, for while it is the name given to the mysterious all-pervading and life-giving power to which certain anthropomorphic aspects are attributed, the word is also applied to objects or phenomena regarded as sacred or mysterious. These two uses of the word are never confused in the minds of the thoughtful. When during his fast the Omaha sings, "*Wakonda*, here needy he stands, and I am he!" his address is to "the power that moves," "causes to move," that is, gives life; for the ability to move is to the Omaha mind synonymous with life. In this prayer the Omaha is not crying to those forces or forms spoken of as *wakonda* in songs that relate to objects seen in dreams or to symbols of magic. This distinction is sometimes difficult for one of another race to follow, but that there is a distinction to the native mind is not to be doubted. The *wakan tanka*, the great *wakan* or spirit of the Dakota, is not quite the same as that which the Omaha means by *wakonda*. The term 'great' in *wakan tanka* implies a comparison, and such an idea does not seem to belong to *wakonda*, for *wakonda* stands by itself, unlike any other, and represents a concept that seems to be born of the Indian's point of view toward nature and natural phenomena, including man himself. To the Omaha nothing is without life: the rock lives, so do the cloud, the tree, the animal. He projects his own consciousness upon all things, and ascribes to them experiences and characteristics with which he is familiar; there is to him something in common between all creatures and all natural forms, a something which brings them into existence and holds them intact; this something he conceives of as akin to his own conscious being. The power which thus brings to pass and holds all things in their living form he designates as *wakonda*. That he anthropomorphizes this power is evident from his supplication, made with fasting and symbols of humility, by which he seeks to awaken pity or compassion, human attributes, as "here needy he stands," and thus expects to win some kind of recognition. He is taught that when he fasts and prays he must not ask for any special favor or gift; that which he is able to receive will be given him. This teaching

throws a side light on his concept of *wakonda*, showing that it implies intelligence as well as power; but the concept seems to be vague, and ideas dissolve into indefiniteness in the "mysterious," the "incomprehensible" atmosphere that surrounds the unseen power denominated *wakonda*.

That there is a creative aspect to *wakonda* is made clear from the use of the word *wakondagi: gi* is the sign of possession, therefore the phenomena termed *wakondagi* evince something belonging to or of the power denominated *wakonda*. For example, when a child is first able to walk this new manifestation of ability to move about is called *wakondagi;* but should a person, from sickness or other disability, lose the power to walk, but recover it, the act of resumption would not be called *wakondagi*. The first speech of the child is the manifestation of a new power, and is *wakondagi*. *Wakonda* is invisible, and therefore allied to the idea of spirit. Objects seen in dreams or visions partake of the idea or nature of spirit, and when these objects speak to man in answer to his entreaty, the act is possible because of the power of *wakonda*, and the object, be it thundercloud, animal, or bird, seen and heard by the dreamer, may be spoken of by him as a *wakonda*, but he does not mean that they are *wakonda*. The association in which the term *wakonda* is used determines the character of its meaning. *Wakonda*, the power addressed during the fast as having power to help the one standing "in need," is not the same *wakonda* as the thunder that speaks to a man in a dream is sometimes called; yet there is a relation between the two, not unlike that signified by the term *wakondagi* when applied to the first manifestation of an ability; for all power, whether shown in the thunderstorm, the hurricane, the animals, or man, is of *wakonda*. Whatever is mysterious and beyond ordinary experience or effort approaches the realm of the concept which the word *wakonda* signifies to the Omaha and his cognates.

Wakonda is difficult to define, for exact terms change it from its native uncrystallized condition to something foreign to aboriginal thought. Vague as the concept seems to be to one of another race, to the Indian it is as real and as mysterious as the starry night or the flush of the coming day.[1]

Denig, who lived among the Plains tribes, has described the reverential approach of a warrior to Wakonda, and also the extremities of hardship undertaken by members of war expeditions in seeking rapport and guidance:

"O Wakonda, you see me a poor man; have pity upon me. I go to war to revenge the death of my brother; have pity upon me. I smoke this tobacco taken from my medicine sack, where it has been enveloped with the remains of my dead brother [*i.e.*, with a lock of his hair]. I smoke it to my Tutelary, to you; aid me in revenge. On my path preserve me from mad wolves. Let no enemies surprise me. I have sacri-

[1] Fletcher, A. C., "Wakonda," in Hodge, F. W., *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico (Bur. Amer. Ethnol., Bull.* 30).

ficed, I have smoked, my heart is low, have pity upon me. Give me the bows and arrows of my enemies. Give me their guns. Give me their horses. Give me their bodies. Let me have my face blackened on my return. Let good weather come that I can see. Good dreams give that I can judge where they are. I have suffered. I wish to live. I wish to be revenged. I am poor. I want horses. I will sacrifice. I will smoke. I will remember; have pity upon me. . . . "

Several principal warriors will lie out in the cold, rain, or snow for three or four days and nights, without eating, drinking, smoking, or speaking, making internal prayers to Wakonda to aid them in accomplishing their objects, and the dreams that present themselves under these circumstances are received as favorable or unfavorable omens according to the nature of the visions presented. This is done by those who are desirous of leading a war party or becoming capable to lead by some great exploit, and the leader chosen is he whose dream appears to present the greatest appearance of success. These fasts are sometimes accompanied by cutting the breast with a knife horizontally or the arms transversely above the elbow, making incisions about 3 or 4 inches long and half an inch deep, which are not bound up. Among the Mandan and Gros Ventres these ceremonies are still more severe. Incisions are made on each side of the shoulder blade on the back and a stout stick is thrust through. A cord is then attached to the stick and they are drawn up off their feet to a post planted for the purpose. By an impetus given with their feet they throw themselves out from the post and swing themselves around violently until the cord winds and unwinds successively, for one or two days, when the hold breaks and they fall to the ground.

If not already too much weakened, new incisions are made and cords 10 or 12 feet long are tied therein. To the ends of these cords are attached three or four buffalo bulls' heads and horns, each weighing from 15 to 20 pounds, and they drag their weight over the ground, the horns plowing it up until the holds break, or fainting from exhaustion they are carried away by their relatives. Nothing is eaten or drunk during all this time.[1]

The same practice was described to Wissler by Split-ears, a member of the Blackfoot tribe:

Sometimes [says Split-ears] when warriors are on an expedition and come in sight of the enemy they will sit in a circle while the leader, or the oldest member of the party, offers prayers that they may succeed in their undertaking. Then they proceed to offer bits of their own skin to the sun. The one who prayed sits down by one of the party, takes up a needle or bodkin and a knife, thrusts the former under a small section of skin and raising it, cuts off a small slice with a knife. This leaves a circular wound a quarter of an inch or less in diameter. It is understood that the operator pulls the skin up with the needle and slices off a small

[1] Denig, E. T., "Indian Tribes of the Upper Missouri," *Bur. Amer. Ethnol., Ann. Rep.*, **46**: 483–484, 489–490.

section underneath that instrument. He then takes up some black paint and dips the bit of skin into it. Then he holds it up to the sun and prays for the success of his victim. The bit of skin is then placed upon a piece of cloth and another is removed from the victim in the same manner and so the operator goes to each of the party in turn, each time removing a piece of skin, dipping it in black paint, and holding it up in a prayer to the sun. While each person is expected to give two pieces, they are not limited to the maximum number, some men giving four and some still more. The bits of skin thus collected are tied up in one corner of the cloth which is mounted upon a stick wrapped with wild sage, the whole being fastened in a tree or set up on the top of a high hill as the sun's offering. This sacrifice is always spoken of as feeding the sun with flesh from one's own body. The cloth is fastened to the stick in the form of a flag or banner so that it waves in the wind with the flesh offerings tied in one corner. This sacrifice is considered one of the greatest a man can make.

Now, as I have said, some men only give two small pieces of skin, while others give a great many more, but as they do this each time they go on an expedition, it so happens that a man who made many war expeditions has many small scars on his arms and legs. Thus, we can still tell those of our old men who went upon the warpath many times in their youth. We can tell by the scars made from feeding the sun their own flesh. But, again, it so happens that men while at home may have dreams in which they are commanded to feed the sun. Now it is believed that unless a man heeds such a command, he is certain to be visited by misfortune or even death, so he always makes haste to comply with the command. After such a dream he makes a sweathouse and invites in an old man who prays and makes the offering. The procedure here is the same as previously described and the offering is made into a banner and placed in a tree or upon a hill. Then again, the men who are at home in the camp but who have relatives in a war party may so wish for the safety of these that they themselves offer bits of skin in their behalf. Thus, you see, there are many times when people will offer bits of skin, so that it was not uncommon for a man to have one hundred or more scars upon his body. These are generally arranged in rows up and down the arms, down the legs, down the breasts and the back. I have even heard of cases where a man is said to have offered one hundred pieces of skin at one time. This, however, was unusual.

Sometimes, instead of offering skin, the warrior would offer a finger. Thus, if beset by very great danger on the warpath a man may make a vow to the sun stating that if brought home safely he will sacrifice a finger. This sacrifice can be made at any time; either when on the warpath or when at home in camp or at the sun dance. In such cases, the finger is offered to the sun in the precise manner as the pieces of skin described above.[1]

[1] Wissler, C., "The Sun Dance of the Blackfoot Indians," *Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., Anth. Pap.*, **16**: 265–267.

The characteristic aspect of spiritual rapport in North America was through the vision and the accompanying guardian spirit. Lowie describes this for the Crow, and other examples will be found in Chap. XVII:

Visions . . . were the basic means of controlling life, and virtually every man tried to secure one. Yet there were men like Littlerump who failed even after repeated self-mortification. They were, we may guess, folk unsuggestible even in fasting and solitude or in other ways disqualified for the part of seers. More numerous, I take it, were those who gained supernatural experience of a sort but not of the kind backed by outstanding success; reliance on their revelation might thus be tempered by a measure of hard-headed skepticism. Yet all men crave the life values, so the Crow fell back upon the notion that supernatural power could be transferred: the vision still remained its fountainhead, but its benefits could be transferred by purchase or inheritance. These practices were tied up with a number of significant conceptions.

In the first place, the feather, rock, or bundle that symbolized the power granted to a visionary had a potency in its own right. By teaching the relevant rules the owner could therefore bequeath or transfer it to a close relative, who thus became a beneficiary without himself enjoying direct spiritual contacts. For instance, Strikes-at-night had escaped poverty by obtaining a Horse medicine. When she showed it to me, its virtue, she explained, was still there, for her son Bullweasel, over whose bed she kept the bundle, owned plenty of horses.

The idea of transmission appears again and again. The outsider who wished to buy especially valuable medicines was at first treated as an undesirable intruder. When Flat-head-woman wanted to gain part ownership of the Sacred Arrow the chief holder demurred: "Why do you want this so badly? You are not related to us, you are a different person altogether." Then Hillside, the speaker's brother and thus himself joint owner, interceded, "He was the comrade of my dead younger brother. They loved each other, that's why I wish to give it to him. Don't say any more against it." Sometimes a person coveting a particular medicine slyly got into the owner's good graces until native etiquette made refusal impossible. Thus, Strikes-at-night, when still destitute, found out that the owner of Horse bundle needed a new tent cover. Being a good tanner, she offered to assist in the preparation of the hides, which she tanned whenever the owner brought back hides from the chase. Thus, she tanned fifteen hides, sewed them together, and put up the tipi. Now the owner's wife asked what pay she would like to get. Then Strikes-at-night explained that she was poor because her husband was blind and that she wanted to acquire the Horse medicine. The other woman got angry: "If you had told me before, I should never have let you finish the hides. Now I can hardly refuse you." For a long time she remained silent, at last she asked my informant to bring her husband. She told the couple that she had hitherto refused to adopt anyone.

However, "Now you have worked hard on this tent and finished it. I have thought it over and I will give it to you." Strikes-at-night added: "The other people were telling me I was very cunning because of the way I got the medicine. I had merely followed my husband's directions, but they all laid it to me."

In other words, power with its symbols could be transferred in whole or in part. That compensation should be paid for the benefit of a vision was, indeed, so firmly rooted an idea that some ceremonial privileges had to be paid for even if a son got them from his own parent. However this be, the Crow could indefinitely extend the range of beneficiaries from a vision. In such cases the visionary (or transferror) was conceived to stand to the purchaser in the same ceremonial relationship as the supernatural being to the visionary: as the supernatural adopts the visionary as his "child" so the owner of a medicine becomes the buyer's "father."

Every sacred object was revealed in a vision, but it could also stimulate a vision. . . . Child-in-the-mouth told me . . . he was once so poor that he had to travel afoot. He was not yet a member of the Tobacco order, but his mother-in-law had inherited a Tobacco necklace and through her daughter she sent my informant out fasting with it. He was blessed by an aged couple, who promised him wealth and good luck generally. He subsequently went to war, struck coups, captured guns, and was never poor thereafter. Flat-head-woman's case was similar. He had received a sacred arrow from the owners of the Arrow bundle. When they felt that he knew the associated rules, they sent him out on his own. To quote him: "I was now to have visions of my own. I did not see an arrow as they did, but a long species of grass. I would see the stalk flying like an arrow and follow it with my eyes till it alighted somewhere, then I would go thither. From now on everything depended on myself. I had visions of different things. I made a little notched stick about four inches long myself, because I had a vision to that effect. If the enemy had stolen our horses and I put this on their tracks, they would sleep too long or be otherwise delayed, so we would catch up if I led the party." . . .

The nature of a blessing often corresponds to the "father's" natural gifts. Lone-tree became a weather magician because the Thunder had adopted him. A deer says to Raven-face: "Of all things on this earth that step on the ground there is nothing that beats me in running. By that save yourself in time of trouble." Similarly, Humped-wolf, having met a buffalo, becomes heavy and slow in battle, so that no matter what happens he shall not run away.

This type of revelation merges into another, in which the patron confers not merely the gifts of his species but his individual status or capacity. Humped-wolf's buffalo sees him worrying over a wound and opens its mouth, which proves to be toothless. "You shall be the same as myself. . . . You cannot die until then (when you have no more teeth). That is the first thing I will give you." So the buffalo-man who

blessed Hillside had gray hair and was leading a large crowd of people: " . . . this showed that I was to live to be an old man. His being leader showed that I was to be a leader of my people." Again, Full-mouth-buffalo, returning to camp, is caught by a bear. "He lifted me up so that I could see all the earth. He made me touch his teeth; he had none at all. 'You may jump among high cliffs or do what you please,' said he, 'you cannot die. When you have no more teeth and all your hair is white, you shall fall asleep without awaking.'" Medicine-crow's step-father almost duplicated this legendary experience. "A bear jumped up and caught him. He thought he was being killed, but the bear held him up and asked whether he could see all the world. 'Yes.' Then the bear said, 'Put your fingers into my mouth.' The bear had no teeth." On the same principle, the benevolent Dwarf of a myth, whose body is "of stone," transfers his own invulnerability to the poor man he befriends: "Now *your* body is of stone."

But whether the visitant transmits his individual powers or not, he commonly employs a transparent symbolism to indicate the nature of his gift. Bull-all-the-time gained a doctor's powers while asleep in his tipi. He saw a horse fastened to a rope, which was lengthened up to him, and simultaneously heard a person sing. He was told to treat the sick; an old man with a pipestem was standing over a recumbent patient and blew over him through the pipe; the sick man rose and my informant saw all the sickness come out of the patient's blood. He showed me the pipestem thus revealed to him. The horse stood for the horses he was to get as fees. Arm-round-the-neck had a similar promise of wealth: "I dreamt someone was kicking my foot and there were horses all round me with ropes to their necks and fastened to my body. I heard someone say, 'Wherever you go, you shall have horses.' Ever since then I have had horses. I think this dream was given me by dogs. I was walking, followed by several dogs. I lay down under a tree, and fell asleep, with the dogs lying round me about the tent. So I thought they took pity on me and gave me horses."

Sometimes the circumstances of an apparition are set forth in simple terms involving a mere vision or audition, the adoption formula, and a few instructions and tabus by the supernaturals. Gray-bull had inherited his grandfather's sacred bundle and went out to fast with it. "I saw a bird flying over me in a circle. It descended and went down into a canyon whistling. On both sides there were rocks. The rocks began to shoot at the bird but failed to hit it, so that it came out unhurt. . . . I did not know that I could not be shot until long afterwards. I was never shot. I kept my dreams secret, for I was afraid if I told them I might get shot. Once many Piegan were lying under a pine tree. One was some distance in front of us. . . . He shot at me when I was just above him but he did not hit me. . . . That night I dreamt and someone said to me, 'Don't you know that you cannot be shot?'"[1]

[1] Lowie, R. H., *The Crow Indians*, 248–250, 245–247 (Farrar & Rinehart, Inc. By permission).

In the main these behavior reactions were developed in the general population without predominant influence from a priestly class but among the Dakota shamanism had a marked development, with philosophic interpretations and esoteric language peculiarities, and Walker has recorded an example of their religious philosophy and their classification of the manifestations of wakan:

The following is a literal transcript of a conversation with Finger, a distinguished shaman (March 25, 1914):

I heard you exclaim when a meteorite fell and heard you address the people immediately afterwards. Then I saw you burning sweet grass. Will you tell me why you did this?—You are a white man's medicine man and you want to know the mysteries of the Lakota. Why do you want to know these things?

The old Indians who know these things will soon be dead and gone and as the younger Indians do not know them they will be lost. I wish to write them so they will be preserved and your people can read them in years to come. Will you tell them to me?—My father was a shaman and he taught me the mysteries of the shamans and I will tell them to you. What is it you want to know?

When the meteor fell you cried in a loud voice, "*Wohpa. Wohpe-e-e-e.*" Why did you do this?—Because that is *wakan.*

What is *wohpa?*—It is what you saw. It is one of the stars falling.

What causes the stars to fall?—*Taku Skanskan.*

Why does *Taku Skanskan* cause the stars to fall?—Because He causes everything that falls to fall and He causes everything to move that moves.

When you move what is it that causes you to move?—*Skan.*

If an arrow is shot from a bow what causes it to move through the air?—*Skan.*

What causes a stone to fall to the ground when I drop it?—*Skan.*

If I lift a stone from the ground what causes the movement?—*Skan.* He gives you power to lift the stone and it is He that causes all movement of any kind.

Has the bow anything to do with the movement of an arrow shot from it?—*Taku Skanskan* gives the spirit to the bow and He causes it to send the arrow from it.

What causes smoke to go upward? —*Taku Skanskan.*

What causes water to flow in a river?—*Skan.*

What causes the clouds to move over the world?—*Skan.*

Are *Taku Skan* and *Skan* one and the same?—Yes. When the people speak to Him, they say *Taku Skanskan.* When a shaman speaks of Him, he says *Skan. Skan* belongs to the *wakan* speech used by the shamans.

Is *Skan, Wakan Tanka?*—Yes.

Is he *Wakan Tanka Kin?*—No. That is *Wi,* the Sun.

Are *Wi* and *Skan* one and the same?—No. *Wi* is *Wakan Tanka Kin* and *Skan* is *Nagi Tanka,* the Great Spirit.

Are they both *Wakan Tanka?*—Yes.

Are there any other *wakan* that are *Wakan Tanka?*—Yes. *Inyan,* the Rock and *Maka,* the Earth.

Are there any others?—Yes. *Wi Han,* the Moon; *Tate,* the wind; *Wakinyan,* the Winged; and *Wohpe,* the Beautiful Woman.

Are there any others that are *Wakan Tanka?*—No.

Then there are eight *Wakan Tanka,* are there?—No, there is but one.

You have named eight and say there is but one. How can this be?—That is right. I have named eight. There are four, *Wi, Skan, Inyan,* and *Maka.* These are the *Wakan Tanka.*

You named four others, the Moon, the Wind, the Winged, and the Beautiful Woman and said they were *Wakan Tanka,* did you not?—Yes. But these four are the same as the *Wakan Tanka.* The Sun and the Moon are the same, the *Skan* and the Wind are the same, the Rock and Winged are the same, and the Earth and the Beautiful Woman are the same. These eight are only one. The shamans know how this is, but the people do not know. It is *wakan* (a mystery).

Did the *Wakan Tanka* always exist?—Yes, the Rock is the oldest. He is grandfather of all things.

Which is the next oldest?—The earth. She is grandmother of all things.

Which is next oldest?—*Skan.* He gives life and motion to all things.

Which is the next oldest after *Skan?*—The Sun. But He is above all things and above all *Wakan Tanka.*

Lakota have told me that the Sun and *Taku Skanskan* are one and the same. Is that true?—No. Many of the people believe that it is so, but the shamans know that it is not so. The Sun is in the sky only half the time and *Skan* is there all the time.

Lakota have told me the *Skan* is the sky. Is that so?—Yes. *Skan* is a Spirit and all that mankind can see of Him is the blue of the sky. But He is everywhere.

Do you pray to *Wakan Tanka?*—Yes, very often.

To which of the eight you have named do you pray?—When I pray I smoke the pipe and burn sweet grass and *Wohpe* carries my prayer to the *Wakan Tanka.* If the prayer is about things of great importance, it is carried to the Sun; if about my health or my strength it goes to *Skan;* if about my implements, to *Inyan;* if about food or clothing and such things, to the Earth.

Are such prayers ever carried to the Moon, or the Wind, or the Winged, or to *Wohpe?*—They may be carried to the Moon and to the Wind; but this is the same as if to the Sun or *Skan.* Lakota do not pray to the Winged. They defy Him. They do not pray to *Wohpe,* for She carries all prayers. The Lakota may pray to any *Wakan,* but if to a *Wakan* that is below *Wakan Tanka,* such must be named in the prayer and it will be carried to the one named.

You say *Wohpe* is a falling star. Is *Wohpe* in any way related to a falling star?—She first came like a falling star.

Where did she come from?—From the stars.

What are the stars?—*Waniya.*

What are *waniya?*—They are ghosts. *Skan* takes from the stars a ghost and gives it to each babe at the time of its birth and when the babe dies the ghost returns to the stars.

Is *Wohpe* a ghost?—She is *Wakan Tanka.* A ghost is *Wakan,* but it is not *Wakan Tanka.*

Has a Lakota ever seen *Wohpe?*—Yes. When She gave the pipe to the Lakota She was in their camp for many days.

How did she appear at that time?—Like a very beautiful young woman. For this reason the people speak of Her as the Beautiful Woman. The people do not speak of Her as *Wohpe.* Only the shamans call her that.

Lakota have told me that Her *ton* [energy] is in the pipe and in the smoke of the sweet grass. Is that true?—It was a shaman who told you that. When the people say *ton* they mean something that comes from a living thing, such as the birth of anything or the discharge from a wound or a sore or the growth from a seed. Only shamans speak of the *ton* of the *Wakan.* Such *ton* is *wakan* and the shamans only know about it. The people are afraid to talk of such *ton* because it is *wakan.* The people smoke the pipe and burn sweet grass because *Wohpe* will do no harm to anyone.

You say the Rock is the grandfather of all things and the Earth the grandmother of all things. Are the Rock and the Earth as a man and wife?—Some shamans think they are, and some think they are not.

Who were the father and mother of all things?—The *Wakan* have no father or mother. Anything that has a birth will have a death. The *Wakan* were not born and they will not die.

Is anything about a Lakota *wakan?*—Yes. The spirit, the ghost, and the *sicun.*—Do these die?—No. They are *wakan.*

What becomes of them when the body dies?—The spirit goes to the spirit world, the ghost goes to where *Skan* got it, and the *sicun* returns to the *Wakan* it belongs to.

What is the *sicun?*—It is the *ton* of a *Wakan. Skan* gives it at the time of the birth.

What are its functions?—It remains with the body during life, to guard it from danger and help it in a *wakan* manner.

How does the spirit get to the spirit world?—It goes on the spirit trail.

Where is the spirit trail?—It can be seen in the sky at night. It is a white trail across the sky.

Is it made of stars?—No. It is like the clouds, so that nothing but *wakan* can travel on it. No man knows where it begins or where it ends. The Wind alone knows where it begins. It moves about. Sometimes it is in one direction and sometimes in another.

How does the ghost go to the place where *Skan* got it?—The ghost is like smoke and it goes upward until it arrives at the stars.

What becomes of the body when it dies?—It rots and becomes nothing.[1]

The Melanesian and Polynesian concept of mana corresponds in general with the manitou and wakan concept, and Codrington has described its applications in Melanesia:

The Melanesian mind is entirely possessed by the belief in a supernatural power or influence, called almost universally *mana*. This is what works to effect everything which is beyond the ordinary power of men, outside the common processes of nature; it is present in the atmosphere of life, attaches itself to persons and to things, and is manifested by results which can only be ascribed to its operation. When one has got it he can use it and direct it, but its force may break forth at some new point; the presence of it is ascertained by proof. A man comes by chance upon a stone which takes his fancy; its shape is singular, it is like something, it is certainly not a common stone, there must be mana in it. So he argues with himself, and he puts it to the proof; he lays it at the root of a tree to the fruit of which it has a certain resemblance, or he buries it in the ground when he plants his garden; an abundant crop on the tree or in the garden shows that he is right, the stone is mana, has that power in it. Having that power it is a vehicle to convey mana to other stones. In the same way certain forms of words, generally in the form of a song, have power for certain purposes; a charm of words is called a mana. But this power, though itself impersonal, is always connected with some person who directs it; all spirits have it, ghosts generally, some men. If a stone is found to have a supernatural power, it is because a spirit has associated itself with it; a dead man's bone has with it mana, because the ghost is with the bone; a man may have so close a connection with a spirit or ghost that he has mana in himself also, and can so direct it as to effect what he desires; a charm is powerful because the name of a spirit or ghost expressed in the form of words brings into it the power which the ghost or spirit exercises through it. Thus all conspicuous success is a proof that a man has mana; his influence depends on the impression made on the people's mind that he has it; he becomes a chief by virtue of it. Hence a man's power, though political or social in its character, is his mana; the word is naturally used in accordance with the native conception of the character of all power and influence as supernatural. If a man has been successful in fighting, it has not been his natural strength of arm, quickness of eye, or readiness of resource that has won success; he has certainly got the mana of a spirit or of some deceased warrior to empower him, conveyed in an amulet of a stone round his neck, or a tuft of leaves in his belt, in a tooth hung upon a finger of his bow hand, or in the form of words with which he brings supernatural assistance to his side. If a man's pigs multiply, and his gardens are productive, it is not because he is industrious and looks after

[1] Walker, J. R., "The Sun Dance and Other Ceremonies of the Oglala Division of the Teton Dakota," *Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., Anth. Pap.*, **16**: 154–156.

his property, but because of the stones full of mana for pigs and yams that he possesses. Of course a yam naturally grows when planted, that is well known, but it will not be very large unless mana comes into play; a canoe will not be swift unless mana be brought to bear upon it, a net will not catch many fish, nor an arrow inflict a mortal wound. . . .

[The natives smear burning and irritating materials on their arrow points to inflame the wound and in some regions these substances are truly poisonous, but they have no conception that the deadly effect is produced by the poisonous treatment of the arrow.] That a punctured wound in the tropics is often followed by tetanus, that the breaking off of a fine point of bone in a wound is sure to be dangerous and likely to be fatal, that an acrid or burning substance introduced by the arrow into the wound will increase the inflammation in it, are facts altogether outside the native field of view. The point is of a dead man's bone, and has therefore mana, it has been tied on with powerful mana charms, and has been smeared with stuff hot and burning, as the wound is meant to be, prepared and applied with charms; that is what they mean by what we, not they, call poisoned arrows. . . . It is the human bone first of all that in native opinion gives the arrow its efficacy; the bone of any dead man will do, because any ghost has mana to work on the wounded man; but the bone of a man who was powerful when alive is more valued.

The true Lepers' Island arrow, *liwue*, is made with a broad white head of human bone with jagged edges, 9 or 10 inches long, and without any preparation in the way of poison; and they use also poisoned arrows made and bought in Maewo. To make the liwue the leg bones of men of no particular consideration are taken up out of their graves. Not long ago there was a man in that island, who out of affection for his dead brother dug him up and made arrows of his bones. With these he went about speaking of himself as "I and my brother"; all were afraid of him, for they believed that his dead brother was at hand to help him.[1]

In Polynesia the concept of mana had an extraordinary extension, including hereditary transmission of power, social ranking based on its possession, schools of learning for its preservation, control, increase, and transfer, and a cosmic philosophy which can be favorably compared with that of ancient Greece:

The Polynesian cosmogony [says Handy] depicts a universe which is a psychic dynamism manifesting itself physically: behind and within all natural manifestation is life and psychic force. All objective phenomena of nature had their origin in the psychic dynamism; and all existed within its field or atmosphere. Concrete nature in all its parts was also in a sense regarded as a reservoir of dynamic power. Its different parts were the mediums of transmission of this force. The system of Polynesian mythology and worship cannot be explained except on the assump-

[1] Codrington, *op. cit.*, 118–120, 308 (Clarendon Press. By permission).

tion of the existence in the native mind of this concept of nature as a psychic dynamism. . . .

The most conclusive evidence of the existence in the native mind of the idea of the psychic dynamism of nature lies in the mana concept itself. The word mana referred to the manifestation of this aspect of nature, when its dynamism was centered in or focused through specific gods, spirits, individuals, rites, or objects. Mana was exhibited in persons, in power, strength, prestige, reputation, skill, dynamic personality, intelligence; in things, in efficacy, in "luck"; that is, in accomplishment. These qualities were not mana; they were the evidences of mana, which was itself but the focusing and transmission of the potency of nature. . . .

Turning back for a moment to the discussion of procreation as a mode of origination of the varied aspects of nature, it is seen that the primal mana was not merely power or energy, but procreative power, derived from an ultimate source and diffused, transmitted, and manifested throughout the universe. This was the original mana which was believed to be continuously passed down through the gods, the *mana-atua* of which the Maori teacher in the New Zealand college of lore spoke as follows, deprecating its loss as a result of the influence of Christianity:

"This [loss of the ancient knowledge] is in consequence of the decadence in power, authority and prestige of the conduct of the various rituals, of the (abrogation of) *tapu*, of the (unbelief in) gods, until at the present time, there is none of the ancient mana, or power, left. . . . Hence also it is that I impress on you the (former) aspect of these things, that you may be clear as to the descent of the *mana-atua* (the godlike powers) even from Io (the Supreme God), and from the Whatu-kuras, Mariekuras, and the Apas of each separate heaven." . . .

The fact that the gods did not possess it of themselves but were the mediums or agents of this all-pervasive, divine force is indicated by these remarks of a learned Maori:

"Mana is all round the world, and Tawhirimatea [god of tempests], Ruaimoku [god of earthquakes], Maui [culture hero], and others are in the center of the circle and get hold of this mana and direct the elements and make the weather."

This teacher also says, "No one can rub out mana"; he then contrasts with it the borrowed mana of human beings, saying, "Personal mana can be overcome and annihilated, but the mana of the gods cannot. . . . "

The divine chief was a transmitter: linked by an unbroken chain of first-borns to the primal gods, his was mana directly transmitted and made subject to conduction wherever the potential was needed—in agriculture, industry, war. On the other hand the mana of the priest or man of learning, which might be almost though not quite as great as that of the chief, was largely diffused mana, acquired as a result of consecrational ceremonies, and his continual association with sacred beings, objects, and rites. . . . Any person or thing might, of course, become a

transmitter by being connected with a terminal that was in contact with the ultimate source of potential, such as a chief, a spirit, or a god. Actually no being or object associated with Polynesian worship was believed to be purely a transmitter, or purely a reservoir or magnetic pole: the sacred chief's mana was in the main transmitted, but it was augmented by means of many consecrational rites, and by instruction; and no priest could through any amount of ritual consecration and teaching become a great priest unless he personally had inherited a capacity to transmit mana. Powerful priests were, in fact, almost always men of high birth in Polynesia. . . . Tregear writes that the mana of the Maori chiefs was a "part of their god-inheritance," which under unfortunate circumstances could be lost, but which was capable also of being greatly strengthened:

"It was not [he says] exactly success in battle, of acquisition of power and lands, or repute for wisdom, but the possession of these was a sign of the indwelling of mana. Its outward form might be what we vaguely call good luck, genius, reputation, etc., but it might also be recognizable in high courage, lofty social position, personal influence, etc." . . .

The mana of the individual was believed to be concentrated in the head which, according to Polynesian philosophy, was associated with the superior, divine aspect of nature. This is evidenced by the figurative use in New Zealand of the phrase *kauwae runga* (upper jaw, or superior maxilla) to denote the heavens, the abiding place of the *ira atua* (superior godlike life). The same figure of speech was used in the Society Islands. This belief had to do with the widespread practice of secreting the skulls of deceased relatives.

A prophet or diviner who was the oracular medium of a spirit or god had little or no accretion of personal mana because of his inspirational talent—his mana was but that of the spirit or god he served. On the other hand a ritualistic priest (*tohunga*) was a personal embodiment of acquired mana, who exhibited his power in the efficacy of his ritual, and in his knowledge of occult influences and power to interpret omens.

In the case of a man of learning, a teacher of sacred lore, accuracy of memory, extensive knowledge, and keenness of mind were the evidences of his mana. In the Marquesas Islands any person who was an adept at any occupation was a *tuhuna*, a master. Every tuhuna possessed mana for the particular activity in which he was skilled. But there were rare individuals whose learning and ability extended to all the departments of man's activity; knowledge, ritual, arts, and crafts. Such an adept, whose mana was so great that he was second to none in the tribe in sacredness, was honored with the title of *tuhuna nui*, great master or adept. The ability, talent, or capacity possessed by tuhuna appears to have been regarded as in part due to natural endowment, but more particularly to education, consecration, and experience. A Marquesan youth who could not memorize the ancient lore was spoken of as being "without mana"; but anyone who had great ability, showed sufficient persistence in learning from his teacher, and submitted to the required

consecratory rites could become a master bard and ceremonial priest (*tuhuna oono*). Such a scholar grew in power and prestige as he demonstrated the superiority of his knowledge and wit in contests that were from time to time held between the wise men of different tribes; but if in such a contest with other tuhuna he proved incapable of meeting his opponents' sallies, or to be ignorant or in error, he was considered in some way to have lost the mana he once possessed. . . .

The warrior was thought to embody the mana of all those whom he had killed, his own mana increasing in proportion to his prowess. In the mind of the native, the prowess was the result, however, not the cause, of his mana. The mana of the warrior's spear was likewise increased with each death it inflicted. As a sign of his assumption of his defeated enemy's power, the victor in a hand-to-hand combat assumed his slain foe's name; with a view to absorbing directly his mana, he ate some of his flesh; and to bind the presence of the empowering influence in battle, to insure his intimate rapport with the captured mana, he wore as a part of his war dress some physical relic of his vanquished foe—a bone, a dried hand, sometimes a whole skull. . . .

The attribution of mana to spears and other implements and instruments has already been mentioned. Gudgeon describes "two weapons that were almost dangerous to man by reason of the peculiar mana attached to them." One of these, a double-bladed club, served to give the tribe by which it was owned omens in wartime; if, as it lay on a mat it was observed by all to turn over, it was taken as a happy sign that the enterprise in hand would have a favorable outcome. "It was, however, in single combats that this weapon shone with its greatest luster, for then it never failed." The other object, characterized as being "almost dangerous to man," was an adz, said to be the very implement that was used by the gods in cutting the props that were made to hold up the Sky Father after he and the Earth Mother had been thrust apart. . . .

The generation of mana by dynamic ritual may be illustrated by the custom of creating or empowering necromancer's familiars in Hawaii. The spirit selected was itself but the soul of a deceased infant. Such a spirit may have been chosen because of its supposed feeling of resentment against the world that had not welcomed it, and perhaps also because, being a child's soul, it was thought to be more easily subject to influence. According to J. S. Emerson, the spirit so chosen was supposedly raised to the power of a malicious demon by a process called *hoomanamana*, meaning literally to cause to have mana, a process which entailed continuous nourishing with offerings and the recitation of prayers or charms by the necromancer. Concerning the word descriptive of the process, Mr. Emerson has written:

"The simple word mana may . . . be explained as "supernatural power." . . . In the frequentitive form *hoomanamana* (the causing one to have mana), the *imparting* of supernatural power seems to be the prominent idea, rather than the ascription of a power already possessed by the object worshiped. . . .

Let me here distinctly remark that the worship (*hoomanamana*) rendered to the spirit is not an ascription of power already possessed by the object worshiped, but an imparting to it of mana (power) which but for the worship it would never have."

Now this word hoomanamana was applied not only to these rites of the necromancer, but also in a general sense to worship. In view of this, and of the remarks of the Maori teacher explaining the decadence of mana in modern times as being due to negligence of ritual, and lastly, in the light of the general intent of the worship of the higher power through rapport, it may fairly be assumed that one main purpose of the prayer, sacrifice, and other elements of the Polynesian rites was to increase the mana of the gods worshiped, that, while they sought on the one hand to approach and draw on the strength embodied in their gods, these people were confident at the same time that their efforts in worship were capable of, indeed requisite for, empowering the very gods on whom they believed themselves to be dependent.[1]

In this connection one aspect of Maori interpretation is that the gods perish if the human rites sustaining them are neglected. Speaking to Elsdon Best, an old Maori said, "Gods do die if there are no priests to keep them alive."[2]

In Polynesia the mana concept had a profound influence on organization and behavior in the extensive *tapu* system through which conduct was regulated in proportion to the degree of mana possessed by the agent. Best, writing in New Zealand, has described the operation of the system in general terms:

Tapu is the word which has been adopted into the English language as "taboo," when we say that such and such subjects are tabooed. Its proper sense seems to be neither "sacred" nor "defiled" although it may take either meaning, and that medial expression "prohibited" perhaps translates it best—"prohibited" for sacred reasons, "prohibited" for objectionable reasons. The true inwardness of the word *tapu* is that it infers the setting apart of certain persons or things on account of their having become possessed or infected by the presence of supernatural beings, particularly of the ancestral spirits who were guardian deities of the tribe. Great chiefs were by nature tapu on account of their divine birth, they being able to trace their genealogies up to the gods of heaven and earth. If such chiefs performed certain actions, such as entering a common house, leaning against a post, eating a portion of food, etc., the house, the post, or the remaining scraps of victuals were tapu to others. If the chief in question devoured the body of an enemy, in doing so he not only insulted the tribe of the fallen man, but, secure in the protection of his victorious gods, he was challenging in a daring way the guardian

[1] Handy, E. S. C., "Polynesian Religion," *Bernice P. Bishop Mus., Bull.* **34**: 26–34.
[2] Best, E., *The Maori*, **1**: 243.

spirits of his foeman's tribe. If a common man partook of scraps left by his noble master he was then "eating the god" of his own tribe, and thus not only committing a terrible sacrilege against his protecting deity, but probably bringing down upon his leader the wrath of heavenly beings whose essential sacredness had been conveyed to the food by the touch of the chief. That is the reason why the chief himself would feel violent personal anger at his tapu being broken by the act of an inferior. If a chief made a thing tapu, a canoe, for instance, by touching it and saying "This is my head" such prohibition was only held binding on lesser men; if some more powerful noble came and wished for the canoe he would take it, disregarding the tapu of the other, very much as if he had said "This fellow's position in regard to the gods is nothing compared with mine," but of course he might have to maintain such superiority at the point of the spear. It must not be inferred in all cases that this "eating the god" was sacrilege. The act of partaking of the flesh and blood of the tribal deity is the soul of most savage religions, but such a communion must be a "communion of saints," that is, of people prepared by proper ceremonies and at a certain time to undertake the solemn office. It must not be done accidentally or carelessly, if so, such an act is sacrilege, that is, it is tapu.

Sometimes when traveling at night a Maori would carry in his hand either some cooked food or a firebrand from a cooking fire as a protection, because spirits disliked cooked food very much. If a spirit was to touch such food and it was afterwards eaten it would be as though the spirit himself had been eaten. The priests, especially the priest-chiefs (*ariki*) had the power of releasing from tapu and making things common (*noa*) again; if this could not have been done the laws of tapu would have been too heavy to be borne, and all social life must have ceased. As it was, it was almost impossible not to infringe this dreaded custom, even if scrupulous and pious care was taken. The annoyance was almost as great for the sacred person as for the sinner although not so unpleasant or perhaps fatal in its consequences. Thus, the chief must eat in the open air, whatever the weather, so as not to tapu a house; must not eat from a plate (really a little woven basket) that another shared or that another might afterwards use; must gather up all scraps and take them away to some tapu spot lest another consume them. He could not drink from a vessel if it was probable that the lips of another would approach that vessel, so he had to hold his hand curved upwards below his lower lip whilst water was poured from a calabash into his mouth. The head and back of a chief were peculiarly sacred and he had to be careful not to leave his comb or hair fillet or shoulder mat in any place where a common person could touch them. If anyone touched the sacred head it was a dire offense (the god Rauru dwelt in the hair; *rauru* or *laulu* is a Polynesian word for "hair" or "head") and even if another relative equally sacred was to do so (to comb or cut the hair of an aristocratic infant, for instance) he would be tapu till the next day when the purifying ceremony (*horoboronga*) would proceed. This ceremony was not complicated. A

new sacred fire was kindled by friction and fern root cooked thereon by some "unprohibited" person. The food was then rubbed over the disqualified hands and afterwards eaten by the female head of the family. The children of well-born people often suffered much from vermin because the head of a chief's son could not be touched except by a person of rank. A tapu child might on no account be washed.

Mention has been made concerning the head of a chief being sacred and not to be touched, but, more than this, it could not even be mentioned or alluded to casually, nor could it pass under food. Touching the sacred head constituted one of the causes of the offenses or sins called *morimori*, and would demand a *taua* or hostile demonstration (*muru*) in which goods would be plundered or land taken. A tapu could be broken by one's own son because he was of higher rank than his father.[1] If the son of a chief went upon the roof of a house and was unrecognized his father would ask in horror and indignation "Who dares to get above my sacred head?" but if he found it was his son, it did not matter. A chief if invited to stay and have food at a village would probably do so if he was invited on his approach. If, however, the inhabitants had not seen him till he had passed the place and then sent a message asking him to return and eat he would feel insulted, saying that "they had invited the back of his head." He fancied that such food would kill his people because it had been given to the sacred back of a chief's head and such food was fit for the gods or highly tapu people only.

If the shadow of a great ariki fell across a food store (*whata*) or a food pit (*rua*) the contents became tapu and had to be destroyed; therefore his presence in a village was watched with great anxiety. If a chief blew on a fire with his breath the fire became *tapu*, if he went into a cooking shed the action would make it useless and it would have to be destroyed. Of course such an action as that last spoken of would have its counter-effect on the chief, and have to be atoned for. Sometimes this power of tapu would be used benignantly as in the case of a chief throwing his mat over a prisoner, who would thereupon become tapu and his life spared. Priests were especially sacred, and should a priest in drinking let fall some of the water from his hand (he never used a cup, always being tapu) that place was *tapu* and the length of time it so remained depended on the quantity of water spilt. Anything given to him had to be laid before him, not handed to him, lest the proffering hand might have held cooked food. He would not eat food cooked in a large oven, nor light his fire from a large fire—these were common (noa). If people traveling came across a shed wherein a priest had stopped they would take some of the firebrands left by him and make a fire therewith, then in this fire the sticks of the shed could be used as firewood, but only thus could the tapu be removed. No one would pass behind a priest; that would make the offender tapu. It was only in war that a priest would lead his men and the tapu of his god was supposed to be in front.

[1] [The child ranked higher because the mana was hereditary and was supposed to be cultivated and increased from generation to generation through its exercise and the observation of appropriate rites.]

A tapu person not being allowed to feed himself sometimes great mischief was wrought by disobedience to this rule. When Tutanekai, the celebrated lover of Hinemoa, was baptized, his father called upon the priest Te Murirangaranga to perform the duty. This was done, but before the priest had completed his purification he was seen one day gathering and eating *poroporo* berries. This was a deadly insult to the baby he had baptized, therefore the child's father, Whakaue, had the priest (*tohunga*) drowned, it not being lawful to shed a priest's blood. Of the arm bone of the victim a flute was made and given to Tutanekai, who became very proficient thereon, and afterwards charmed the heart of the celebrated beauty Hinemoa with the melody evoked from the arm-bone of Te Murirangaranga.

Of course a chief's house was tapu, and on one occasion the people of a village became tapu from eating the wild cabbage which had grown on the site once occupied by a chief's house. If rain from the roof of a sacred dwelling, such as a chief's house, fell into a vessel and anyone drank the water he would die unless a certain invocation (*tupeke*) was recited by a priest. The tapu was a very convenient thing, in spite of its immense drawbacks and constrictions, in making private small personal effects such as ornaments, dress, etc. Often if an ariki or other person of eminence got tired of an old garment it was burnt or thrown into some inaccessible place lest a common person should get hold of it and become tapu. Each village had a piece of ground (*wahitapu*) reserved for placing thereon tapu property, such as scraps of a chief's food, clothing, etc.

Beside what one might call the lesser or closely personal tapu there was another kind which carried an assertion of rights such as "lords of the manor" might exert with us. The right to stop traffic on a river or through a forest would often be exercised, apparently as an outward show of authority, though at great inconvenience to other people. The person who could do this, by such act showed himself a great lord, whereas without the tapu power he would be a mere common fellow. This variety of tapu appeared to be not so much a religious force, appertaining to chiefs as descended from the gods, as it was an evidence of territorial power showing that they were nobles and aristocrats. Often this was done by means of a *rahui*, that is, by putting up a pole with a bunch of rags or leaves fastened thereon. A road was made tapu by placing a stick or branch across it. A bit of flax tied to a door secured it and the valuables within.

All fruit, roots, etc., growing in sacred places were tapu. In great fishing expeditions all those engaged in making or mending nets were tapu, so also was the ground on which the nets were made, and the river on whose banks work went on—no canoe being allowed to pass on it. No fire might be lighted for cooking purposes within a prescribed distance from net workers, and it was not until the regulation ceremonies were finished, the net wetted, and a fish taken and eaten by the owner of the net, that the tapu was lifted. . . .

Not only was the chief's house tapu on account of his sacredness, so that he could not even eat food himself therein, but every house was to be avoided in reference to some of its parts. A person could become tapu by sitting on the inner threshold (*paepae-poto*) of a house. The walls of a house were particularly shunned as a support or leaning place by natives of any standing, and great care was taken to keep a space between a chief's back and the wall. This was not only on account of the house thereby being rendered useless through their sacredness, but because they themselves would acquire the unclean tapu. The walls of a house were apt to be infected by malignant infant spirits (*kahukahu*). If a chief of exalted rank entered an ordinary house the passage of his sacred head beneath the door lintel would probably ensure the destruction of the house, but if the building was of value it could be redeemed by certain ceremonies being performed to make it "common" once more.

The tapu for touching a dead body (except in case of war) was the worst kind of the defiling tapu. There was generally in every village some person (*kai tango atua*) who was almost continuously unclean from handling the dead; silent, solitary, daubed with red ocher, he lived as an outcast almost as a leper. He took the displeasure of deities or malignant spirits upon himself, and so was victim or scapegoat for the whole community.

The infringement of tapu was not only a spiritual offense, but sometimes produced actual physical consequences. Thus it is related that on account of common men taking some palm leaves from the sleeping shed of a priest who was engaged in important funeral obsequies an epidemic disease broke out that carried off two hundred warriors. Consumption or a wasting (*kaikoiwi*) of bodily strength was a sign of having offended the gods. The physical consequences of broken tapu have been noted in numberless individual instances. Death would almost certainly ensue if a common man found, for instance, that he had cooked his food with timber from some tapu place, whether it was a fragment of a house once dwelt in by a chief, or twigs from a tree in among the branches of which the bones of a dead person had once been deposited. The story is told that a certain tribe killed and ate the favorite dog of the chief's wife; the way the tapu punished them was that thereafter the members of the tribe became doglike in speech, and that when they are talking it sounds like the *au, au, au* of a barking dog. A slave when cooking birds for his master burnt his fingers and foolishly put them in his mouth. This was a wicked action and was instantly punished. If a person was struck by lightning it was a sign that some rule of tapu had been broken, and that the god Tupai (one of the lightning deities) had punished the offender.

The variety of tapu called *tapa* consisted in transferring personal sanctity to an inanimate thing by calling it after a part of oneself. Thus if a chief said, "That mountain is my backbone," or, "That canoe is my head," the mountain or canoe would acquire the sanctity of the part named. Sometimes a mountain or river would be "named" (tapa) for an ancestor, and thus become sacred. The name (or a syllable of a name)

belonging to a chief was not allowed to be used in common conversation lest a reference should be inferred to the chief himself. Thus if a chief's name was Upokoroa, "Long-head," the word *upoko* for "head" would be dropped by his followers, or by those who had reason to be careful, and synonyms such as *pane* or *uru* or *mahunga* used instead. If a chief had a long life the tapu word would almost drop out of recollection, and this accounts for much of the difference in dialects found between certain tribes.[1]

In addition to the routine tapus there were special periodic enforcements of unusual severity and often of great duration. Referring especially to Hawaii, Ellis says:

The seasons generally kept *tabu* were, on the approach of some great religious ceremony; immediately before going to war; and, during the sickness of chiefs. Their duration was various, and much longer in ancient than modern times. Tradition states, that in the days of Umi there was a tabu kept thirty years, during which the men were not allowed to trim their beards, etc. Subsequently, there was one kept five years. Before the reign of Tamehameha, forty days was the usual period; during it, ten or five days, and sometimes only one day. In this respect, the tabus, or seasons of restriction, in Hawaii, appear to have exceeded those of the South Sea Islands; the longest season of prohibition, in Huahine, known to the natives, was the rahui of Mohono, which lasted ten or twelve years. It was during this period that the hogs became so numerous and large, that they destroyed all the *feis*, or mountain plantains, excepting those growing on the summits of the highest mountains.

The tabu seasons were either common or strict. During a common tabu, the men were only required to abstain from their usual avocations, and attend at the *heiau* when the prayers were offered every morning and evening. But, during the season of strict tabu, every fire and light on the island or district must be extinguished; no canoe must be launched on the water, no person must bathe; and, except those whose attendance was required at the temple, no individual must be seen out of doors; no dog must bark, no pig must grunt, no cock must crow—or the tabu would be broken, and fail to accomplish the object designed. On these occasions, they tied up the mouths of the dogs and pigs, and put the fowls under a calabash, or fastened a piece of cloth over their eyes. All the common people prostrated themselves, with their faces touching the ground, before the sacred chiefs, when they walked out, particularly during tabu; and neither the king nor the priests were allowed to touch any thing—even their food was put into their mouths by another person.[2]

In Africa, in addition to the more prevalent fetish containing magical power, there is a conception that kings incorporate spiritual

[1] Tregear, E., *The Maori Race*, 192–201 (A. D. Willis. By permission).

[2] Ellis, W., *Polynesian Researches during a Residence of Nearly Eight Years in the Society and Sandwich Islands*, **4**: 387–388.

power and are in fact divinities. As such they are held responsible for plentiful rain, abundant crops, increase in cattle, and the general prosperity of the country, and with signs of physical decline they are killed in order to secure more potent representatives. Among the Nilotic Shilluk, Nyakang is the divinity incarnated by the king, and Dr. and Mrs. Seligman record the traditional reports of the custom and of the manner of the death of the king:

> The *reth* [king] of the Shilluk must be numbered among those rulers whom Sir James Frazer has called "divine kings," and though, as in many instances in other countries, every precaution is taken against accidental death, the Shilluk kings are (or were) killed in order to avoid those disasters which their senescence was thought to bring upon the state.
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> Although there is no doubt that the kings of the Shilluk were killed ceremonially when they began to show signs of old age or ill-health, it is extremely difficult to ascertain exactly what was done, and a good deal of Shilluk folklore is enshrined in the accounts commonly given of the killing of the reth. According to these, any royal son (*nyireth*) had the right to attempt to kill the king, and if successful to reign in his stead. The killing could only take place at night, for during the day the king would be surrounded by his friends and bodyguard and no aspiring successor would have the least chance of harming him. At night the king's position was very different; alone in his enclosure with his wives, and with no men to protect him except a few herdsmen whose huts were situated at a little distance, he was represented as passing the night in constant watchfulness, prowling fully armed, peering into the shadows or standing silent and watchful in some dark corner. Then, when at last his rival appeared, the fight would take place in grim silence, broken only by the clash of spear and shield, for it was said to be a point of honor for the reth not to call for help.
>
> Though many commoners will give some such account there is no reason to suppose that the above represents what really happened during the recent period before the Mahdia. It is, however, probable that these tales reproduce with tolerable fidelity a state of affairs that once existed among the Shilluk. Two survivals of the conditions outlined may indeed persist: the sleepy condition of king Fadiet on the few occasions on which we saw him may really have been due, as was said, to his keeping awake at night and sleeping only by day, and the sham fights which take place during the complicated ceremonial of the consecration of a new king may represent former battles.
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> In recent times the leading part in the killing of the reth has been assigned to the *ororo*, the descendants of the brothers of Ocalo, the fifth king of the Shilluk. It is generally believed among well-informed Shilluk that their sixth king, Duwad, was first killed ceremonially, but according to one account Tugo, the tenth king, was the first to suffer. Reliable information concerning the actual killing of the reth during recent times

is not forthcoming. It is said that the ororo and some of the chiefs announce his fate to him, after which he is taken to a hut specially built for the occasion and strangled. The reasons determining the ororo to act are said to be the ill-health of the reth, or his incapacity to satisfy his many wifes, which is regarded as an undoubted sign of senescence. Concerning this there are two popularly received accounts. One states that his wives would themselves strangle the reth, but we believe this to be incorrect; the other is to the effect that the wives notify their husband's shortcomings to some of the chiefs, who tell them to indicate to the reth his approaching death. It is widely believed that this is done by spreading a piece of cloth over his face and over his knees as he lies sleeping during the afternoon.

Ignoring these discrepancies and recent practice, there is little doubt that the old custom was to take the reth and one nubile maiden (or possibly two) to a specially built hut, the opening of which was then walled up so that the inmates, left without water or food, died of starvation and suffocation. This practice was said to have been given up some five generations ago on account of the suffering of the reth, who was so distressed by the stench from his companion's body that he shouted to the people outside the hut commanding them on no account to leave his successor to die slowly in such a manner.[1]

Similar practices have been reported by Dornan from South African tribes:

Amongst the Varozwe the custom of killing the king prevailed. Absence of bodily blemishes was considered absolutely necessary in the occupant of the throne. If a candidate for the kingly office had any such defects, he was passed over in favor of someone else. Even when in full possession of his powers he was sometimes not allowed to reign very long. If he showed any signs of physical decay, such as loss of teeth, grey hairs, failure of sight, or impotency—in fact, any of the indications of advancing age—he was put to death, and a man was deputed to carry the resolution into effect. He was waylaid on a path and strangled with a thong of cowhide. I have heard it asserted that any man who saw the king declining in strength had the right to kill him, but I am not sure if this is true.

Regarding the Zulu custom of king killing, Isaacs, a contemporary of Chaka, and a trader at his court, says that the Zulus were accustomed to put their kings to death when they showed symptoms of failing powers, such as the appearance of grey hairs, wrinkles, or loss of teeth, and that Chaka was very angry with him because he could not give him a specific to prevent the approach of these signs of infirmity, as it would be an indication to him to quit this sublunary world, it being always followed by the death of the monarch. I have not found any other reference to this custom among the Zulus in contemporary literature. Neither

[1] Seligman, C. G. and B. Z., *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, 90–92 (George Routledge & Sons. By permission).

Callaway nor Bryant mention it in their accounts of Zulu customs. Isaacs was, however, a trustworthy observer, and he is not likely to have been mistaken.[1]

Dos Santos, a Portuguese traveler writing in 1607 of the Sofala, a Southern Bantu tribe, says:

It was formerly the custom of the kings of this land to commit suicide by taking poison when any disaster or natural physical defect fell upon them, such as impotence, infectious disease, the loss of their front teeth by which they were disfigured, or any other deformity or affliction. To put an end to such defects they killed themselves, saying the king should be free from any blemish, and if not it was better for his honor that he should die and seek another life where he would be made whole, for there everything was perfect. But the Quiteve who reigned when I was in those parts would not imitate his predecessors in this, being discreet and dreaded as he was; for having lost a front tooth, he caused it to be proclaimed throughout the kingdom that all should be aware that he had lost a tooth and should recognize him when they saw him without it, and if his predecessors killed themselves for such things they were very foolish, and he would not do so; on the contrary, he would be very sorry when the time came for him to die a natural death, for his life was very necessary to preserve his kingdom and defend it from his enemies; and he recommended his successors to follow his example.[2]

Meek's more recent account of the custom among the Jukun of Nigeria is essentially the same, with only variations in the details of procedure, and the pattern has thus a wide distribution in Africa. He says:

Being a god it may never be said of him that he is ill; and if serious illness overtook him he was quietly strangled, it being said that it would cause confusion among the people if the groans of the king in illness were overheard. . . . It is not proper to refer to his "body" or to imply that he has an ordinary human body. A special word (*juwe*) is used instead, with the significance of the kingly personality. This term has also the meaning of the royal fiat or ordained word, and approximates therefore to the "creative voice" of the Egyptian Pharaoh. The king's body is believed to be charged with a divine dynamism which communicates itself to everything he touches. The most potent oath, therefore, that a Jukun can take is to swear by the couch, mat, or even slippers of the king. For in taking the oath the litigant or accused is required to place his hand on the mat or couch, and if he has falsely sworn it is believed that he will be struck dead as though killed by an electric shock. It is fatal for any

[1] Dornan, S. S., "The Killing of the Divine King in South Africa," *South African Jour. of Sci.*, **16**: 397.

[2] Theal, G. M., *Records of South-Eastern Africa*, **7**: 194–195.

Jukun to sit down on, or even accidentally to step on, the king's mat. Clapperton records in 1827, that when he was visited by the daughter of the king of Kaiama she would not sit down on his carpet or mat, as her father had previously done so. . . . He lived a life of complete seclusion, in consonance with his character as a son of the gods. For the same reason also no Jukun king may smoke tobacco; nor may he look on a corpse, for he has no part in death. . . . He is not, and apparently never was, expected to be a leader of victorious armies, but he is expected to secure in his time a regular succession of rich harvests, and by his ability to do so is adjudged to be a true son of god. He is identified with the crops, and is addressed as *azaiwo* (our guinea corn), *afyewo* (our ground nuts) or *asoiwo* (our beans) just as in ancient Egypt the Pharaoh was addressed by the title of "our crop" and "our harvest." . . .

It is not possible to give full and accurate details of the ritual of the killing and burial of the king, as these are only known to a few officials; or it might be more correct to say that parts of the ritual are known to particular officials, and parts to other particular officials, it being tabu and dangerous for one official to breathe to another a single syllable of the secret duty pertaining to his office. Even the king himself is ignorant of some parts at least of the procedure. The following account is based partly on hearsay and partly on such details as were revealed by persons who had official or accidental knowledge of the ritual.

When the king became sick, or infirm, or broke any of the royal tabus, or proved himself unfortunate, he was secretly put to death. Whether any king was, in the olden days, permitted to die a natural death cannot now be known, but it is noteworthy that many Jukun kings are said to have reached a hoary old age, so that mere old age was not in itself considered a sufficient cause for the ritual murder of the king. The mode of killing was by strangulation with a string or piece of cloth. It is never suggested that the Jukun kings, like those of the Yoruba and of Meroe, were invited to commit suicide, but it is possible that the stories of Jukun kings calling on trees or the earth to open and swallow them is to be interpreted in this way. Those appointed to commit the murder entered the palace at night having previously suborned the Aku Nako, Kato and Iche to assist, if not to take the principal part in the murder. The two executioners tied a noose of cloth round the neck of the sleeping king, and going off in different directions pulled the cloth until the king was strangled. It is said that if the king woke up and attempted to summon assistance the executioners reminded him that they were but performing the ancestral custom and that it behooved the king to behave quietly, as his royal ancestors had done before him. Another method was for the conspirators to bore a hole in the wall of the king's sleeping apartment and pass a noose through to the king's wife, who fastened it round his neck, the conspirators then pulling on the noose from outside. The king could only be killed by strangulation for two reasons: (*a*) that the executioners might not look into the king's eyes as he died, for if they did his departing soul would slay them; and (*b*) that the king's blood

might not be spilt. It is also said that no one who had a claim to the throne might be present at the king's execution.[1]

The fate of the king in these cases is comparable with that of the African rain makers, who were frequently killed when they failed to bring relief in times of drought, and it is probable that the pattern was transferred, with modifications, to the divine kings.

[1] Meek, C. K., *A Sudanese Kingdom: An Ethnographical Study of the Jukun-speaking Peoples of Nigeria*, 127, 129, 165–166 (K. Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co. By permission).

Chapter XII

PUBERTY CEREMONIES

There are certain modifications and mutilations of the body which may be voluntarily undertaken and remain no more than personality expressions on the level of ornament and cosmetics, or they may accompany the long and often dangerous puberty ceremonies, entitled *rites de passage* by van Gennep, by which the older age levels of the tribe test, subordinate, and socialize the younger, and at the same time leave on their bodies marks symbolizing their classification as adults and their marriageability.

Two types of definition of the situation are evident, the one where the individual undertakes or submits to transformations of the person for the sake of distinction, as in tattooing, staining, filing, and knocking out of teeth, boring the nose or lips for the insertion of ornaments, self-inflicted wounds, especially among women, for the sake of producing raised patterns on the skin. In the other case the motivation is discipline and social organization undertaken by society, which may employ some of the individual practices, like cutting, in a more radical form, or circumcision, which are not on the cosmetic level.

Self-initiated scarification, for example, is thus described by Roscoe among an African cannibalistic tribe, the Bagesu, where the women carry the instruments of beautification constantly and improve their appearance gradually:

> Women scarify their bodies freely, from the breasts to the pit of the stomach and also on the forehead, thus forming rows of small almond-shaped swellings. These are produced before initiation and their production is a painful and often prolonged operation. Those on the stomach a girl usually makes herself, while those on the forehead are made for her. The instrument used for making the sacrifications is an iron hook some four inches long, a quarter of an inch thick and bent to a crescent. One end is beaten fine to a needle point, the other end has a ring to slip on the finger to carry it on the back of the hand when not in use. The flesh is pinched up between the thumb and finger and the hook run through it. This is done in several places at a time and fine wood ashes are rubbed over to stop the bleeding; the wounds heal, leaving raised flesh.[1]

[1] Roscoe, J., *The Northern Bantu*, 165 (Cambridge University Press. By permission).

Among the Bari, on the other hand, society has taken charge of the cicatrization, which is performed in five periods, at intervals, between the ages of fifteen and twenty as preliminary and essential to marriage:

> No girl may marry unless she has been initiated [in this way]; the failure to comply with this custom is supposed to hinder fecundity in the wife, or to cause the death of the children, if not of the mother.[1]

In the case of males the cutting may be carried to a point falling just short of death, as shown by the following report of Crazzolara on the practice of the Neuer, an African Nilotic tribe:

> A depression is made in the ground to hold the boy and a hoop of grass is placed under his head. . . . The operator squats on the right side of the head. He places the knife in the middle of the forehead and draws it above the eyebrow to well toward the middle of the right ear. Blood vessels and all are cut down to the bone. This is the principal cut and the most painful. About a centimeter higher comes the second, and then the others, in all six. [The left side is cut in the same way.] When the skin is thus completely severed from the forehead it frequently drops down somewhat and a broad skinless space appears.
>
> The loss of blood in the operation is frightful, often dangerous to life. On that account great care is exercised with the patients. After the operation the boys are carried, often unconscious, by men into a neighboring hut, care being taken that the head shall be moved as little as possible. . . . The patient must lie on his back for several days and keep the head immovable to prevent the recurrence of bleeding. . . . When the candidate is obliged to sit up or rise, the head must not be inclined forward or sidewise but bent backwards. The first twenty-four hours are the most critical. Not infrequently an old man who watches during the night or comes early in the morning finds a boy unconscious or even in the throes of death.
>
> Care is exercised in the selection of the boy for the first operation of the series. Sometimes an older and larger boy applies for the honor. If he shows fortitude the others will follow his example and will not have to be held forcibly. Usually the feeling of honor prevails over the frightful pain, especially when the boys are older, and they remain quiet and silent under the knife.[2]

The modification of the mouth by filing, chipping, staining, or removing the teeth was apparently first, like scarification, for beauty and distinction but was not capable of being stepped up progressively to higher pain levels, as was the case with scarification. It was, however, employed in some African tribes as the

[1] Spagnolo, L. M., "Some Notes on the Initiation of Young Men and Girls in the Bari Tribe," *Africa*, 5: 398.

[2] Crazzolara, P., "Die Gar-Ceremonie bei den Neuer," *Africa*, 5: 28–33 (résumé).

main feature of the initiation ceremonies. Among the Bakitara the ceremony consisted of the removal of

> the six front teeth in the lower jaw. . . . The operation marked . . . [the boy] as fit to marry, and until he had undergone this he was not admitted into the adult membership of the clan.[1]

Other tribes remove the upper teeth, and Livingstone relates that an invading Makololo chief was unable to suppress the practice among the Batoka tribes:

> All the Batoka tribes follow the curious custom of knocking out the upper front teeth at the age of puberty. This is done by both sexes; and though the under teeth, being relieved from the attrition of the upper, grow long and somewhat bent out, and thereby cause the under lip to protrude in a most unsightly way, no young woman thinks herself accomplished until she has got rid of the upper incisors. This custom gives all the Batoka an uncouth, old-man-like appearance. Their laugh is hideous, yet they are so attached to it that even Sebituane was unable to eradicate the practice. He issued orders that none of the children living under him should be subjected to the custom by their parents, and disobedience to his mandates was usually punished with severity; but, notwithstanding this, the children would appear in the streets without their incisors, and no one would confess to the deed.[2]

Where the attention and cutting are directed toward the sex organs a number of procedures are distinguishable: (1) a simple incision of the lower or upper surface of the prepuce in boys, (2) circumcision, or the removal of the prepuce by a circular cut, (3) the unique operation of subincision in some Australian tribes, where the whole length of the glans is split to the middle on the lower surface and remains open throughout life, and (4) sacrificial or consecrational castration or ablation of the sex organs. There are also forms of self-attention in this direction, seen in the latitudinal piercing of the male organ for the insertion of a small wooden or metal cylinder or a ring,[3] and in the self-amplification of girls, beginning sometimes in early childhood, under the instruction and with the assistance of old women, involving the destruction of the hymen and taking also the direction of the enlargement of the labia (Hottentot apron) in a fashionable way.[4]

Incision is practiced widely among the Polynesians, but it is without formalities and may have no more than a hygienic and convenient meaning:

[1] Roscoe, J., *The Bakitara or Banyoro*, 261 (Cambridge University Press. By permission)
[2] Livingstone, D., *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*, 571.
[3] Kennedy, R., *The Ethnology of the Greater Sunda Islands*, 367–368 (manuscript).
[4] Torday, E., "The Principles of Bantu Marriage," *Africa*, **2**: 257.

In all the main Polynesian groups with the exception of New Zealand, subincision of the foreskin of boys was the custom; but this operation was performed at any time from infancy to full manhood. . . . The point of view of the Marquesans and probably of the other Polynesians also with regard to the cutting of the foreskin appears to have been practical rather than ceremonial: it was considered a useful, if not necessary, physical operation.[1]

[In Tonga] supercision was regarded as a sign of manhood and any youth who declined to be operated upon would be forbidden to eat with the other members of the household, must not touch another's food, and would be spurned by the girls. An uncircumcised person is called *kou* or *taetefe*.[2]

This slight operation would have been a natural starting point for the elaboration of a painful initiatory ritual but initiation in the sense of raising the youth to a higher age level by painful ceremonies (except through stages of tattooing) was not developed, presumably on account of the tabu system:

The absence of anything that might be called initiation rites that ushered boys into manhood is due to the fact that in Polynesia a boy left the company of women and was accepted into association with men at weaning, when the food tabu that required men to eat apart from women was laid upon him. The Polynesian boy became a man when he began to eat the food of men, not at adolescence.[3]

Previous definitions of the situation thus stood in the way of stepping up the custom as a test of fortitude. But among the Nandi of eastern Africa, where the age grade system is prevalent, circumcision of the classical Semitic type is practiced with the addition of an excruciating secondary feature:

The operator, who is called *poiyot-ap-tum*, kneels in front of the boy, and with a deft cut of the *kipos* [knife] performs the first part of the operation, the foreskin being drawn forward and severed in front of the tip of the glans penis. The boy's face is carefully watched by the surrounding crowd of warriors and old men to see whether he blinks or makes a sign of pain. Should he in any way betray his feelings, he is dubbed a coward and receives the nickname of *kipite*. This is considered a great disgrace, and no kipite may ever attend another circumcision festival or be present at children's dances. . . . This done, all the friends and relations make merry whilst the second part of the operation is performed, at which only barren women and women who have lost several brothers or sisters in quick succession may be present. The skin of the penis is retracted well back, and the inner covering of the glans is slit up, peeled off, and cut

[1] Handy, E. S. C., "Polynesian Religion," *Bernice P. Bishop Mus., Bull.*, **34**: 223, 224.
[2] Gifford, E. W., "Tongan Society," *Bernice P. Bishop Mus., Bull.*, **61**: 187.
[3] Handy, *op. cit.*, 223.

away behind the corona. The skin is next pulled tightly over the glans, and a transverse slit is made on its dorsal surface about half an inch long and about the same distance from its bleeding edge. Through this slit the glans is pushed, and the final stage of the operation is the trimming away of the resulting pucker of skin thus formed. During this part of the operation many boys collapse from the pain. Only cold water is administered to the lacerated parts.[1]

The Australians, while one of the lowest races, have the most complicated practices. The Arunta, for example, have ceremonies for boys beginning about the age of nine and continuing at intervals to the age of twenty-five or thirty. They have scarification (which is decorative and self-imposed), then circumcision, then subincision, in addition to fire ordeals, imposition of food tabus, head biting, long mythological instruction, etc. Australia is the most pronounced gerontocracy in the world and the older men use all conceivable rituals over a long period of time for the subordination of the younger men. It is notable, however, that usually, in Australia, where circumcision and subincision are practiced the teeth are not knocked out.

Subincision, which is described by Roth for Queensland as "the permanent opening up of a more or less considerable extent of the penile portion of the urethra by incision commencing at the external urinary meatus,"[2] is not so dangerous as the *gar* operation of the Neuer, but Roth reports that in the Queensland region the anticipation of the operation causes a number of young men to emigrate to other localities:

> No females, and no males who have not already been themselves introcised [subincised] are on any account allowed to witness the ordeal, the sight of which would probably confirm any determination on their part to exile themselves with a view to escaping it: thus, in the Cloncurry District, I came here and there across an appreciable number of Pitta-Pitta and other Boulia Districts males, who admittedly had left their own tribe on this account.[3]

On the other hand, Spencer and Gillen report that there is a rivalry for distinction in this respect among the Arunta:

> It frequently happens that as soon as the operation has been performed on an *arakurta* [youth between circumcision and subincision] one or more of the other men present, who have been operated on before, stand up and voluntarily undergo a second operation. In such cases the men do not consider that the operation has been carried far enough . . .

[1] Hollis, A. C., *The Nandi: Their Language and Folk-lore*, 54–55 (Clarendon Press. By permission).
[2] Roth, W. E., *Ethnological Studies among the North-West-Central Queensland Aborigines*, 177.
[3] *Ibid.*, 177–178.

and some come forward a third time, though a man is often as old as thirty or thirty-five before he submits to this second operation.[1]

In connection with these severe male mutilations there is a tendency to introduce corresponding features as applied to girls. This is the case in both the Arunta and the Queensland tribes:

> When a girl arrives at marriageable age, which is usually about fourteen or fifteen, the man to whom she has been allotted speaks to his *unkulla* men [sons of father's sisters] and they, together with men who are *unkulla* and *anua* [possible husband] to the girl, but not including her future husband, take her out into the bush and there perform the operation called *Atna-arilta-kuma*. . . . The operation is conducted with a stone knife.[2]

The ceremony for girls in Queensland differs from that of the Central Australians, being an amplification without cutting. In neither case is it an initiation rite, but this practice on girls is always in a group practicing male subincision, never elsewhere.

Subincision occurs only in Australia, but frequently the so-called circumcision of girls in other tribes (removal of clitoris and sometimes labia) parallels the circumcision of boys. This is the case among some Semitic and Hamitic tribes of southwest Asia, in many eastern, western, and southern African tribes,[3] among Malays, in Peruvian tribes, etc. Writing in 374 A.D., Bishop Ambrosius mentions a letter of an Egyptian father to the strategus Dionysos complaining that his daughter, of the age to be circumcised, refused to go through with the operation.[4] Among the Nandi the ceremony for girls is notable for requiring the same fortitude as is demanded in the painful operation of the boys:

> The test is a severe one. One ball of goat's dung is balanced on the girl's head, another on her knee, and a third on her big toe. If one of them falls to the ground, the girl is said to have flinched, and is considered a coward.[5]

The girl has been dressed in the clothes and bells of a warrior friend, and if she flinches these are thrown away.

Certain particular interpretations of the circumcision rite appear among African tribes. The Xosa have rationalized the practice in the following way:

[1] Spencer, B., and F. J. Gillen, *The Arunta*, **1**: 211 (The Macmillan Company. By permission).
[2] *Ibid.*, **2**: 472.
[3] Seligman, C. G., "Some Aspects of the Hamitic Problem in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan," *Jour. Anth. Inst.*, **43**: 593–705.
[4] Bryk, F., *Die Beschneidung bei Mann und Weib*, 235.
[5] Hollis, *op. cit.*, 59, note.

The prepuce, as covering of the urethra through which the semen passes, has magical effects which impede the process of reproduction, and impregnation by an uncircumcised person can result in no more than an incompletely developed human being.[1]

From the standpoint of reproduction it happens also that boys are not circumcised at all while the highest importance is attached to the corresponding cutting operation on girls. Without this a girl remains a girl all her life, never attains to the status and privileges of womanhood, and cannot bear a child save by incurring hatred and severe censure. The operation is a *rite de passage* during which a girl moves from irresponsible girlhood into the state of womanhood when she is privileged to bear a child and be the means of an ancestor finding reincarnation. It is also the mark of ownership which her future husband puts upon her, for he bears most of the heavy cost of the rites. The rites, too, form an occasion for the display of wealth, the girl's parents and her betrothed striving to spend as much as possible and thereby to gain social prestige.[2]

In Chap. XI the attempt of the Bakongo to unite the patrilineal and the matrilineal souls in the ruler of the tribe was described, and this was connected with the *ndembo* society. Bentley has described this society from another standpoint:

[When it is decided to initiate a number of people into the *ndembo* society] those who wish to enter the mystery are instructed by the doctor to feign sudden death at a sign from him. Accordingly, in some public place the novice falls down as though dead. Funeral cloth or a blanket is laid upon him; the doctor beats the ground round the 'dead' person with plantain stalks, and after singing, and gun firing, and dancing, he is borne away to the *vela* stockade outside the town. He is said to have "died ndembo." The singularly impressionable nature of the black race is evidenced by the strange manifestations of hysteria during the pseudo-revivals in Jamaica. In the same way it appears that when the ndembo doctor has induced a number of young people of both sexes to "die ndembo," the sight of the feigned deaths often induces a form of hysteria among other natives, who fall, and are actually carried off in a state of catalepsy. I have never seen it myself, but it has been so distinctly stated and described to me by natives, who would otherwise know nothing of such a condition, that there can be no doubt that such is the case.

Sometimes the novices may be few, twenty, or perhaps fifty, but we have heard of cases of two hundred people being initiated together.

In the vela they are supposed to decompose and decay, until but one bone of each novice is left in charge of the doctor. They remain in the vela for a term varying from three months to three years. No clothes

[1] Blohm, W., "Die Christliche Familien-Gemeinschaft im Xosa-Volkstum," *Africa*, **6**: 436.
[2] Welch, J. W., "The Isoka Tribe," *Africa*, **7**: 169–170.

are worn, for "there is no shame in ndembo"; the bodies of the novices are rubbed with red ocher, arnatto red, or powdered camwood. Both sexes live together, and the grossest immoralities are practiced; in this respect, however, some districts are worse than others, but the King of Congo, long before we went out to him, had prohibited the custom in the town of San Salvador, as too vile to be permitted; for the same reason it is not allowed in some other towns. These were, however, but a few exceptions; the vile and senseless custom was almost universal.

In the vela, an attempt is made to teach a secret language. The vocabulary is small, and very feeble in ingenuity. Some articles are called by fancy names, many being very simple in construction; the eye is called *nembweno*, "the possessor of sight"; the ear, *nengwila*, "the lord of hearing." Many words are obscured by adding the prefix *ne* to them, with *lwa* at the end of the word: *nediambulwa* = *diambu*, "a word." A few fancy verbs are substituted for the commonest actions, *yalala* = *kwenda*, "to go," and so forth. The common people are not allowed to see those undergoing the 'mystery'; a drum is beaten to warn off intruders when the initiates go to bathe or fetch firewood.

When the term appointed is at an end, preparations are made for the 'resurrection' of those who have "died ndembo." Parents and relatives have to make certain payments to the doctor, and the news is spread that, on a certain market day, there will be a grand resurrection at the market. All the countryside collects to the fete.

The initiates, now called *nganga*, "knowing ones," are clothed in fine cloths, sent by their friends, and are led with reddened skins in solemn procession to the market, and file two or three times round the crowd assembled. All have a tassel of palm fiber on their arms. After the march round, the mystery is complete, and mothers and friends hug the long-lost nganga. The nganga are instructed to pretend to know nobody and nothing. They appear dazed, and cannot talk. They want whatever they see, seize whatever takes their fancy; no one is allowed to resist, because "they do not know any better." They behave like lunatics, and pretend not to know how to eat; even food has to be masticated for them, so well do they act their part. After a few days the excitement and interest of the deception wears off, and they gradually resume intelligence. If anyone asks curious questions as to the land of the dead whence they have come, they stick a piece of grass behind their ears, and pretend to be perfectly unconscious of being addressed.[1]

The unique concentration of the Jews on circumcision as a political symbol is explicable as a feature of the struggle of a desert group, with a Canaan complex, seeking a place in the fertile crescent of Mesopotamia and at war with Egyptians, Hittites, Babylonians on their borders and with the Philistines and other groups within the borders. The early books of the Old Testament

[1] Bentley, W. H., *Pioneering on the Congo*, 1: 285–287 (London: The Religious Tract Society; New York: Fleming H. Revell & Company. By permission).

have numerous passages which may be viewed as propaganda of the rite, always associated with the promotion of the worship of Yahweh. In the covenant between Yahweh and Abraham (Genesis 17) circumcision is made the condition of tribal fertility, increase, and conquest. In Joshua 5: 2–9 a whole army is circumcised. The tavern brawl in Genesis 4: 24–26, where Yahweh is bent on killing Moses, is evidently a mutilated and not completely intelligible fragment of a longer narrative having the same propaganda value:

> And it came to pass by the way in the inn that the Lord met him and sought to kill him. Then Zipporah took a sharp stone and cut off the foreskin of her son and cast it at his feet, and said: "Surely a bloody husband art thou to me." Then he let them go.

It is known that "feet" in this connection, like "thigh" in Genesis 24: 2 and 32: 25, is a euphemism of the translators for "sexual parts," but it is not plain toward whose sexual organs the foreskin was cast. "His" is usually interpreted as referring to Moses, who was uncircumcised, having been born in Egypt and having spent his time in the wilderness, but the historian Meyer[1] has plausibly contended that the bloody foreskin was cast toward Yahweh himself, and that "you are now my bloodly husband" was a symbolism, a compulsive magical formula placating him.

Circumcision and other forms of sexual mutilation are only one form of the cutting and scarification which are marks of distinction and social classification. Circumcision became emphasized because it was painfully serious and impressive, and since initiation always contemplated marriage and usually immediately preceded it, the sex organs became the focus of attention and the practice became extraordinarily fashionable. Among Polynesians and Melanesians it remained on the fashionable level, but when, as among the Jews, Arabs, and others, it became a symbol of social unity it became also a burning political question which took on the bitter and compulsory aspects recorded in the Old Testament. The practice is by no means declining at the present time among native tribes, and its spread in Africa and elsewhere will be noticed in the chapter on the diffusion of patterns.

In Africa and Australia the initiation was partly designed to "break" the boy, and the justification of the drastic measures in the mind of the native is reflected in the name *Mbara-hanga*, "Where-can-I-break [something]" applied by the Chagga to the age grade of uncircumcised boys, indicating their turbulent char-

[1] Meyer, E., *Die Israeliten*, 59.

acter.[1] It will be understood nevertheless that the candidates did not consider themselves abused but rather as distinguished. The request to "cut deeper" has been mentioned among Australians, and Gutmann says that since some candidates frequently died during the long seclusion and harsh treatment, the boys were inclined to trample and kill some weakling of their number in order to impress the girls and mothers awaiting their return with the seriousness of what they had endured.[2]

Among the Indian tribes of America north of Mexico there was typically a marked respect for the individual, even the very young child. There were persuasive lectures on the desirability of attaining distinction, symbolizations in ceremonies of a praiseworthy course of life, and always in the mind of the Indian there was a background of dependence on spiritual aid. There was no circumcision,[3] no filing of teeth, no cutting of the body for the sake of scars. The puberty ceremonies were not a fixed feature for all of the same age level, but there was a gradual indoctrination pointed toward the spiritual rapport described in the preceding chapter, and the hardships undertaken in that connection were self-imposed.

Among the Omaha there were formal ceremonies introducing the child into the world and into the tribe:

> When a child was born it was not regarded as a member of its gens or of the tribe but simply as a living being coming forth into the universe, whose advent must be ceremonially announced in order to assure it an accepted place among the already existing forms. This ceremonial announcement took the form of an expression of the Omaha belief in the oneness of the universe through the bond of a common life power that pervaded all things in nature animate and inanimate. . . . [The details of the first ceremony introducing the child into the world, on the fourth day after birth, are not clear owing to the death of the priests who had charge of it. The second ceremony was called "turning the child."] All children, both boys and girls, passed through this ceremony, which is a survival of that class of ceremonies belonging to the lowest, or oldest, stratum of tribal rites; it is directly related to the cosmic forces—the wind, the earth, and the fire. Through this ceremony all the children who had reached the period when they could move about unaided, could

[1] Gutmann, B., *Das Recht der Dschagga*, 254.

[2] Gutmann, B., *Die Stammeslehren der Dschagga*, 1: 541.

[3] [In Mexico and Peru, apparently under priestly influence, a sacrificial consecration is reported involving ablation or circumcision, and the present circumcision of some neighboring tribes was presumably influenced from that source:

"Many tribes believed that circumcision denoted a symbolical sacrifice of sexuality, among others the Nicaraguans, and Yucatecs, the Guancuras, Hares and Dog-Ribs, and certain tribes of the Orinoco." —Spence, L., "Celibacy" in Hasting's *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*. *Cf.* Spence, *The Mythologies of Ancient Mexico and Peru*.]

direct their own steps, were symbolically "sent into the midst of the winds"—that element essential to life and health; their feet were set upon the stone—emblem of long life upon the earth and of the wisdom derived from age; while the "flames," typical of the life-giving power, were invoked to give their aid toward insuring the capacity for a long, fruitful, and successful life within the tribe. Through this ceremony the child passed out of that stage in its life wherein it was hardly distinguished from all other living forms into its place as distinctively a human being, a member of its birth gens, and through this to a recognized place in the tribe. As it went forth its baby name was thrown away, its feet were clad in new moccasins made after the manner of the tribe, and its *nikie* name was proclaimed to all nature and to the assembled people.

The significance of the new moccasins put on the child will appear more clearly by the light of the following custom, still observed in families in which all the old traditions of the tribe are conserved: When moccasins are made for a little baby, a small hole is cut in the sole of one. This is done in order that "if a messenger from the spirit world should come and say to the child, 'I have come for you,' the child could answer, 'I cannot go on a journey—my moccasins are worn out!'" A similar custom obtains in the Oto tribe. A little hole is cut in the first pair of moccasins made for a child. When the relatives come to see the little one they examine the moccasins, and, seeing the hole, they say: "Why, he (or she) has worn out his moccasins; he has traveled over the earth!" This is an indirect prayer that the child may live long. The new (whole) moccasins put on the child at the close of the ceremony of introducing it into the tribe constitute an assurance that it is prepared for the journey of life and that the journey will be a long one. . . .

The next stage in the life of the Omaha youth was marked by the rite known by the name of *nonzhinzhon*. The literal meaning of the word is "to stand sleeping"; it here implies that during the rite the person stands as if oblivious of the outward world and conscious only of what transpires within himself, his own mind. This rite took place at puberty, when the mind of the child had "become white." This characterization was drawn from the passing of night into day. It should be remembered that in native symbolism night is the mother of day; so the mind of the newborn child is dark, like the night of its birth; gradually it begins to discern and remember things as objects seen in the early dawn; finally it is able to remember and observe discriminatingly; then its mind is said to be "white," as with the clear light of day. At the period when the youth is at the verge of his conscious individual life, is "old enough to know sorrow," it was considered time that through the rite nonzhinzhon he should enter into personal relations with the mysterious power that permeates and controls all nature as well as his own existence. . . .

In preparation the youth was taught the following prayer, which was to be sung during the ordeal of the fast. It was known to every youth in the tribe, no matter what his gens. This prayer must be accepted, therefore, as voicing a fundamental belief of the entire Omaha tribe.

The music is in keeping with the words, being unmistakably an earnest invocation. . . .

Wakonda thethu wahpathin atonhe
Wakonda thethu wahpathin atonhe

Literal translation: *Wakonda,* the permeating life of nature and of man, the great mysterious power; *thethu,* here; *wahpathin,* poor, needy; *atonhe,* he stands, and I am he—a form of expression used to indicate humility. *Wakonda!* here, needy, he stands, and I am he.

This prayer was called *Wakonda gikon* (*gigikon,* "to weep from loss," as that of kindred, the prefix *gi* indicating possession; *gikon,* therefore, is to weep from the want of something not possessed, from conscious insufficiency and the desire for something that could bring happiness or prosperity). This prayer and the aspect of the suppliant, standing alone in the solitary place, with clay on his head, tears falling from his eyes, and his hands lifted in supplication, were based on anthropomorphic ideas concerning Wakonda. The Omaha conceived that the appeal from one so young and untried, who showed poverty and the need of help, could not fail to move the power thus appealed to. . . .

Four days and nights the youth was to fast and pray provided he was physically able to bear so long a strain. No matter how hungry he became, he was forbidden to use the bow and arrows put into his hands by his father when he left his home for this solitary test of endurance. When he fell into a sleep or a trance, if he saw or heard anything, that thing was to become a special medium through which the youth could receive supernatural aid. Generally with the sight of the thing came an accompanying cadence. This cadence was the song or call by which the man might summon aid in his time of need. The form, animate or inanimate, which appeared to the man was drawn toward him, it was believed, by the feeling of pity. The term used to express this impelling of the form to the man was *ithaethe,* meaning "to have compassion on." If the youth at this time saw a buffalo, it would be said: *Te ithaethe,* "the buffalo had compassion on him"; if he heard the thunder: *Ingthun ithaethe,* "the thunder had compassion." The vision, with its sacred call or song, was the one thing that the Omaha held as his own, incapable of loss so long as life and memory lasted. It was his personal connection with the vast universe, by which he could strengthen his spirit and his physical powers. He never gave the details of his vision to anyone, nor was it even casually spoken of; it was too sacred for ordinary speech.

When going forth to fast, the youth went silently and unobserved. No one accosted him or gave him counsel or direction. He passed through his experience alone, and alone he returned to his father's lodge. No one asked him of his absence, or even mentioned the fact that he had been away.[1]

[1] Fletcher, A. C., and F. la Flesche, "The Omaha Tribe," *Bur. Amer. Ethnol., Ann. Rep.,* **27**: 115–131, *passim.*

The prominence of vision seeking and the character of the visions were mentioned in the preceding chapter. The relation of the practice to puberty in a northern area is shown by Benedict, though, as she emphasizes, the vision seeking was in general frequently continued throughout life, especially in critical situations, such as preparation for war expeditions, etc.:

> The type picture of the North American guardian-spirit practices corresponds most nearly to the customs of the Plateau area, let us say the Thompson River Indians. There was here the isolation in the mountains at puberty, the long ceremonial purification, the intentness upon supernatural communication, and the acquisition of the name and power and song of the guardian spirit in a vision. For months or even years the youths carried out strict dietary regulations with frequent rigid fasts; purged themselves with medicine, and induced vomiting by pliant sticks; purified themselves by sweat bathing, followed by a plunge into the cold stream. There were no limitations of rank or ownership upon the experience or the tutelary spirits; the quest was open to and incumbent upon all the young men of the tribe.
>
> But the practices did not drive so straight to the mark as it might appear. The emphasis upon the rites of the adolescent girl and the adolescent boy was with the Thompson very nearly equal. In the boys' ceremonial the guardian-spirit idea was the dominant motive; in the girls', it was very nearly lacking. It was not that there was absolute sex tabu in the matter of tutelaries; girls might obtain a basket, a kettle, or a root digger, or, among the animals, a mountain goat. But these exceptions played little part in their adolescent rites, which were motivated by other ideas than the attainment of tutelaries. Yet both the boys' and the girls' puberty rites were in the main the expression of one idea—that "cleanness" and endurance at this period affected the adult life directly. Thus the girl sat in her seclusion lodge picking off the needles from great spruce branches, one by one, that she might never be lazy. Or, if she wished to grow taller, she cut her lodge pole long, and stretched herself by it, praying to the Dawn. The boy spent his time in activities of sympathetic magic that had a like import. Those who desired to become hunters practiced hunting and shooting in a ceremonial way; those who desired to become warriors performed mimic battles. The would-be gamblers played with gambling sticks. At night the youths made round holes in boulders with a jade adz to make their arms tireless and their hands dextrous.[1]

Wilson has recorded the narrative of Wolf-chief of the Hidatsa tribe describing the spiritual atmosphere of a hunting party, the impulse of one of its members to undergo self-torture, and his own determination, as a youth, to undertake it. This represents very

[1] Benedict, R. F., "The Concept of the Guardian Spirit in North America," *Amer. Anth. Assn., Mem.*, **29**: 10–11.

well the Indian employment of self-development in place of formal initiation:

My father hunted eagles, for he had great power in the black bears' prayers. He took me with him on an eagle hunt when I was fifteen years old. It was in September, the weather was warm, and the leaves were turning yellow. My father, Small-ankle, was leader of the party; other members were Short-bull, Mussel-necklace, Big-bull, Packs-moccasin, Worn-out, Took-away-a-gun, Porcupine-head, No-first-finger, Old-bear, and myself; and there were three women, Short-bull's wife, Lives-in-red-butte; Snake-woman, wife of Big-bull; Worn-out's wife (I think her name was Grasshopper-woman); and a lad of my own age, Short-bull's son, named Broom. . . .

It was now sunset and Small-ankle called, "We must now go to our camp and eat and then we must return to the lodge, for there are ceremonies I have not yet performed. Now I will appoint the officers.

"My helper will be Short-bull, who will sit next to me, on my right. I will appoint one to be Good-shooter after our return here from our supper. I will appoint Kuahawi to be *Ixtaki.*" Kuahawi was then my name for I was not yet called Wolf-chief; Ixtaki referred to the grizzly bear that in the beginning of the black-bear ceremonies was servant to the others.

The Hidatsa word for black bear is *hacida*, and this we do not recognize as a true bear. The latter is only the grizzly, which we call *naxpitsi.* The ceremonies were originated by the black bears (hacida); but only one, a grizzly (naxpitsi), was invited to be servant to the others. He fetched water, tended the fire, and looked after other such things. This servant was called Ixtaki. Ever afterwards in the black-bear ceremonies, the one appointed to take the grizzly's place and be servant to the others was called Ixtaki. Sometimes, in fun, I now say to my little son Paul, "Ixtaki, bring me my pipe." And I chuckle to myself, for he does not know what it means. . . .

"I want to suffer for the gods," said No-first-finger, when the hunters were gone. "I hear that one way is to pack into camp twelve loads of firewood on my back. I have heard that a man who does this will surely get what he wants afterwards. Explain to me how this should be done." "Good," said Small-ankle, "you are a man. That is a very sacred way to suffer." "I want to do so as soon as someone returns," said No-first-finger. "When a man suffers and fasts," said Small-ankle, "if he is seeking something, he will always get it. I am glad you wish to suffer so. Also I wish to have good fortune for myself. The gods will comfort you and give you your desire. I will pray them now to help you.

"Once a man named *Tsakakaatuc*, or Bird-head, brought in twelve loads of wood in eagle hunting time. Wood was scarce and he had to go a long way for it. He took off his moccasins, for he wanted to suffer and be pitied and helped by the gods. Barefoot, he sometimes stepped on cactus, but he did not feel the sharp spines, for his heart was very strong and the gods comforted him. He spent a whole day packing in

the loads of wood, and at sunset he felt quite weak. As he was returning to camp, he stumbled and fell, and found himself lying on a white buffalo robe on the prairie. It was no dream; the robe was real. Many men have seen things in visions, but this man had no vision; the robe was real. A white buffalo robe was hard to get and, of all things, most costly. When Bird-head got up there was no robe there; but a short time afterward he killed a white buffalo. Also several times later he killed white buffaloes; and he became a war party leader, struck enemies, and gained honor marks." . . .

When all had returned, No-first-finger said, "Old-male-black-bear, shall I eat or not? I want to suffer for the gods tonight. Shall I eat? What is the rule?" "You had better not eat," said Small-ankle. When the others heard of No-first-finger's vow, they said, "Good! You will suffer and get more mystery power, and so we shall catch more eagles."

To Good-shooter, No-first-finger now said, "I want to suffer and fast. I am going to fetch twelve loads of firewood. Pierce the flesh of my back with an arrow point in preparation for the fasting."

When No-first-finger first consulted Small-ankle, the latter had ordered him to go out and prepare twelve loads of firewood, each as large as a woman was able to carry. No-first-finger did so, going out in the morning and returning about noon. He had left the loads of wood ready to bring in, in various places about camp, in the timber, in the hills and elsewhere.

Good-shooter and his helper went outside the lodge and we all followed. No-first-finger knelt and rested his hands on the ground. Good-shooter took the flesh on each side of No-first-finger's back, between the forefinger and thumb of his left hand, and his helper grasped it likewise an inch or two away and, lifting the flesh in a ridge, Good-shooter inserted the arrow point. A hardwood skewer, four inches long, was thrust through the aperture and a thong of tent skin looped over the skewer and twisted to make it stay. A long rawhide thong dangled from the loop. The flesh on both sides of his back being thus treated, the two long thongs trailed behind, like the thongs of a carrying strap.

Meanwhile, No-first-finger wept and cried: "O gods, I am poor. I am suffering for you. I want my name to be great among my people. I want to be rich, not poor. Help me!"

Small-ankle now spoke: "Go out and bring in the loads of wood. The sticks are gathered in piles. When you come to a pile, kneel with your back to it. Slip the two rawhide ropes fastened to the flesh on either side of your back under the wood pile, like the ends of a carrying strap. Catch the two ends in your hands and draw them over your shoulders and pulling on the thongs, draw the wood up on your back. Rise, with the ends adjusted as a woman adjusts the ends of her carrying strap to carry her load. This will be the hardest part of your task and will make you suffer."

No-first-finger departed, weeping and crying, and the rest of us reentered the lodge.

"Good-shooter," called Small-ankle, "fill a pipe. I will pray to the gods for that faster." He did as bidden, observing the hunting lodge rules and not passing between the skull and the fire. He laid the pipe on the ground before Small-ankle. "Ixtaki," said the latter, "fetch coals." I did so, laying them in the incense place. Small-ankle laid sage on the coals, put on his snare necklace, took out his rattles, and shook them, singing for a long time. "I can help that young man. I can implore the gods for him," he cried as he ended. And he doffed his necklace and put away his rattles, first rubbing them up his arms, each rattle twice.

Small-ankle lighted the pipe with a coal I had brought. Pointing the stem toward his sacred bundle he prayed: "That young man is suffering for the gods of this lodge and for this sacred ceremony. He wants to catch eagles and receive a vision and have a revelation to help him. Help him all you can, O gods." He prayed a long time. He then smoked with Short-bull. The pipe was passed around to the right until it reached Good-shooter, who threw out the ashes and laid the pipe away.

Now we heard No-first-finger crying as he returned. The women, seeing him, began to weep also, for he was a brave young man. "Do not go outside," said Small-ankle to us in the lodge. "Remain within until No-first-finger has brought all his piles of wood to camp."

No-first-finger did not enter, but dropped his load of wood outside at the right of the lodge door, reckoning right and left as we Indians reckon. He went away again, crying. Again he brought in a load; by sunset he had fetched all twelve loads and dropped them outside, at the right of the door.

Good-shooter and his helper went outside and removed the skewers from the faster's back, for No-first-finger had called out, "Old-male-black-bear, all the loads have been brought." The three came into the lodge. The rest of us, going outside, saw a great pile of wood near the door.

I gave No-first-finger food and water. As he ate, Small-ankle looked at me as if he wanted to say something. "Ixtaki," he said at last, "you are now old enough to act like a man. You have seen how this one has suffered. Thus does one become great and see visions and receive power from the gods. Thus do men become chiefs and obtain power so that their lives are made estimable. Do you want to suffer in this way?" "I am willing to suffer now," I answered.

It was almost sunset. I asked for white clay to paint myself, as all fasters do. Good-shooter gave me a little bit. I got some water, stripped to my clout and moccasins, and rubbed the clay over my body. "Now," said Good-shooter, "we will go out on this hill [against which the lodge was erected] and bend down a young poplar, that we may hang you to it." . . .

Good-shooter prepared two skewers as he had done for No-first-finger, and took an arrow. "Now try to weep," he said. I tried hard

to do so; but my voice was just a boy's and I was a little frightened, though I tried hard to be brave.

Good-shooter and Mussel-necklace approached me. They measured my back so that the two skewers would be placed at even distances on either side. If not so placed the skewers would make me suffer much. One of the men wetted the tip of his finger in his mouth, and made a mark in the clay paint on my body. Then they lifted the skin, with thumb and forefinger, as in No-first-finger's case, and thrust the arrow through and put in the skewers. The incision on the left of my back was made first. When they were putting in the skewers, the muscles in my back drew up rigid and hard. A loop was drawn over each skewer. From each loop hung a heavy thong; two and a half feet from the loops the two thongs were united, forming a fork, from which ran a strong rawhide rope.

"We must now find a proper tree," said Good-shooter and his helper. They went out of the door. I followed, dragging the long rawhide rope. The two men felt of the trees in the gloom. "Here is a good one," said one, "let us bend it down." It was a young tree and one of the men bent it over. "Face the other way," they said. I turned my face toward the lodge. The men fastened the rawhide rope to the [top of the] tree. "Straighten your body; stand up," they cried as they released the tree.

The tree was quite strong, and its spring jerked me off my feet. "*Han, han, han!*" I cried, as I felt myself jerked off the ground. The skin over my breast was drawn so tightly I could not breathe. I could not open my eyes, but my ears were open and I could hear.

"Look out, he is going to die. Quick, let him down!" I heard one of the men cry. They bent the tree down and I opened my eyes, for I was now standing on the ground. "We have nearly killed this boy," I heard them say. "It is enough. We will take him back into the lodge."

I was weeping now, not as a brave man sobs, but like a big boy, "*Hun, hun, hun,*" or like a child being whipped. I was sobbing with the fright and pain. "Stop crying," said the two men. I grew quiet. We walked back and reentered the lodge, the other two preceding me.

They told Small-ankle what had happened. "You made a mistake," he said. "No one can stand being jerked up in the air like that, he would smother shortly. You should have bent down a small sapling or the limb of a tree; the boy could then have walked around on the ground at the end of his rope."

I donned my clothes. The wounds in my back felt like fire and my clothes made them burn worse. The hunters were now talking. I listened. We now had plenty of meat for they had killed nine buffaloes. Small-ankle began telling stories of the black bears. My back still pained and was getting no better. I lay down, but could not lie on my back. I lay on one side, then on the other, then prone on my breast. At last, I fell asleep.[1]

[1] Wilson, G. L., "Hidatsa Eagle Trapping," *Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., Anth., Pap.*, **30**: 142, 148–149, 179–185.

The Indian puberty ritual is thus distinguished by the fact that the painful features were voluntary, and that the adolescent preparation was introductory to the continuous seeking of a way of life. The ceremonial representations of this were often on an elevated level and sometimes not surpassed in their picturesque symbolism. Of a Pawnee ceremony Fletcher says:

> There is one aspect of the ritual, essential to its understanding, that was carefully explained by the *kurahus*, and the substance of many conversations on the subject follows. A man's life is an onward movement. If one has within him a determined purpose and seeks the help of the powers his life will "climb up." Here the *kurahus* made a gesture indicating a line slanting upward; then he arrested the movement and, still holding his hand where he had stopped, went on to say that as a man is climbing up he does something that marks a place in his life where the powers have given him the opportunity to express in acts his peculiar endowments, so this place, this act, forms a stage in his career, and he takes a new name to indicate that he is on a level different from that which he occupied previously. Some men, he said, can rise only a little way, others live on a dead level, and he illustrated his words by moving his hands horizontally. Men having power to advance, climb step by step, and here again he made his idea plain by a gesture picturing a slant, then a level, a slant and a level. In this connection he called attention to the words "*ruturahwitz pari*," "to overtake walking," saying that the people who desire to have a name, or to change their name, must strive to overtake in the walk of life an upper level, such a one as these ancient men spoken of in the ritual had reached, where they threw away the names by which they had been known before. "Ruturahwitz pari" is a call to the Pawnees, bidding them emulate these men and overtake them by the doing of like deeds.[1]

[1] Fletcher, A. C., "The Hako: A Pawnee Ceremony," *Bur. Amer. Ethnol., Ann. Rep.*, **22**: 365.

Chapter XIII

PATTERNS OF DISTINCTION

Beginning on the simple food and shelter level, the behavior incentives noted up to this point have shown a striving for security and personality expansion on the basis of accumulated property; the employment of kinship, symbolic kinship, and spiritual support to secure relatively superior position and adjustment; the general subordination of the personal response element in marriage to the factors of convenience and advantage; and the desire to secure a distinguished social rating as a condition favorable to all personality adjustment. While the desire for security is the most fundamental incentive and has extensive ramifications, especially in legal and governmental systems, the desire for recognition on the basis of individual performance or as a member of a distinguished group is the incentive leading to a number of patterns through which social distance is determined and regulated.

The guarding of the personality and the registration of social distance in the naïve forms of etiquette and in the employment of personal names has been considered in Chap. IV, the subsequent chapters on kinship, etc., contained other expressions of social distance, and still other forms of ranking will appear in later chapters on government and law. At this point certain strivings for distinction on the customary level will be considered, including age grades and esoteric clubs.

In all populations there is, in addition to the natural sex division, a general recognition of status by age levels—young, mature, and old. Even in low cultures the divisions may be quite complicated, and in the higher ones a system of ranking into classes may be extensively developed with economic and political implications.

Perhaps the most minute classification of individuals by positions and periods in the course of life is seen in one of the tribes of lowest cultural level. The South Andaman Islanders, who have no numerals higher than "two," and who were noted, nevertheless, in the chapter on language for their excessive employment of pronouns, have an elaboration of terms describing the position of the individual in society by time periods from birth to death, desig-

nating age level, marital situation, critical periods in development, etc. These periods for males are as follows (the native terms being omitted), and there is a separate corresponding set of terms for females:

1. During the first year of life.
2. During the second year.
3. During the third and fourth years.
4. From four until ten years.
5. During the eleventh and twelfth years.
6. From twelve to fifteen years, the ordinary fasting period in preparation for and during initiation.
7. During such portions of this period as he fasts.
8. After breaking the first probationary fast (for the first month).
9. From then until he becomes a father.
10. Single (bachelor only).
11. Bridegroom.
12. Full grown, whether single or married.
13. Newly married (during the first few days only).
14. Newly married (during the first few months only).
15. Married, while still without a child.
16. Married, while his wife is pregnant.
17. Married, having had a child.
18. During the first two or three months after the death of a child.
19. Married more than once (not applied to widowers).
20. Widower.
21. Old.
22. White-haired.
23. The survivor of an old couple united since youth.[1]

It was also mentioned above that among the Andamanese the prenatal period of life is designated by a name, the child being given a personal name before it is born. It is plain, however, that in this very amiable group these terms are descriptive and affective and may almost be regarded as a feature of the language. The age classifications are not at all with reference to subordinating the younger generation.

Among the Peruvian Incas we find ten divisions of the population by age levels, as follows:

1. *Punuc rucu* (old man sleeping), sixty years and upwards.
2. *Chaupi rucu* ("half old"), fifty to sixty years. Doing light work.
3. *Puric* (able-bodied), twenty-five to fifty. Tribute payer and head of the family.
4. *Yma huayna* (almost a youth), twenty to twenty-five. Worker.

[1] Man, E. H., "On the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands," *Jour. Anth. Inst.*, **12**: 426 (condensed from Appendix K).

5. *Coca palla* (coca picker), sixteen to twenty. Worker.
6. *Pucllac huamra*, eight to sixteen. Light work.
7. *Ttanta raquizic* (bread receiver), six to eight.
8. *Macta puric*, under six.
9. *Saya huamrac*, able to stand.
10. *Mosoc caparic*, baby in arms.[1]

This was not, however, a spontaneous growth but was developed by the government for administrative purposes.

The serious aspect of the structuralization of society on the basis of age is seen at the point of transition from youth to manhood, in connection with the very general puberty ceremonies just described. Australia is peculiar in the prolongation of this period of transition. Among the Arunta, for example, the initiatory rites do not last for a few days or weeks or months, but extend over a period of about twenty years. At the last of the ceremonies, termed the *enwurga* or fire ceremony, the candidates for manhood are between twenty-five and thirty years of age, and this single performance, as described by Spencer and Gillen, covered a period of about four months.[2] Young manhood is thus extraordinarily subordinated and the importance of the older men on this continent is unique and tends to increase with increasing age.

Contrary to this, the warrior class of the African Masai, comprising males between the ages of about eighteen and twenty-six, is the dominant age level, and its members retire from active life at about the age when the Australian male is beginning to enter the influential class. The Masai live largely by cattle raiding among neighboring tribes, and beginning with initiation, the life of the boy is directed toward entering the warrior class:

> Up to the time of circumcision the male child is designated as a boy (*ol aijoni, el aijok*); during the preparation for circumcision and until the wound is healed he is called *ol siboli*. . . . After that and over a period of about two years he is introduced to the life of a warrior. During this time he is termed *ol barnoti*. The purpose of these apprentice years is to let thoughtlessness and youthful exuberance have their fling. Once this period is over he is respected as full-fledged warrior and called *ol morani*. . . . The "best years" of the Masai warrior, until he leaves the

[1] Markham, C. R., *The Incas of Peru*, 161–162.

[2] Spencer, B., and F. J. Gillen *The Arunta*, 1: 223–304 (The Macmillan Company. By permission). [While there is no question as to the period of time covered by the series of ceremonies as a whole, it has been pointed out by another authority that in this particular case the natives were putting on a show for the whites and enjoying their hospitality for as long a period as possible. "It is not unlikely," says Mathews, "that the wise men of the Arunta prolonged all the details of the meeting to their utmost limit, in order to extend their sojourn in such a veritable 'Tom Tiddler's Ground.'" (Mathews, R. H., "Notes on the Arranda Tribe," *Roy. Soc. of New So. Wales, Jour. and Proc.*, **41**: 158).]

warrior group at the age of twenty-eight to thirty, are spent in this pursuit. Then he marries and remains an *ol moruo* to the end of his life.[1]

Many primitive groups have men's societies or clubs and in his study of these Schurtz[2] has argued that these groupings are always based on age levels and that other features, such as the payment of an entrance fee, distinguished military record, sharing a supernatural experience, are later innovations introduced upon an age-level basis.[3] This claim is, in fact, an example of the theory of unilineal evolution—that all societies take the same steps in the same order. In this form the position is untenable. On the contrary, the congregation of young males is a spontaneous and congenial phenomenon, comparable with the formation of boys' gangs in American cities. There are also certain behavior patterns and possessions which give claims to distinction and among these personal bravery, material wealth, and spiritual intimacy are prominent. Individuals, families, and self-constituted groups seek self-expression by emphasizing one or more of such values, and the direction taken will be to some extent dependent on the character of the given culture complex.

As to the age factor, Lowie and others have pointed out that, while social or esoteric clubs will naturally be composed originally of age mates, in the many men's societies of the Plains Indians age comes to play a role by the introduction of a graded feature whereby the entrants pass from boyhood to the lowest grade, and to the higher grades in a fixed order, so that their position is loosely but not necessarily correlated with their age:

> The Mandan and Hidatsa societies were forms of property purchased in a preferential, though not obligatory, order, by groups of age mates, whose constitution remained practically the same at successive purchases. Through this mode of purchase the societies, viewed objectively, became age grades, but from the native point of view, within the period of which we have any knowledge, they were primarily not age grades but purchasable commodities.[4]

Moreover there were numerous ungraded societies which could be entered by purchase at any point, and even in the graded ones membership was regulated by purchase and not age.

[1] Merker, M., *Die Masai*, 66–67 (Dietrich Reimer. By permission).

[2] Schurtz, H., *Altersklassen und Mannerbünde.*

[3] [In his paper on "Plains Indian Age-societies" (*Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., Anth. Pap.*, **11**: 955–984) Lowie has refuted this particular claim. At the same time the volume of Schurtz remains the most extensive presentation of materials on men's clubs.]

[4] Lowie, R. H., "Societies of the Hidatsa and Mandan Indians," *Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., Anth. Pap.*, **11**: 236.

If [says Lowie] a man at sixty-two still regards himself as affiliated with a dance he joined at twenty, it cannot be that affiliation is a matter of age: the reason is the one uniformly given in such cases, *viz.*, that the complex was never bought from him and accordingly was still held as a form of property. The argument is clinched when we find, both in Maximilian's records and more recent ones, that the same individuals could simultaneously hold several memberships. [Quoting Maximilian] "Poorwolf, at ninety, still considered himself a member of the *miraraxuxi* [Notched-stick] which he had joined at seven; of the Crazy Dogs, whom he had joined at twenty; of the Half-shaved Heads, whom he had joined at twenty-seven; and of the Dogs, whom he had joined at about forty-five."[1]

How membership in a society became a purchasable commodity may be examined in connection with the Plains medicine bundle and its associated ritual, and this will be found associated with the marked culture trait of securing supernatural intimacy and support. From one of these tribes Wissler has described the role of the symbols and containers of this rapport and shown the extent to which their ownership determines the favorable social position of the individual:

The Blackfoot conception of a ritual, or power, is of something that brings about a relation, or rapport, between the supernatural source and a single individual. A medicine bundle is the material counterpart of the ritual. . . . The fundamental conception . . . is that . . . a second individual may be substituted for the first and so *ad infinitum: i.e.*, the power, or rapport, may be transferred. This transfer is often spoken of as a purchase or sale, because the individual relinquishing the ritual receives property. The conception of the Indian, however, is that the owner of a ritual is given property not to compensate him for its loss, but as an expression of gratitude on the part of the one about to receive it. Nevertheless, the fact is that when one gets a ritual he gives up property, and again, when he parts with it, receives property.

All the bundles described in this paper are subject to transfer. Indeed to the Blackfoot a bundle without this quality would be an absurdity. No matter how large or involved they may become each has, in theory, an individual owner. . . .

Whatever may have been the origin of the transfer conception it eventually became a system with religious, social, and economic functions. It is regarded as desirable to own and transfer many bundles, chiefly since it is a religious duty, gives social prestige, and because it is usually a good investment. The transferring experiences of one living under this system may be estimated from the life records of three Piegan men of medium standing and worth. [Only one of these follows:]

When Bad-old-man was young and unmarried, he bought an otterskin decorated with weasel tails and small bells on its legs and with its neck

[1] Lowie, "Plains Indian Age-societies," 972.

wrapped with beads and paid a horse for it. This was used on the war-path. The same summer he bought a war bonnet and also paid a horse for it. About three years later he bought a weasel-tail suit, paid a horse for it, and about three years after that was presented with another weasel-tail shirt. After four years, he bought a horn bonnet for which he paid a horse. Then he lost the weasel-tail suit in a wheel gambling game and sold the war bonnet for a horse. Later, he lost the other weasel-tail shirt in a wheel gambling game. Then his father gave him a feather headdress used in war. A few years later he bought another weasel-tail suit and vowed to dance with a medicine pipe, for which he paid blankets and other small objects. Then he sold the horn bonnet for a horse. He bought a war bonnet with trailers which was used in the horn society.

When he was still a boy his father bought a medicine pipe. He was included in the transfer which gave him a title to part of the pipe; in other words, he was one of the family. He was painted in the transfer ceremony to designate him as the son of a medicine-pipe owner. . . .

On the social side a man is judged wealthy and resourceful if many important bundles have passed through his hands. It was formerly a custom to call all the married men together for a formal smoke when each in turn announced the bundles he had owned and the amount of property sacrificed. Those having a long list were cheered while those having a short one were ridiculed. There is also something like the recognition of intellectual attainments in the respect accorded those who learn many rituals and show skill in conducting the ceremonies. Thus, it will be said, that A must be well informed and wise because he owned many bundles. Even though one may fall a victim to utter poverty, he may still, if the ex-owner of many bundles, be spoken of as wealthy and powerful.

If A transfers a bundle to B, the latter must give the former presents of horses or other property. There seems to be no fixed price, but B is expected to give as much as A dispensed when he himself secured the bundle. A announces before the people that he gave so many horses, blankets, etc., whence B can ill afford to give less; in fact, it is expected that he give more. Thus, the tendency would be to increase the expense, a supposition confirmed by our informants for, whereas, for example, medicine pipes formerly required but two or three horses, they now often go to thirty head. This tendency toward increased valuation seems not to be considered by the Blackfoot, but they do regard a bundle as a good investment because of its absolute indestructible nature and its ready convertibility. As stated elsewhere, the bundle may be lost or destroyed without seriously damaging the owner, since he owns the ritual which is immaterial. Further, most bundles can be forced upon another against his will. For example, a pipe owner wishing to convert his bundle into property selects a well-to-do man and forces the transfer, thus making sure of full return on his investment. However, it is not always possible to realize in full for when a man makes a vow to secure a bundle, the owner has no recourse but to accept whatever the transferee is able to

give. Even at other times, the transferee may defy ridicule and give something less than the transferrer received. Again, the bundle may fall into disrepute and be taken for a small return. All these are, however, exceptions. While with us young men are exhorted to open a savings account, among the Blackfoot they are advised to become owners of medicine bundles. Even after transferring a bundle to another, one may be called upon to officiate in its ceremony for which he receives fees, which is an additional source of profit. Since bundles are frequently transferred such returns are almost as sure as annuities. Should a bundle owner die with it in his possession, it will be cared for by some ex-owner and eventually transferred by him to a new owner, the family, or heirs, of the deceased receiving the property given, less a fee for the administrator. Thus, it is clear that the system of bundle ownership and transfer has a recognized economic function, remotely similar to the potlatch, though we see no basis for assuming an historical relation.

The relatives of a bundle purchaser may cooperate in supplying horses and other property. It often happens that a man purchasing a bundle is himself poor and able to offer but a single horse. In such cases it is customary for a herald to ride about the camp making a public announcement that so-and-so is about to purchase a bundle and that it is incumbent upon his relatives to bring in horses and other property so that he may make proper return. So far as we could learn, such cooperation was usual, since only a few wealthy headmen were able to purchase large and important bundles without such help. Individuals who thus contributed had no property rights in the bundle nor privileges of any kind, except that when the bundle was again transferred, they expected to receive an equal return for what they contributed.

The following is a typical announcement of a transfer, translated from a text on the transfer of an otter painted-tipi: "Married men, old men, and women, take heed! He invites you; he is to receive a medicine; Tail-feathers-coming-over-the-hill is his name. That there yellow painted-tipi you see, is the place. Come to help him out with many things, this here man that is to receive the medicine. Chief Heavy-runner, gather things together. You Fat-roasters (a band) get together all things needed for this transfer, for this is also your chief that is to receive medicine."[1]

The individual bundle for securing supernatural power is most extensively developed among the Blackfoot, but at the same time the Blackfoot have a number of societies called All-comrades (among the Piegan division they number eleven, beginning with the Pigeons and ending with the Bulls) and in these, as in most other Plains societies, the conception of the bundle prevails among other features. The conception of a bundle, corresponding roughly with the African fetish, is the starting point and might be the origin of a

[1] Wissler, C., "Ceremonial Bundles of the Blackfoot Indians," *Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., Anth. Pap.*, 7: 272–278, *passim*.

society or might be incorporated at any point by any society. The assembling of men to boast of their bundles might, in fact, be a transitional step toward the organization and graduation of a society.

The incessant military life of the Plains tribes led to a public appreciation of daring and even foolhardy behavior, and a pattern equivalent to voluntary death was developed at a certain point or points and became generally diffused. Eccentric or exceptional individuals emerged, called Crazy Dogs, who announced their intention of seeking death. These might be members of any tribe or society. There was also a public demand on young men to undertake hazardous enterprises, and among the Crow, for example, a class of men called "Doomed-to-die" were placed on war expeditions in positions where the expectation of death was greatest. The so-called military societies represented this reckless bravery especially, and the researches of Lowie have shown how the members were recruited and the most dangerous positions determined. It appears also in the following account of this that the institutionalization of the pattern of predetermined dying was carried out with propaganda and insistence by the older men and made virtually compulsory against strong resistance in some cases:

> The officers of the Fox society, as of all other military societies, were officers only in the sense of having special duties on the battlefield which involved great personal risk. Accordingly, they enjoyed a certain prestige and in some cases special privileges at feasts. They were said to be *cekuk*, "doomed to die" [literally, "they cause to die" (Lowie)].
>
> Their general attitude is reflected by the following song, though it is not certain that this was peculiar to the officers of the Fox society as distinguished from other members:
>
> *iaxuxkekatuwe, bacbiawak, cewak*
> You dear Foxes, I want to die, thus I say.
>
> The officers of the Foxes included two leaders (*base*); two men bearing hooked staffs (*marackupe*) wrapped with otterskin; two men bearing straight staffs (*maratatse*) similarly wrapped; two rear or "last" men (*haake* or *hakace*); and one or two *akducire*. The last named, who were said by some informants to have been present in every society, were expected to be bravest of all. As a compensation for the risks they incurred, they were permitted to select what food they wished at a feast and to eat it before any of the other members had begun eating. Some informants gave a somewhat different list of officers. . . .
>
> Sitting-elk says that at a general meeting of the society, in the spring, four old men remained outside the lodge and chose the officers for the

next season. They came in, and offered a pipe to one man after another. A member declining the pipe would say (according to One-horn): "I am afraid I am not strong enough." If all refused to smoke, the electors went outside and again discussed the members. When they reentered, someone was obliged to accept the pipe and thus become one of the leaders. . . . Sometimes the electors would stealthily touch their lips with the mouthpiece of the pipe, thus compelling them to smoke and become *haake*. When the pipe offered by the electors to potential officers, no matter of what kind, had been repeatedly refused by all the members of the society, strenuous measures were resorted to. Thus, at Gray-bull's election to the hooked-staff office, the pipe had circled round several times without being accepted by anyone. Finally Gray-bull's comrade seized him by his hair bang, pulled him up, and made his lips touch the mouthpiece. . . .

Young-jack-rabbit gave the following account of his election as an officer [of the Lumpwood military society]. After the two handsomest men had been elected leaders, the two old men who acted as electors filled pipes and went about the lodge, offering them to the members.

"All declined to smoke, then they came towards me. Someone asked them 'Whom are you looking for?' They answered, 'For Young-jack-rabbit.' I was seated in the back and tried to hide. They brought the pipe to me, but I refused to accept it, saying I did not wish to take it. One of the pipe offerers was my own elder brother. He seized me by the hair, hit me on the chest, and said, 'You are brave, why don't you smoke the pipe?' He wished me to die, that is why he desired me to smoke the pipe. He said, 'You are of the right age to die, you are good looking, and if you get killed your friends will cry. All your relatives will cut their hair, they will fast and mourn; your bravery will be recognized; and your friends will feel gratified.' I took the pipe, and began to smoke. They asked me, whether I wished to have a straight or a hooked staff. I decided in favor of the latter. My comrade also smoked the pipe. After the election of officers we all went outside. A hooked willow stick was presented to me. I went home with my friends. My brother had an otterskin there. A man who had at one time killed an enemy, while bearing a hooked staff, cut the skin into strips, wrapped these about the stick, and did the necessary sewing. My mother gave me all my old clothes. I put on a blanket of beaded buffalo-calfskin fringed at the bottom and sides, and tied round the neck with a string. We all went outside, the leaders in front. An old man slapped me on the chest, saying, 'Now you are a brave man. When the enemy pursue, you must get off and keep them back. If you are willing to do this, dance backwards when we have a dance.' I dressed up in my best clothes. That day I thought I looked handsome. The old men sang songs in praise of me. A man named Pretty-white took my hooked stick, made incense of *ise* root, and rubbed the smoke over the staff. This man had owned such a stick in his day, and he said aloud, 'One day when we fought the Cheyenne I had a hooked stick and went through the Cheyenne line

without being shot. I wish my brother may do the same.' Then he returned the staff to me."[1]

Among the Crow also, as in some other tribes, the performance of a given number of creditable deeds entitled a man to be regarded as a chief:

There are four types of deeds that were generally recognized as meritorious and counted for the title of a "chief": "the carrying of the pipe," that is, the leadership of a successful war party; the striking of a coup; the taking of an enemy's gun or bow; and the cutting of a horse picketed in the enemy's camp. . . . A "chief" was a man who had at least one deed of each type to his credit. In Lodge Grass there are said to be but two men living whose record entitles them to be regarded as chiefs in the old Crow sense, *viz.*, Medicine-crow and Gray-bull. In Pryor the chiefs are Plenty-coups, Bell-rock, Sits-in-the-middle-of-the-ground, and Has-no-ground. Medicine-crow regarded himself and Plenty-coups as the only real chiefs of the entire tribe.

Three native terms are translated "coup." Of these, *dakce*, designates what might be called the "coup proper," that is, the actual striking of an enemy, though Gray-bull makes it include in addition the taking of a gun at the same time. The other two, *ackape* and *araxtsie*, seem to refer to any of the martial deeds recognized as meritorious.

Scalping, though said to have been extensively practiced by the Sioux, is not regarded as a specially creditable deed by the Crow, and did not count for the chieftaincy. An informant said to me, "You will never hear a Crow boast of his scalps when he recites his deeds"; and this statement is confirmed by my experience.

An exploit that is said to have taken precedence over all others in the estimation of the tribe but was probably of too rare occurrence to be enumerated among the exploits leading to the title of chief was that of turning back one's horse to rescue a disabled fellow tribesman in the face of the pursuing enemy. Only men who had performed this deed were privileged to ride with the women captured by the Foxes or Lumpwoods during the period of licensed wife-kidnaping. Other warriors of distinction enjoyed similar social prerogatives, especially in some of the important ceremonies. Thus, in the Tobacco dance adoption, a short time after the entrance into the adoption lodge, some noted brave recites the story of one of his deeds. In the Sun dance performance considerable time was consumed by war captains entering with their parties and telling about their doings. A man famous for his war record is still likely to be invited to name a child.[2]

The prominence of the death context in the Plains culture was favorable to the emergence of the individual Crazy Dog, who by

[1] Lowie, R. H., "Military Societies of the Crow Indians," *Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., Anth. Pap.*, **11**: 157–166, *passim*.

[2] Lowie, R. H., "Social Life of the Crow Indians," *Amer. Nat. Hist., Anth. Pap.*, **9**: 230–231.

announcing his death as determined, certain, and imminent became a conspicuous and romantic figure in the meantime. The immediate motivation might be a discontent of some kind, the death of a relative or a physical injury, but in effect the action was the most ostentatious form of distinction seeking:

When a man for some reason became tired of life, he announced himself a Crazy Dog. This implied that he must thenceforth "talk crosswise," . . . that is, express the opposite of his real intentions and do the opposite of what he was bidden. His most essential duty, however, was to rush into danger and deliberately seek death. This obligation, curiously enough, was limited to one season. If at the end of this period he had by chance escaped death, the Crazy Dog was absolved from his pledge, unless he voluntarily renewed it for another season. Thus, One-horn's father-in-law was dissatisfied with the way rations were issued by the Government and became a Crazy Dog; the first year he failed to get hurt, but he did not wish to live any longer, again assumed the insignia and manners of a Crazy Dog for the following season, and was killed. Naturally, while the number of Crazy Dogs varied from year to year, it was never very great. During some seasons there was no one that was especially eager to court death; on the other hand, One-horn remembers as many as five Crazy Dogs at one time. The usual number seems to have been two. Hunts-to-die, however, made the statement that long ago there were as many as ten Crazy Dogs who went to war; one of them was killed, accordingly the rest also succeeded in being slain.

The most renowned of all the Crazy Dogs was Young-cottontail-rabbit, who was killed within the memory of men still living. His story is known throughout the tribe, and all the incidents in the following narrative by Itsuptete were repeatedly confirmed by other old informants.

"At the old Agency (on the Yellowstone) they were issuing goods. It was there that I first came to know a Crazy Dog. When the people were seated, before the distribution of goods, a youth came riding on horseback, holding his blanket by his stomach. He used his quirt for a rattle. He came into the circle and began to sing. 'What is this?' 'This is a youth who has been shot in the knee. His knee is sore. He would like to be like other young men and wishes to die, that is why he acts like this.' Then for a long time we did not see him. One evening he came out, looking powerful. All of us were eager to see him. He made a rattle of baking-powder cans; inside he put beads. It rattled mightily. There was a fine chain on his horse's bridle. His horse could not be seen, he had so much to carry. The youth came, with his gun in his belt. He had a wristband of silver-fox skin. He wore a switch and had little braids in front. He had a very fine necklace and shell earrings. His horse was a bald-faced bay that pawed the ground vigorously. We looked at him; the whole camp liked him. He went through the camp singing and swinging his rattle. We did not know he talked crosswise. One man said to him, 'Don't dance!' He got off in front of a lodge.

His drummer held a drum like this one, and began to sing. The Crazy Dog danced. 'I will test myself, I wish to die; I wish to know whether it will be well.' He shot down at his foot. 'Well, I think it will be so,' he said. The women liked him very much. He danced every evening. When the Crow moved camp, he sang. When they camped again, he went through the camp singing. The old women cheered him lustily. He always sang at night. When they went on a hunt, the people regarded him as a dog. When they went to kill buffalo, the Crazy Dog went along hallooing. As these dogs act when they see a cow, so he acted in sight of the buffalo. They killed many buffalo and butchered them. The youth packed his horse. When the people camped, he went through the camp singing. On the next day they moved, and camped in a coulee. One of the young men was thrown off his horse, which ran away. He rode back to the old camp site to catch the runaway, and found a party of Sioux. There were a few young Crows with him. They drove the Sioux into the bed of a creek; there were breastworks there. The Crazy Dog got there; he wished to die. He went to the edge of the breastworks and shot down at the Sioux, then they killed him. It began to rain violently. The Crazy Dog was lying in the rain water until daylight. The next day we got there, and found him lying in the water. The people wrapped him up and set him on horseback. They conducted him to camp, crying all the way. All the camp mourned grievously. They erected a four-pole scaffold to lay him on, and they planted a lodge pole, to which they tied the Crazy Dog's sash. We moved without him. This is how he was killed. His drum, looking like this one, was hung on the scaffold."

Hunts-to-die knew of another Crazy Dog, who lived in his grandfather's time. He was the handsomest Indian ever seen, and was called Good-crazy-dog; his real name was He-strikes-the-enemy-with-his-brother. At one time the Sioux attacked a Crow band, killing all, including some of Good-crazy-dog's relatives. Good-crazy-dog said, "I am going to die, I will be a Crazy Dog." He bought red flannel for the sashes, making one for each side. He made a rattle out of a buffalo paunch, and tied eagle feathers to one end of it; inside he put beads and little stones. He wore a fine war bonnet on his head and tied skunkskin ornaments to his moccasins. His necklace was of *bapace* shells, and his earrings of seashells. In the back he wore a switch and in front little braids of hair. He rode a fine spotted horse with docked tail; for its trappings he sewed together red and green flannel. When he rode through camp, he began to sing and the old women cheered him. He was killed in battle.

Spotted-rabbit told the following story about a namesake of his who had also been a Crazy Dog.

"When Spotted-fish died, he left fifty head of horses to be distributed among his clansmen and fifty to his stepson, Spotted-rabbit. This happened in the autumn. Spotted-rabbit told the people he would catch up with his father in a short while. Accordingly, early in the

spring, he became a Crazy Dog. He wished to die before his fifty head of horses were gone, for no one tended them as his father had done. Both his father's and his own clansmen tried to dissuade him, but he paid no attention to them. He bartered several of his horses for red flannel and a war bonnet, made himself a rattle, and went singing through the camp. People saw he was going to die and felt sorry for him. The Crow moved along the Missouri toward North Dakota. Some mornings they would find him lying with married women who came to sleep with him. One day, after going through the camp singing, he dismounted and sat down. His mother had some little rawhide bags filled with ripe plums. She handed them to him saying, 'An old lady brought this for you. You had better eat and give some to your brother.' He untied the bags, pulled out a few plums, looked at them, and said, 'I began to be a Crazy Dog early in the spring and did not think I should live so long. Yet here I am today eating plums.' He was eating some of the plums, and so was his brother, when the people said, 'Someone is coming over there, they look like Dakota.' Spotted-rabbit gave his brother a rope and bade him fetch his horse. His brother ran and got the bob-tail pinto always ridden by Spotted-rabbit. Their mother bade a girl get a horse for her, which she did. Spotted-rabbit mounted and rode through camp, singing, followed by his mother. The Crow went toward the hills where the Dakota were. They espied a humpbacked Dakota Crazy Dog and stopped, but Spotted-rabbit went straight on toward the Dakota, who was waiting for him. The Dakota shot Spotted-rabbit in the breast, and killed him. Then Double-face leaped on the Dakota and took away his gun, and another Crow killed him. Spotted-rabbit's mother was there. She had her son's body thrown on a horse and led him back. She told them that he had become a Crazy Dog on account of his father's death. She told them to prepare his body so it would not be spoiled and that she would bury him with his father near the site of Ft. Smith. So they prepared a travois, and all moved toward that direction. But they found plenty of buffalo and told the mother they needed the food and would hunt while there was a good chance and lay the corpse in a tree crotch until the next year. So they laid him on a big tree by the river. The next year they wished to bury his body, but they found that beavers had cut the tree and nothing could be found of Spotted-rabbit but a looking glass deposited with his corpse."[1]

Another form of attention seeking is seen in the feature of "backward speaking" and contrary behavior reported by Lowie from the Hidatsa Dog Society and found in some form in numerous tribes of the Plains:

The Real Dogs acted by contraries. One Real Dog, named Bloody-mouth, according to Buffalo-bird-woman, would put red paint on his body and feet in the winter time, and walk about naked, save for a breech clout

[1] Lowie, "Military Societies of the Crow Indians," 194–196.

and his cap, and with nothing but a whistle and a flint knife. He went through the village to the woods, and back again, to show that he was a Real Dog. Some power he possessed prevented his feet from freezing. . . .

It was necessary for Real Dogs to express the contrary of their meaning in speaking to others, and a like rule was obligatory on others addressing them. If a Real Dog met his girl in the wood and she addressed him with the words, "Come, Real Dog," he turned about and went away. But if she forbade him to approach, he ran up to catch her. At a feast of their society the Real Dogs were beaten with sticks to make them come into the lodge.

In battle the attendant was to hold back the Real Dog, but when there was great danger, he would say, "Go [forward] now!" Then the Real Dog might flee. If, on the contrary, the enemy seemed cowardly, the attendant would say, "Well, there is great danger." Then the Real Dog went forward. When Hairy-coat's father had bought the office, the former incumbent thus prayed to the Celestial Dogs: "I hope that my son will die immediately. I do not wish him to live long. If he wishes for anything, I hope he will not get it, or only after a long time."[1]

It is surprising but not out of place in the context, that a consummate dandyism is found among these tribes; the looking glass found with the body of Spotted-rabbit was not extraordinary. Wissler reports a statement of Duvall:

"When Bad-old-man, an informant, was young it was customary for all wealthy single men to be well dressed. They were waited on a great deal. They usually wore the most expensive clothing, blankets, weasel-tail suits, war bonnets, and horn bonnets. They were also the owners of shields, the medicine lance, the black-covered pipe, and other similar medicine objects. These were usually purchased as a means to show their wealth. The horses they rode were decorated with bells; their saddle blankets were of panther skin; and their bridles much ornamented. On their bridles was tied a stick with pendant feathers and the horse bonnets were used. These things were not used all the time but whenever a dance was given or the camps moved. Therefore a wealthy young single man was always distinguishable from others.

"In the tipi their beds were always placed on the guest side near the rear. When camp was to be broken, these men usually went a short distance away and sat on a butte or hill while the parents took down the tipi, performed other duties, saddled the young man's horse, and led it up to where he sat. They ride a short distance to one side of the rest of the people. When they reach camp, they wait until all is ready, when they are asked to come down to their tipis. They usually carry whips with two lashes, a bone or horn handle, and a beaded wristlet, while some carry an ornamented war club.

[1] Lowie, "Societies of the Hidatsa and Mandan Indians," 288–289.

"These young men used to paint their lips with white paint after meals to make people believe that they were not great eaters. They of course, do not always turn out the greatest war chiefs, for it has often happened that poor young men have gone on the warpath, captured horses, bought fine clothes and medicine bundles, and become leaders among the people."

This is of some interest since in the older literature of the Missouri area we find occasional mention of these dandies but nowhere any such clear account as the above.[1]

The so-called sun dance, noted for its torture feature, was in fact a gathering point for the mass expression of prominent traits in Plains culture. It was in general a renewal-of-life-ceremony following the terribly severe winters of the northwestern plains and was called by the Dakota a "looking-at-the sun" dance, but few of the other Plains tribes gazed at the sun and at least four of them had no torture feature.[2] The original ceremony seems to have been the erection of a pole and dancing about it. These gatherings were, however, made the occasion of the fulfillment of vows previously made and of renewal of spiritual contacts, and the torture feature seems to have been first emphasized and most developed by the Dakota. Among the Oglala division of this group of tribes the torture was graduated into four levels of severity so that even a child could undergo the first degree, the only condition being that "the wound to cause the blood to flow must not be smaller than that made by cutting away a bit of skin as large as a louse."[3] Furthermore, while all these tribes had certain patterns of suffering when seeking a "vision," that is, a spiritual manifestation and promise, it was characteristic of the Dakota that the suppliant attached himself to a post by means of a rope and skewers inserted beneath the muscles of the back and whirled himself about the post until the flesh broke away, and there is reason to believe that this feature of vision seeking was incorporated in the Dakota sun dance and became its most gruesome aspect.[4] There is evidence also that the torture pattern spread from this point by imitation among neighboring tribes and was still spreading when the dance was suppressed by the United States and Canadian governments. From the fact also that the pattern was not standardized and not everywhere assimilated to other tribal pat-

[1] Wissler, C., "Ceremonial Bundles of the Blackfoot Indians," *Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., Anth. Pap.*, 7: 288–289.

[2] Wissler, C., "The Sun Dance of the Plains Indians," *Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., Anth. Pap.*, 16: v–vii.

[3] Walker, J. R., "The Sun Dance and Other Ceremonies of the Oglala Division of the Teton Dakota," *Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., Anth. Pap.*, 16: 61.

[4] Spier, L., "The Sun Dance of the Plains Indians: Its Development and Diffusion," *Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., Anth. Pap.*, 16: 474–475.

terns we may infer that the dance itself was of comparatively recent origin, antedating perhaps not more than a century its description by Mackenzie in 1805. It is plain also that while the ceremonies had a religious and magical content they afforded an opportunity for the comparative exhibition of fortitude comparable with the exhibition of skill and nerve in our athletic games and contests and were a means of seeking preeminent distinction and status. The same individual sometimes presented himself several times in successive years for the sake of added distinction.

Lowie has characterized the sun dance as "not *essentially* a religious performance but a free show,"[1] and quotes Mackenzie's description as "probably the oldest record of a Hidatsa sun dance":

> In the forenoon . . . several young men placed themselves in a row on their bellies; an old man holding an arrow approached them and with the barb of it pierced a hole at the shoulder blades of each, through which he passed a pin of hard wood four inches long and half an inch thick. To this pin he fastened a cord of eight yards in length, at the end of which were tied seven bull's heads or more, according to the repute of the warrior. Such as had killed some of the enemy and taken scalps had a man's scull fixed to each breast and a scalp fastened a little below their eyes, with a cane in the right hand, to which also was fastened a scalp. But such as were less successful in war were not distinguished by so many ornaments; they had not the honor of dragging so many bull's heads after them, and their canes, in lieu of human scalps, were graced only with eagle tails. These young warriors were entirely naked, but painted white.
>
> When the old man had finished this first part, the young warriors started up and moved forward, but the bull's heads which they trained having their horns entangled rendered their progress slow and painful. One, however, who was more loaded than any of the rest, rushed through the crowd, unmindful of all obstacles which stood in his way, and soon gained his destination in the Great Lodge, where he was received by a multitude of spectators with shouts of applause. The others would fain have followed the example, but their hearts failed them; they often leaned on their canes.
>
> As the warriors arrived at the lodge, all the heads were thrown on a high beam, and their weight serving as a counterpoise raised the bearers from the ground. In this position they remained suspended like so many criminals upon a gibbet.
>
> In the meantime, spectators of all sexes and sizes united in singing, dancing, and beating their drums, etc., while the old man approached the principal "hero" and asked him what he was disposed to offer to the sun, so that the sun might continue to shine upon him with kindness: "I shall

[1] Lowie, R. H., "The Crow Sun Dance," *Jour. Amer. Folk-lore*, 27: 96.

give to the sun," said he, "in order that he may shine upon me with kindness, two strips of flesh from each of my arms, beginning at my shoulder blades and finishing at my wrists; I shall also give to the sun one of my fingers, and shall allow you, moreover, to imprint with a red hot iron an emblem of the sun upon my breast."

The same question was put to each of the others, who were fifteen in number, but they were much more moderate in their devotional donations. They contented themselves with giving a finger or a slice of flesh respectively.

The old man, who was provided with the necessary instruments for the execution of his duty, began his operations upon the boldest of the heroes. He began by cutting on the shoulder two circles from which he raised two strips in parallel lines down to the wrist, then the little finger of the right hand was cut off at the second joint, and then the bit of a bridle was introduced, red hot, and applied to the breast until the flesh in a large circle rose into a hard crust. All this time, the sufferer as well as his companions on trial were hanging suspended from the beam of the lodge by the cords through the incision in their shoulders, their feet at some distance from the ground and unable to stir during the operation. The noise of the spectators was very great; if the sufferers complained, they could not be heard.

As soon as each had undergone the pains he had imposed upon himself, he was relieved from his elevated station at the beam and allowed to return from where he came, still dragging his original equipage of heads, until he placed the whole where he found them, and where fit persons were stationed on purpose to untie and receive them.

When the wooden pins were taken out of the shoulders, an old woman sucked the blood from the wounds, which she stuffed with a preparation made with her teeth from a certain root for the purpose. Then the suffering hero, or whatever we may choose to call him, took his strips of flesh and his finger joint, placed them in a neat little bag, with which he hastened to the outside of the village to deposit it as an offering to his God, and singing a lamentable dirge as he went on.[1]

The initial pattern of the extraordinarily elaborated expression of claims to distinction among the tribes of the Plains, on the basis of perilous performance, is frequently found elsewhere. These tribes are merely unique in their perseveration in this direction. Thus, among the Samoans,

in each district there was a certain village, or cluster of villages, known as "the advance troops." It was their province to take the lead, and in battle their loss was double the number of that of any other village. Still they boasted of their right to lead, would on no account give it up to others, and talked in the current strain of other parts of the world about the "glory" of dying in battle. In a time of peace the people of these

[1] Lowie, R. H., "The Hidatsa Sun Dance," *Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., Anth. Pap.*, **16**: 429–430.

villages had special marks of respect shown to them, such as the largest share of food at the public feasts, flattery for their bravery, etc.[1]

A quite different additional pattern of distinction, developed among the Omaha, was the performance of one hundred worthy acts termed *wathinethe,* meriting membership in the *Honhewachi,* or society of honorary chiefs. Like the ownership of bundles among the Blackfoot, it was an accumulation and an investment. It was also a social parallel of the accumulation of coups, and in its details it reflected the concept of spiritual power:

> To achieve membership in this order was accounted one of the highest honors a man could secure, although it carried with it no political prominence. . . . Among the classes of acts and gifts that "counted" and ranked high were those benefiting the tribe and those made to a very poor man or woman.
>
> The following story was told of Wahaxi, a noted chief who died before the middle of the nineteenth century: One day an old woman came to his tent, entered, and sat down near the door. No one noticed her for quite a while, but presently the chief bade his wife clothe the old woman. So the packs were opened and Wahaxi's wife took out various garments, dressed the woman in fine leggings, a tunic of red cloth, and wrapped about her a red blanket. Then the chief arose and placed corn in her hand and sent her home. The appearance of the gayly clad old woman bearing corn attracted the attention of the people, and the chief, already of high rank, was permitted to "count" this act of clothing the beggar as a wathinethe.
>
> Making contributions for bringing about peace both within and without the tribe was an act of public merit and could be "counted"; so also could gifts which were made to put an end to a period of mourning. . . . Another form of giving was to place a robe on the arm of a child and bid it take the gift to the lodge of a leading man, who, on receiving the gift, would emerge from his tent and call aloud the name of the giver. . . . Gifts of horses were accounted among the most valuable. Sometimes the "count" of a horse was connected with peculiar circumstances, as in the following case: Wahaxi had a son who he hoped would one day be a chief, but who died prematurely. At his funeral a fine white horse was about to be killed, when the father of Kaxenonba brought forward a mule and asked that it be killed and the fine horse spared. Knowing that the mule also could not well be spared by the man, Wahaxi decided not to kill either the horse or the mule but bade the man to "count" both horse and mule as wathinethe. Such gifts were classed as "gone to see the dead."
>
> The *weku* feast offered another occasion for men to make gifts which could be "counted." This feast occurred when there had been a difference between two tribes and the chiefs wished to make peace. The

[1] Turner, G., *Samoa,* 190–191 (The Macmillan Company. By permission.)

Seven Chiefs called the various chiefs and young warriors together and told them of the proposed *weku* feast, to which the tribe with whom there had been trouble had been invited. The men then volunteered to make gifts toward receiving the tribe. He who intended to offer a large gift would say, "I will give some small article." Those who could make only a small donation said nothing. When all the gifts were gathered, three or four of the donors who were men of rank and respected by the people were sent to invite the other tribe to the feast.

Another act that could be counted as wathinethe and that ranked among the highest was saving the life of a comrade in battle or preventing his capture, as such an act could be done only by risking one's life.

A thrifty man could seldom "count" his hundred before he was near middle life, even though he wasted no opportunity. During all the years of his preparation he must work silently and not reveal his purpose to anyone for fear he might fail. . . .

Passing the long test required for entrance into this society was regarded as proof not only that the members were favored by Wakonda but that they possessed will power capable of producing results; consequently a form of punishment, *wazhin agthe* (*wazhin*, "directive energy" or "will power"; "*agthe*," "to place upon"), was exercised by them. A disturber of the peace within the tribe or one whose acts were offensive to the chiefs was sometimes punished by the concerted action of the Honhewachi through wazhin agthe, the members fixing their minds on the offender, placing on him the consequences of his actions so that he was thrust from all helpful relations with men and animals. Misfortune and death were believed to follow as the result of this treatment. Wazhin agthe belongs to the same class of acts as wazhin thethe (p. 583); the former was believed to send disaster and the latter to help by the exercise of will power.[1]

We have seen that scalping was practiced by the Indians of the Plains although they selected the coup for emphasis. Other Indians scalped without taking coup, and in several tribes (including those of the Plains) a hand, arm, foot, or head of an enemy was taken home and the women rejoiced over it for days. Reference was made also in Chap. XI to the conciliatory treatment of the heads of dead enemies by Dyaks of Borneo and the rites for enslaving the spirit in a South American tribe. But among the Dyaks and some surrounding tribes an intense preoccupation with head hunting was developed for the sake of individual and group distinction, and heads were prominent in the regulation of social relations and were handed down as legacies in families and villages:

Heads are taken, not primarily for religious reasons, but for the glory and prestige which the trophies bring to their owners. Since a man who

[1] Fletcher, A. C., and F. la Flesche, "The Omaha Tribe," *Bur. Amer. Ethnol., Ann. Rep.*, **27**: 493–497.

has never captured a head is considered a weakling, and finds difficulty in securing a wife, he will go to any length to obtain a proof of his valor. Iban [Dyak] men have been known to accept the hospitality of other tribes, such as Klamantans, or even to marry into them, only to await a time when their hosts or relatives by marriage were absent to fall upon the defenseless women and children and hurry off with their heads. In consequence of their treacherous barbarity, other tribes never trust them and refuse to enter into any friendly dealings with them. In former times, they ranged all over Central Borneo in search of their bloody trophies, crossing the mountains of the central divide and building boats to cruise down the Mahakam into the country of the Bahau peoples.[1]

St. John, an early observer, described the absorption of the Dyaks in the game of head hunting and reports that they say, "The white men read books; we hunt for heads instead":

Parties of two and three sometimes went away for months on an inland incursion, carrying nothing with them but salt wrapped up in their waist cloths, with which they seasoned the young shoots, and leaves, and palm cabbages, found in the forests; and when they returned home, they were as thin as scarecrows. It is this kind of catlike warfare which causes them to be formidable enemies both to the Chinese and the Malays, who never feel themselves safe from a Dayak. They have been known to keep watch in a well up to their chins in water, with a covering of a few leaves over their heads, to endeavor to cut off the first person who might come that way. At night they would drift down on a log, and cut the rattan cable of trading proas, while others of their party would keep watch on the bank, knowing well where the stream would take the boat ashore, and when aground they killed the men and plundered the goods.[2]

Many of the feuds [says Low] in which the Dyaks of Sarebas and Sakarran are now engaged, are quarrels which arose in the times of their ancestors; and the ostensible object in carrying on of which now is, that their balance of heads may be settled; for these people keep a regular account of the numbers slain on each side on every occasion; these memorandums have now, perhaps, become confused amongst the sea tribes, but amongst those of the hills, where fewer people are killed, and fighting is less frequent, the number to which each tribe is indebted to the other is regularly preserved. A hill chief once told me that he durst not travel into another country, which he wished to visit, as their people were the enemies of his tribe; when I asked him in surprise, having supposed that he was at peace with everyone except the people of Sakarran, he told me that in the time of his grandfather the people of the other tribe had killed four of his, and that in retaliation his tribe had killed three of the other, so that there was a balance of one in his favor, which had never been settled, nor had any hostilities been carried on for many years, yet all

[1] Kennedy, R., *The Ethnology of the Greater Sunda Islands*, 467 (manuscript).
[2] St. John, S., *Life in the Forests of the Far East; or Travels in Northern Borneo*, 1: 180.

intercourse between the tribes had ceased, and they could only meet in a hostile character. . . .

The heads of their enemies are, amongst the sea tribes, preserved with the flesh and hair still adhering to the skull, and these trophies are not, as amongst the land tribes, the general property of the village, but the personal property of the individuals who capture them, though the honor of the tribe is augmented by their being in the village. The skull being freed from the brain, which is extracted by the occipital hole, the head is dried over a slow and smoking fire until all the animal juices have evaporated; they are preserved with the greatest care, and baskets full of them may be seen at any house in the villages of the sea tribes, and the family is of distinction according to the number of these disgusting and barbarous trophies in its possession; they are handed down from father to son as the most valuable property, and an accident which destroys them is considered the most lamentable calamity. An old and gray-headed chief was regretting to me one day the loss he had sustained in the destruction by fire of the heads collected by his ancestors. As I heard nothing of his property, which had been very considerable, I supposed that he had succeeded in saving it, until, on making inquiries, he told me that it had been all destroyed, but he would not have regretted it so much if he could have saved the trophies of the prowess of his fathers. It is said that the practice of head hunting, for which purpose alone their piratical expeditions are now undertaken, has been carried so far, that a Dyak cannot marry until he has at least once obtained a head. The chief of the Lundu village told me that such was the custom, but that in his tribe it had been dispensed with, as the difficulty of getting heads was so great under Mr. Brooke's government, the wars being unfrequent, and cruising parties not being allowed to go out. The old gentleman seemed to think it a pity that a custom so calculated to inspire the men with courage should be set aside from motives of humanity, and is decidedly of opinion that "none but the brave deserve the fair."[1]

The extent of the practice is indicated by the fact that on a single tour Denison noted in his diary six hundred heads and skulls in different villages. Roth has compiled the figures from the diary as follows:

Page 15—95 and 41 heads; p. 19—129, 27, 9, 25, 14, 12 and 16 heads; p. 24—9 heads; p. 27—2 skulls; p. 28—6 heads; p. 33—5 heads; p. 39—12 skulls; p. 46—20 skulls; p. 54—none, but some diamonds highly valued because they had been exchanged for some skulls and their fixings; p. 61—30 skulls; p. 62—9 skulls; p. 70—14 skulls; p. 72—16 and 15 skulls; p. 73—13 skulls; p. 76—none, but a fine peal of gongs instead; p. 78—50 skulls; p. 84—41 skulls; making a total of 610 heads met with on his journey.[2]

[1] Low, H., *Sarawak: Its Inhabitants and Productions*, 165–166, 206–207, 212–216.
[2] Roth, H. L., *The Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo*, **2**: 143.

This custom evidently spread from tribe to tribe, and took on different aspects in different localities. In some tribes the custom has not gone so far as preserving the head:

Although the Millanows do not preserve the heads of their enemies, a young warrior will occasionally bear home such a trophy with the same sort of pleasure with which a young fox hunter takes home his first brush. On this occasion, a juvenile aspirant to love and glory, who had accompanied the expedition and wished to display a prize he had won, was met on landing by the women, who had already spied the relic from their elevated platform on the bank. They descended to meet it with a stick in each hand, and began to play on the unfortunate head, as if it had been a tomtom. After this performance, each in turn rushed into the river, as if to cleanse herself from the pollution. Although these gentle creatures did not strike with any violence, it was as much as the young hero could do to prevent his trophy from being pommeled into a jelly.[1]

In several accounts it appears that the hair of the victim is valued somewhat as the Indians valued the scalp lock, as a record of bravery:

Shocking as it may appear they carry about with them tokens of the number of persons they have killed. This they effect by inserting locks of human hair corresponding to the number of persons decapitated, in the sheath of their war knife, which is always attached to their persons, when from home. We fell in with a man this evening just returned from his labor, with a basket in which he had carried out the necessaries for the day, and to which was fastened a lock of human hair. The lock was ten inches or a foot long. He informed us that it was a token of his having cut off a head during the past year.[2]

According to Denison:

The Serambo Dyaks say, when they first came from Sikong, they only took the hair (the scalp I suppose), but a Peninjauh woman, one Si Tuga, told them it was no use taking hair only, the country was put to shame by this half measure; why not take the whole head of their enemies?[3]

It is also stated in some reports that heads of women are taken in preference to those of men because they have longer hair.[4]

In the Philippine Islands also, where the custom is practiced in different forms, Cole reports that among the Bagobo the head

[1] Keppel, H., *A Visit to the Indian Archipelago, in H.M. Ship Meander*, 171.
[2] Doty, E., and W. J. Pohlman, "Tour in Borneo . . . during the Autumn of 1838," *Chinese Repository*, **8**: 288.
[3] Quoted in Roth, *op. cit.*, 141.
[4] Rutter, O., *The Pagans of North Borneo*, 186.

is not permanently preserved but the takers of many heads are distinguished by clothing of different colors graduated to represent their performances, are designated by a special title, and have official and spiritual functions:

Individual raiders sometimes carry home a head or a hand as evidence of a successful fight, and at such times festivals may be held to celebrate the event. However, the trophy soon loses its value and is hung or buried at a distance from the village. Head hunting for the sake of the trophy itself, does not exist here. . . . The chief aim in life of the man is to have the right to wear the blood-red clothing and to be known as *magani*. This term is applied to a man who has killed two or more persons. He is then entitled to wear the peculiar chocolate-colored head covering. When his score has reached four he can don blood-red trousers, and when he has six lives to his credit he is permitted to wear the complete blood-red suit and to carry a bag of the same color. From that time on his clothing does not change with the number of his victims, but his influence increases with each life put to his credit. It is said that formerly, at Digos and Bansalan, a man who had killed twenty or more was known as *gemawan*, and was distinguished by a black hemp suit. This claim to the black clothing is no longer respected, and such garments are worn by any who desire them. The man who has never killed a person is called *matalo*, a rather slighting term signifying one who has no desire to fight but remains at home with the women. A man who kills an unfaithful wife and her admirer may count the two on his score. He may also count those of his townspeople whom he has killed in fair fight, but unprovoked murder will be punished by the death of the offender. The candidate for magani honors may go to an unfriendly town, or to a neighboring tribe, and kill without fear of censure from his own people.

The magani is one of the leaders in a war party; he is chosen to inflict the death penalty when it is decreed, and it is men of this class that assist in the human sacrifices. He is under the special protection of Mandarangan and Darago, and all petitions to these powerful spirits must be made through him. His clothing is considered the property of these spirits, and when such specimens were secured for the collection, the wearer would invariably place the garment beside some prized article, such as a knife or spear, then taking a green betel nut would rub the garment and object, meanwhile beseeching the spirits to leave the one and enter the other. Later the nut was placed in the *tambara* belonging to those spirits. A father may not bequeath to his son the right to the red clothing; and such articles, together with his weapons, should be buried with him. Should one not entitled to these garments dare to make use of them, the spirits would straightway cause his body to swell or turn yellow, and he would die.[1]

[1] Cole, F. C., "The Wild Tribes of Davao District, Mindanao," *Field Mus. Nat. Hist., Anth. Ser.*, **12**: 94–97.

The possession of wealth is everywhere a fundamental basis of distinction in social distance, but its employment represents different patterns, some of them very extravagant.

In Bantu Africa, where life is on the rather stable economic basis of agricultural work and the possession of cattle, the ideal is the accumulation of many wives, many cattle, many children, much food, the completion of a circular village containing the wives and cattle, and the enjoyment of a reputation for extensive hospitality:

> Let us [says Junod] look at . . . Gidja. . . . His village numbered not less than twenty-four huts, with beautiful shady trees behind. . . . He walks about proudly in his favored enclosure, looking with pleasure on his prosperity. Young men are ready to do the work he will give them to do. He will treat them with beer brewed by his wives. And often the people of the neighboring villages will join his people for dances and games on the fine square which is surrounded and enclosed on all sides by huts.
>
> And, above all things, in the evening, each of his wives will bring him the pot which she has cooked for him. This is the essential matrimonial duty of the wife. Not one will fail in it. Gidja, the lord of six or seven pots of mealies seasoned with a sauce of monkey nuts, will feast and be satiated (*shura*) every day, and that means much, for the inner capacity of a Thonga is something wonderful.
>
> He will become large and stout, quite shining, which in South Africa is a sure sign of wealth and nobility. The stouter he gets the more he will be respected. But it is easy to conceive that he cannot empty by himself all these pots amidst which he is reigning. He treats his children, but others come to pay him visits at that evening hour when they know him to be surrounded by so many good things! The sycophants are not wanting! "Good evening, son of so and so!" do they say. "You are one of the great men of the country." And to answer these and other compliments, the magnanimous Gidja shares his feast with his admirers!
>
> Strangers are crossing the country and inquire where they could be received? "Go to Gidja" they are told. "*A ni tshengwe, a fuya tshengwe,*" *viz.*, "He is the possessor of a harem!" He is not killed by famine! He has beer to drink every day! He can give food to poor people. Even then, some of it remains in the plate and is eaten by little boys and dogs on the square. There is always abundance there. And the travelers come and enter (*khuleka*) his village, after which they will tell in their homes the story of the magnificence of Gidja and will extol his hospitality.
>
> Thus the man who has succeeded in life becomes famous, his advice will carry weight in the discussions in which he takes part; he will perhaps be even more esteemed than the chief himself, though he has not the

special prestige which the royal family owes to the blood which runs in its veins.[1]

In parts of Melanesia there is a concentration of attention on the promotion of family members in a men's club or *sukwe* by the purchase of successive grades, and on the competitive display of wealth in *kolekole* festivals. There are numerous grades in the sukwe society (Rivers enumerates thirteen for the island of Mota) and a boy may be entered by his family in the lowest grade in infancy and may progress as far as possible in his lifetime:

A man who has got to the very top and emerged, *me wot* [says Codrington], is a very great man indeed; he has the title of *wetuka*, as if he had reached the sky; he is of a rank which very few have attained, and without his consent, to be obtained by substantial payment, no one can be advanced at all. In the Banks' Island stories the poor lad or orphan who becomes the Fortunate Youth rises to greatness by the *suqe;* he takes the highest grade in this instead of marrying the king's daughter. In the absence of any more directly political arrangements among the people, it is plain that a valuable bond of society is furnished by the suqe, in which the male population generally is united, and in which a considerable power of control is vested in the elder and richer men, who can admit or reject candidates for the higher ranks as they think fit. The great mass of the natives never rise above the middle rank, many never arrive at that; but almost all, for the exceptions are very rare, are brought while still boys into the society. A man who has never entered has the nickname of a *lusa*, a kind of flying fox which does not gather with the flocks of the common sort. At entrance and at every successive step money has to be paid to those who have already attained it, and a feast more or less costly given according to the rank to be attained. Hence, while hardly any lad is so friendless as not to enter the lowest division, hardly any live to rise to the highest place; unless indeed they have entered very young, have had their early steps bought for them, and have been very prosperous in their undertakings.[2]

In connection with the sukwe there is a kolekole custom of giving frequent feasts, described by Rivers:

[The name *kolekole*] is given to performances, often of a very elaborate nature, which are, at any rate in many cases, closely connected with the organization of the sukwe and in which much of the ceremonial can only be carried out by those who have been initiated into certain ranks of this institution or into the *tamate* societies [parallel secret or "ghost" societies, of which there are seventy-seven in Mota]. The corresponding verb is *kole* and there are certain objects in connection with which it is customary

[1] Junod, H. A., *The Life of a South African Tribe*, 1: 125–128 (The Macmillan Company. By permission).

[2] Codrington, R. H., *The Melanesians: Studies in Their Anthropology and Folk-lore*, 103–104 (Clarendon Press. By permission).

or obligatory to have a kolekole in which a man is said to kole the object. Among objects so treated are ornaments of various kinds, especially the hats or masks of the sukwe, houses, trees, or stones, while it would seem that a man might kole with no other notion than that of acquiring the reputation of having done so. There is probably, however, far more meaning in such a procedure than my scanty investigations were able to elicit. The greater the number of things a man has been able to kole, the greater is his prestige and the higher his general position in society. . . .

Among the most important objects which a man should kole are various articles connected with the sukwe, and especially the hats or masks, and it seemed that it is from these performances that the chief pleasures of the sukwe are derived, for there are many features of the performances which are only open to those who have been initiated into certain departments of the ritual of the sukwe and tamate societies. . . . One of the chief objects which a woman should kole is the house. This is not necessary for men, but is incumbent on every woman unless she is to be continually subject to great inconvenience. A house which has been submitted to this ceremony is called *gavur lava* and a woman who has not herself performed such a ceremony would be prohibited from entering or even approaching a house of this kind. A more elaborate kolekole ceremony gives a house the name of *tamate woroworo* and here again such a house may only be approached by a woman who has performed the appropriate ceremony, *i.e.*, only women whose own houses are tamate woroworo may approach a house of that character. A woman who had not performed these ceremonies would be unable to use a path which passed by a house of the kind which she might not enter. . . .

There is much competition between different people in carrying out the kolekole ceremonial. Each man whose daughter or niece has to kole will try to outdo the performance of his neighbors. The chief features of a kolekole are the dance, the killing of pigs, and the payments to those who participate, and everyone will try to excel his neighbor in the splendor of the dance, the number of the slaughtered pigs, and the liberality of payment. The whole behavior of the people seems to be exactly of the same kind as when among ourselves people endeavor to gain social kudos by the splendor of weddings or funerals which may occur in their families. . . .

A man who has spent large sums of money in order to rise high in the sukwe has partly done so in order that by receiving money from those initiated later he may acquire wealth which will enable him to help his children and other relatives to follow in his footsteps. That such an idea is clearly present in the minds of the people is shown by the reasons given for the gift of the tamate woroworo by Gapal to his niece. . . . I think there can be no doubt that one of the motives which leads a man to advance in the sukwe or to enter his children is an idea corresponding very closely with that which underlies our practice of investment of capital. From one point of view, then, the sukwe and tamate societies and other associated institutions form a complex organization by means

of which wealth is acquired, and since it is only the rich or those with rich friends who can advance far in these bodies, the organization is a means for the perpetuation and even the accentuation of differences of social rank in so far as this rank is dependent on the possession of wealth . . . [but a man] however high in the sukwe he may be, will suffer social depreciation if he does not undertake such expense. Mr. Durrad was told that when a man reaches high rank in the sukwe and has thereby the power of amassing wealth, he would be considered unworthy of respect and honor if he hoarded his gains. To retain his influence and glory he must distribute his money by paying people to work for him in his gardens and by giving splendid kolekole performances.[1]

On the northwest coast of America rank is acquired through the custom of "potlatch" or the distribution of property. The original custom in the general population seems to have been the giving of a feast in memory of the dead, on the completion of a house, etc., to which rival sibs were invited. Food was lavishly provided and there was excessive and competitive eating, dancing, and boasting followed by the distribution of food, grease, and blankets to the guests. The affair had always, however, an aspect of hostility between the givers and receivers of the hospitality. The hosts made an ostentation of wealth and superiority and the guests were aware that they were invited to have their "names flattened."

Great rivalry was always exhibited by the two parties . . . and their endeavors to outdo each other sometimes almost resulted in bloodshed. Each side attended carefully to the slightest remark made by an opponent, especially by the two song leaders with which each was provided, and the least slight, though couched in the most metaphorical language, was at once seized upon and might precipitate a riot. The actions of each dancer were also scrutinized with great care, and any little mistake noted and remembered. The strain upon a dancer was consequently so great that, if a fine dancer died soon after the feast, it was said, "The people's looks have killed him."[2]

According to a native informant and participant in a potlatch among the Tlingit the hosts gave away about $11,000 worth of property in addition to sums contributed, according to custom, by other members of their clan:

While the other property was being gotten out they paid the principal guests one or two hundred dollars apiece just for dancing. Sometimes a man felt dissatisfied with what he had received and started to walk out.

[1] Rivers, W. H. R., *The History of Melanesian Society*, **1**: 130–141, *passim* (Cambridge University Press. By permission).

[2] Swanton, J. R., "Social Conditions, Beliefs, and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians," *Bur. Amer. Ethnol., Ann. Rep.*, **26**: 435.

Then the host went in front of him "with a dead man's name" (*i.e.*, mentioning the name of a dead relative), made him sit down, and doubled the amount of property given to him. It took four days to give out the blankets. As a man's name was called out he would answer "*Hade*" ("this way"), equivalent to English "here." At such times the host brought out his brother-in-law or his child and put him on the property before it was distributed. This was to make him high caste, for it would be afterwards said of him that so many blankets "were lost to see him."[1]

The property distributed is, however, by no means lost, since the guests will give a return potlatch in which they will attempt to flatten the names of their hosts by a still more expensive distribution. The potlatch may therefore be regarded in one of its aspects as a money-making enterprise.

In these tribes there is a rivalry between the clans, and in some cases a traditional rivalry has been established between certain clans of different tribes. They say that formerly they were rivals in feats of bravery but now they "fight only with property." Families prepare their sons for the fight, beginning with the accumulation of blankets, which are the common currency and worth about fifty cents each. Boas has described the steps by which a boy is prepared to fight with property:

> The child when born is given the name of the place where it is born. This name it keeps until about a year old. Then his father, mother, or some other relative, gives a paddle or a mat to each member of the clan and the child receives his second name. When the boy is about ten or twelve years old, he obtains his third name. In order to obtain it, he must distribute a number of small presents, such as shirts or single blankets, among his own clan or tribe. When the youth thus starts out in life, he is liberally assisted by his elders, particularly by the nobility of the tribe. . . .
>
> When the boy is about to take his third name, he will borrow blankets from the other members of the tribe, who all assist him. He must repay them after a year, or later, with 100 per cent interest. Thus he may have gathered 100 blankets. In June, the time set for this act, the boy will distribute these blankets among his own tribe, giving proportionately to every member of the tribe, but a few more to the chief. . . . When after this time any member of the tribe distributes blankets, the boy receives treble the amount he has given. The people make it a point to repay him inside of a month. Thus he owns 300 blankets, of which, however, he must repay 200 after the lapse of a year. He loans the blankets out among his friends, and thus at the close of the year he may possess about 400 blankets.

[1] *Ibid.*, 442.

The next June he pays his debts in a festival, at which all the clans from whom he borrowed blankets are present. The festival is generally held on the street or on an open place near the village. Up to this time he is not allowed to take part in feasts. But now he may distribute property in order to obtain a potlatch name. . . .

At this time . . . the chief calls all the older members of the tribe to a council, in which it is resolved that the boy is to receive his father's seat. . . . Then the boy distributes his blankets among the other clans and sells some for food, with which a feast is prepared. His father gives up his seat and takes his place among the old men. The blankets given away at this feast are repaid with 100 per cent interest. In this manner the young man continues to loan and to distribute blankets, and thus is able, with due circumspection and foresight, to amass a fortune. . . .

Possession of wealth is considered honorable, and it is the endeavor of each Indian to acquire a fortune. But it is not as much the possession of wealth as the ability to give great festivals which makes wealth a desirable object to the Indian. As the boy acquires his second name and man's estate by means of a distribution of property, which in course of time will revert to him with interest, the man's name acquires greater weight in the councils of the tribe and greater renown among the whole people, as he is able to distribute more and more property at each subsequent festival. Therefore boys and men are vying with each other in the arrangement of great distributions of property. Boys of different clans are pitted against each other by their elders, and each is exhorted to do his utmost to outdo his rival. And as the boys strive against each other, so do the chiefs and the whole clans, and the one object of the Indian is to outdo his rival.

The possibility [says Boas] of humiliating a man by giving him property becomes plain when we understand that a gift cannot be refused, that it must be repaid with 100 per cent interest, and compare these conditions with the interest rates he must pay in case he is obliged to borrow:

The recipient [in a distribution of blankets] is not at liberty to refuse the gift, although according to what I have said it is nothing but an interest-bearing loan that must be refunded at some future time with 100 per cent interest. This festival is called . . . literally, "flattening something" (for instance, a basket). This means that by the amount of property given the name of the rival is flattened. . . .

When a native has to pay debts and has not a sufficient number of blankets, he borrows them from his friends and has to pay the following rates of interest: For a period of a few months, for 5 borrowed blankets 6 must be returned; for a period of six months, for 5 borrowed blankets 7 must be returned; for a period of twelve months or longer, for 5 borrowed blankets 10 must be returned.

When a person has a poor credit, he may pawn his name for a year. Then the name must not be used during that period, and for 30 blankets which he has borrowed he must pay 100 in order to redeem his name. This is called "selling a slave."

In the more important contests blankets are not adequate as values and copper plates are used:

The front of the copper is covered with black lead, in which a face, representing the crest animal of the owner, is graven. These coppers have the same function which bank notes of high denominations have with us. The actual value of the piece of copper is small, but it is made to represent a large number of blankets and can always be sold for blankets. The value is not arbitrarily set, but depends upon the amount of property given away in the festival at which the copper is sold. On the whole, the oftener a copper is sold the higher its value, as every new buyer tries to invest more blankets in it. Therefore the purchase of a copper also brings distinction, because it proves that the buyer is able to bring together a vast amount of property.

Each copper has a name (*e.g.*, "All-other-coppers-are-ashamed-to-look-at-it," "Making-the-house-empty-of-blankets") and the highest values run from 5,000 to 7,500 blankets.

Coppers are always sold to rivals, and often a man will offer his copper for sale to the rival tribe. If it is not accepted, it is an acknowledgment that nobody in the tribe has money enough to buy it, and the name of the tribe or clan would consequently lose in weight. Therefore, if a man is willing to accept the offer, all the members of the tribe must assist him in this undertaking with loans of blankets.

"Killing property" is the extreme phase of this prestige seeking:

A chief will burn blankets, a canoe, or break a copper, thus indicating his disregard of the amount of property destroyed and showing that his mind is stronger, his power greater, than that of his rival. If the latter is not able to destroy an equal amount of property without much delay, his name is "broken." He is vanquished by his rival and his influence with his tribe is lost, while the name of the other chief gains correspondingly in renown.

Feasts may also be counted as destruction of property, because the food given cannot be returned except by giving another feast. The most expensive sort of feast is the one at which enormous quantities of fish oil (made of the eulachon) are consumed and burnt, the so-called "grease feast." Therefore it also raises the name of the person who can afford to give it, and the neglect to speedily return it entails a severe loss of prestige. Still more feared is the breaking of a valuable copper. A chief may break his copper and give the broken parts to his rival. If the latter wants to keep his prestige, he must break a copper of equal or higher value, and then return both his own broken copper and the frag-

ments which he has received to his rival. The latter may then pay for the copper which he has thus received. The chief to whom the fragments of the first copper are given may, however, also break his copper and throw both into the sea. The Indians consider that by this act the attacked rival has shown himself superior to his aggressor, because the latter may have expected to receive the broken copper of his rival in return so that an actual loss would have been prevented. . . .

The rivalry between chiefs, when carried so far that coppers are destroyed and that grease feasts are given in order to destroy the prestige of the rival, often develop into open enmity. When a person gives a grease feast, a great fire is lighted in the center of the house. The flames leap up to the roof and the guests are almost scorched by the heat. Still the etiquette demands that they do not stir, else the host's fire has conquered them. Even when the roof begins to burn and the fire attacks the rafters, they must appear unconcerned. The host alone has the right to send a man up to the roof to put out the fire. While the feast is in progress the host sings a scathing song ridiculing his rival and praising his own clan, the feats of his forefathers and his own. Then the grease is filled in large spoons and passed to the rival chief first. If a person thinks he has given a greater grease feast than that offered by the host, he refuses the spoon. Then he runs out of the house [literally, "chief rises against his face"] to fetch his copper "to squelch with it the fire." The host proceeds at once to tie a copper to each of his house posts. If he should not do so, the person who refused the spoon would on returning strike the posts with the copper, which is considered equal to striking the chief's face. Then the man who went to fetch his copper breaks it and gives it to the host. This is called "squelching the host's fire."

Boastful and abusive songs are a part of these grease feasts. In the following example the chief Greatest Smoke is ridiculing his rival Ten-fathom-face for not returning a feast:

1. I thought another one was causing the smoky weather? I am the only one on earth—the only one in the world who makes thick smoke rise from the beginning of the year to the end [by the fire of the grease feast] for the invited tribes.

2. What will my rival say again—that "spider woman"; what will he pretend to do next? The words of that "spider woman" do not go a straight way. Will he not brag that he is going to give away canoes, that he is going to break coppers, that he is going to give a grease feast? Such will be the words of the "spider woman," and therefore your face is dry and moldy, you who are standing in front of the stomachs of the chiefs.

3. Nothing will satisfy you; but sometimes I treated you so roughly that you begged for mercy. Do you know what you will be like? You will be like an old dog, and you will spread your legs before me when I get

excited. You did so when I broke the great coppers "Cloud" and "Making Ashamed," my great property and the great coppers, "Chief" and "Killer Whale," and the one named "Point of Island" and "The Feared One" and "Beaver." This I throw into your face, you whom I always tried to vanquish; whom I have maltreated; who does not dare to stand erect when I am eating; the chief whom even every weak man tries to vanquish.

4. Now my feast! Go to him, the poor one who wants to be fed from the son of the chief whose own name is "Full of Smoke" and "Greatest Smoke." Never mind; give him plenty to eat, make him drink until he will be qualmish and vomits. My feast steps over the fire right up to the chief.[1]

Boas adds that "in order to make the effect of the song still stronger, an effigy of the rival chief is sometimes placed near the fire. He is lean, and is represented in an attitude as though begging that the fire be not made any hotter, as it is already scorching him."

In another study Boas has enumerated the metaphors used in describing the greatness of a chief or of a warrior:

The chief is compared to a mountain; a precipice (from which rolls down wealth overwhelming the tribes); a rock which cannot be climbed; the post of heaven (who supports the world); the only great tree (that raises its crown over the lesser trees of the woods or that rises in lonely height on an island); a loaded canoe at anchor; the one who makes the whole world smoky (from the fire in the house in which he gives feasts); the thick tree; the thick root (of the tribe). It is said that through his great acts he burns up the tribes, a term which is primarily used for the warrior. The people follow him as the young sawbill ducks follow the mother bird. He makes the people suffer with his short-life maker; he shoves away the tribes. His rival whom he tries to vanquish is called, he with ruffled feathers; the one whom he puts across his back (like a wolf carrying a deer); the one with lolling tongue; the one who loses his tail (like the salmon); the spider woman; old dog; moldy face; dry face; broken piece of copper.[2]

Commenting on this pattern, Benedict has referred to some other aspects of the fashion of "fighting with property":

All the circumstances of life are regarded on the Northwest Coast, not as occasions for violent grief or equally violent jubilation, occasions for freely expending energy in differentiated ways, but primarily . . . all of them alike, . . . are occasions for the required fight for prestige. Sex, the life cycle, death, warfare, are all almost equivalent raw material

[1] Boas, F., "The Social Organization and Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," *U.S. Natl. Mus., Rep. for* 1895: 341–356, *passim*.

[2] Boas, F., *Primitive Art*, 321 (Oslo: H. Aschehoug and Co; Cambridge: Harvard University Press. By permission).

for cultural patterning to this end. A girl's adolescence is an event for which her father gathers property for ten years in order to demonstrate his greatness by a great distribution of wealth; it is not as a fact in the girl's sex life that it figures in their culture, but as a rung of her father's ladder toward higher social standing, therefore also of her own. For since in this region all property that is distributed must be paid back with usury (else the recipient will entirely lose face), to make oneself poor is the prime act in acquiring wealth. Even a quarrel with one's wife is something only a great man may indulge in, for it entails the distribution of all his property, even to the rafters of his house. But if the chief has enough wealth for this distribution of property, he welcomes the occasion as he does his daughter's puberty as a rung in the ladder of advancement.[1]

The potlatch, which is one of the most extreme cases of perseverative patterning, is nevertheless no more than the development in a particular direction of a universal initial pattern of rivalry. It represents the ramifications possible when an initial direction has been taken by a fashion. (Another of its aspects will be mentioned in the chapter on primitive law.) Mead has recorded an item from a New Guinea tribe which may be taken as the initial pattern, representing desire for recognition plus malice, and amounting to the will to power:

If a man wishes to demonstrate his superior wealth he may choose to give a yam feast to a man who has been his enemy, and so heap coals of fire upon his head. The man to whom the feast is given will have to return it in kind or else lose prestige. But for such a feast a man draws mainly on his own garden and the gardens of immediate allies.[2]

The transfer of rituals, among the Blackfoot, described by Wissler above, feebly parallels the potlatch practice in the compulsory aspect of the transfer in some cases, in the cooperation of relatives and siblings in the purchase, and in the progressive increase of the value of the article in the course of the transfers. Among the Polynesian Tonga the Kwakiutl pattern is found but concentrated in connection with the transfer of members of one family to another in marriage:

In distributing the presents, the bridegroom's father or other official representative of his people (according to some informants it was the father's sister who distributed the wealth) had in mind what each person had donated toward the present that had been given to the bride's people, and each got his original gift returned in double quantity. In accomplishing this return the distributor often stripped his own house of all its possessions, counting the social prestige of his family of greater value than

[1] Benedict, R., "Configurations of Culture in North America," *Amer. Anth.*, N.S., **34**: 19–20.

[2] Mead, M., *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies*, 186 (William Morrow & Company, Inc. By permission).

his material property. If he should fail to complete the traditional remuneration to all concerned, his unmarried sons and daughters and the progeny of his married children lost face and might consequently fail to contract desirable marriages. If the distributor had insufficient goods to meet the demands, he set his household to work making tapa, mats, baskets, oil, and other articles required.

A similar distribution was made of the presents of the bridegroom's people to the bride's people.

If there was great inequality in the size of the wedding gifts, the group making the smaller donation was shamed and lost social prestige to the other group. It is not to be implied that this portioning out of the *koloa* took place in one day. It began immediately after the breaking of the kava circle, but it often lasted a month and even two months.[1]

Another pattern through which distinction is acquired in connection with property is the *kula* of the Trobriand Islanders. In this case, however, the articles have no practical value and the prestige is associated with their historical and personal associations and with the extent and success of the exchange relationships involved in their collection and distribution. Malinowski compares the articles with crown jewels, which are not frequently used, and with sport trophies, which are not long retained:

The kula is a form of exchange, of extensive, intertribal character; it is carried on by communities inhabiting a wide ring of islands, which form a closed circuit. . . . Along this route, articles of two kinds, and these two kinds only, are constantly traveling in opposite directions. In the direction of the hands of a clock, moves constantly one of these kinds —long necklaces of red shell, called *soulava*. In the opposite direction moves the other kind—bracelets of white shell called *mwali*. Each of these articles, as it travels in its own direction on the closed circuit, meets on its way articles of the other class, and is constantly being exchanged for them. Every movement of the kula articles, every detail of the transactions is fixed and regulated by a set of traditional rules and conventions, and some acts of the kula are accompanied by an elaborate magical ritual and public ceremonies.

On every island and in every village, a more or less limited number of men take part in the kula—that is to say, receive the goods, hold them for a short time, and then pass them on. Therefore every man who is in the kula, periodically though not regularly, receives one or several mwali (arm shells), or a soulava (necklace of red shell disks), and then has to hand it on to one of his partners, from whom he receives the opposite commodity in exchange. Thus no man ever keeps any of the articles for any length of time in his possession. . . . This partnership is entered upon in a definite manner, under fulfillment of certain formalities, and it constitutes a life-long relationship. The number of partners

[1] Gifford, E. W., "Tongan Society," *Bernice P. Bishop Mus., Bull.*, **61**: 193.

a man has varies with his rank and importance. A commoner in the Trobriands would have a few partners only, whereas a chief would number hundreds of them. There is no special social mechanism to limit the partnership of some people and extend that of the others, but a man would naturally know to what number of partners he was entitled by his rank and position. And there would be always the example of his immediate ancestors to guide him. In other tribes, where the distinction of rank is not so pronounced, an old man of standing, or a headman of a hamlet or village would also have hundreds of kula associates, whereas a man of minor importance would have but few. . . .

The main principle underlying the regulations of actual exchange is that the kula consists in the bestowing of a ceremonial gift, which has to be repaid by an equivalent countergift after a lapse of time, be it a few hours or even minutes, though sometimes as much as a year or more may elapse between payments. But it can never be exchanged from hand to hand, with the equivalence between the two objects discussed, bargained about, and computed. The decorum of the kula transaction is strictly kept, and highly valued. The natives sharply distinguish it from barter, which they practice extensively, of which they have a clear idea, and for which they have a settled term—in Kiriwinian: *gimwali*. Often, when criticizing an incorrect, too hasty, or indecorous procedure of kula, they will say: "He conducts his kula as if it were gimwali."

The second very important principle is that the equivalence of the countergift is left to the giver, and it cannot be enforced by any kind of coercion. A partner who has received a kula gift is expected to give back fair and full value, that is, to give as good an arm shell as the necklace he receives, or vice versa. Again, a very fine article must be replaced by one of equivalent value, and not by several minor ones, though intermediate gifts may be given to mark time before the real repayment takes place. If the article given as countergift is not equivalent, the recipient will be disappointed and angry, but he has no direct means of redress, no means of coercing his partner, or of putting an end to the whole transaction. . . .

Although haggling and bargaining are completely ruled out of the kula, there are customary and regulated ways of bidding for a piece of *vaygua* known to be in the possession of one's partner. This is done by the offer of what we shall call solicitary gifts, of which there are several types. If I, an inhabitant of Sinaketa, happen to be in possession of a pair of arm shells more than usually good, the fame of it spreads, for it must be remembered that each one of the first-class arm shells and necklaces has a personal name and a history of its own, and as they circulate around the big ring of the kula, they are all well known, and their appearance in a given district always creates a sensation. Now, all my partners—whether from overseas or from within the district—compete for the favor of receiving this particular article of mine, and those who are specially keen try to obtain it by giving me *pokala* (offerings) and *kaributu* (solicitary gifts). The former (pokala) consist as a rule of

pigs, especially fine bananas, and yams or taro; the latter (kaributu) are of greater value; the valuable, large ax blades (called *beku*), or lime spoons of whalebone are given. . . .

[Women accompany the expeditions] but they do not carry on overseas kula exchange, neither among themselves, nor with men. In Kiriwina, some women, notably the chief's wives, are admitted to the honor and privilege of exchanging vaygua, though in such cases the transactions are done *en famille*. To take a concrete case, in October or November, 1915, To'uluwa, the chief of Omarakana, brought a fine haul of mwali from Kitava. The best pair of these he presented to his veteran wife, Bokuyoba, a wife whom he had inherited from his elder brother Numakala. Bokuyoba in turn gave the pair, without much delay, to Kadamwasila, the favorite wife of the chief, the mother of five sons and one daughter. She again gave it to her son, Namwana Guyau, who kula'd it on to some of his southern partners. Next time he receives a soulava necklace, he will give it, not to his father directly, but to his mother, who will hand it over to her senior colleague, and this venerable lady will give it to To'uluwa. The whole transaction is evidently a complimentary interpolation of the two *giyovila* (chief's wives) in between the simple transaction of the chief giving the vaygua to his son. This interpolation gives the women much pleasure, and is highly valued by them. In fact, at that time I heard more about that than about all the rest of the exchanges associated with this overseas trip.

In Southern Boyowa, that is, in Sinaketa and Vakuta, the role of women is similar, but they play besides another part. A man would sometimes send his wife with a kula gift to his partner in the neighboring village. On some occasions, when he needs vaygua very badly, as for instance when he is expecting some *uvalaku* visitors, his wife may help him to obtain the vaygua from that partner. For, though this latter might refuse to give it to his Sinaketan partner, he would not do so to his wife. It must be added that no sexual motives are associated with it, and that it is only a sort of customary compliment paid to the fair sex.

In Dobu, the wife, or the sister of a man, is always credited with a great influence over his kula decisions. Therefore, there is a special form of magic, used by the Sinaketans, in order to act on the minds of the Dobuan women. Although, in matters of sex, a Trobriander would have absolutely to keep aloof from Dobuan women, married or unmarried, he would approach them with nice speeches and gifts in matters of kula. He would reproach an unmarried girl with her brother's conduct towards him. She would then ask for a piece of betel nut. This would be given with some magic spoken over it, and the girl, it is believed, would then influence her brother to kula with his partner.[1]

The initial step toward the kula pattern may be seen in the *hiri* of the Motu, a tribe lying west of the Trobriands. This was an

[1] Malinowski, B., *Argonauts of the Western Pacific: An Account of Native Enterprise and Adventure in the Archipelagoes of Melanesian New Guinea*, 81–99, 280–281, *passim* (London: George Routledge and Sons; New York: E. P. Dutton & Company, Inc. By permission).

annual expedition to the tribes of the Papuan Gulf for the purpose of exchanging earthenware and ornaments for sago:

Every year, at the end of September, or the beginning of October, the season of the southeast trade wind being then near its close, a fleet of large sailing canoes leaves Port Moresby and the neighboring villages of the Motu tribe on a voyage to the deltas of the rivers of the Papuan Gulf. The canoes are laden with earthenware pots of various shapes and sizes which are carefully packed for the voyage in dry banana leaves. In addition to these, certain other articles highly valued as ornaments (and latterly foreign made articles of utility) are also taken for barter. The canoes return during the northwest monsoon after an absence of about three months, laden with sago which the voyagers have obtained in exchange for their pots and other articles.

The origin of these western trading expeditions, called by the Motu *hiri*, is veiled in obscurity. Everything goes to prove that the custom has been in existence for many generations. The fact that the Motu and the various Gulf tribes visited by them make use of a common trading dialect which is in some measure distinct from the very widely divergent languages of either, justifies the conclusion that the custom has existed for a very considerable period. [During the voyage sexual and food tabus are enforced, and corresponding ones by the women at home.][1]

The arrival of the *lakatoi* [boat] at its destination in the Gulf [says Seligman] is an occasion for great rejoicing. As soon as the vessel is moored in the river opposite the village to which it is bound, tabus cease to exist, the *baditauna* [originator (of the expedition)] and *doritauna* [top man] and *udiha* leap into the water to wash off the accumulated dirt of months. A ceremonial visit is then paid by the headmen of the Gulf village with their escort to the lakatoi and during it each man of the crew selects an individual to be his *tarua* (friend), and they make much of each other.

Baditauna and doritauna each select two headmen for their *tarua*, and they adorn these men with the personal ornaments they have brought to barter. As soon as this has been done—but not before—the crew produce their ornaments, and each one proceeds to decorate with them his chosen friend. Every article so bestowed has its recognized value, and—if accepted—the corresponding value will be given in exchange. . . . When the sago is brought down the parcels in which it is packed called *gorugoru* and *turua* are put aboard first. These have been paid for in *toia* (shell armlets), *mairi* (pearl shell crescents, or, generally in the Gulf the whole shell, for the people there prefer a rather shorter and deeper crescen and so grind down the shell themselves), *tautau* (*Nassa* necklaces), etc.

In this case the ornaments are present, ceremonial friendships are established, but the ornaments are carried in only one direction.

[1] Narrative of Captain F. R. Barton, in Seligman, C. G., *The Melanesians of British New Guinea*, 96 (Cambridge University Press. By permission).
[2] *Ibid.*, 108.

The Motu women received only sago from their returning husbands. No kula circuit was established but the basis for an elaboration was present.

Among a Polynesian group, in the Island of Tahiti, special privileges were acquired by membership in the *arioi* society and at the same time the most extraordinary requirement was made of its members that they should kill all their children at birth.

The attention of the early English missionaries was of course fixed particularly on the infanticide aspect of the society, and they usually represented it as a body of licentious strolling players, welcomed and feasted as pantomimists and comedians by the general population. But from both the narratives of the old voyagers and from later studies it appears that the society had several aspects, some of them dignified and socially important, that its composition included various types of personality, and that the privileges enjoyed and the infanticide practiced were a stepping-up of patterns which were prevalent in simpler forms either in Tahiti or in the neighboring islands.

There was to begin with a pleasure and beautification pattern in this whole region. We have noticed already the sexual license of the young *ka'ioi* of the Marquesas, and Handy reports further of the beautification:

> The mark of a *ka'ioi*, male or female, was the excessive use of saffron (*ena*). In discussing ka'ioi, a native said to me, "*A'o'e te ena, a'o'e te ka'ioi*" (without saffron, there is no such thing as ka'ioi). The loin cloth (*hami*) of the men was dyed yellow or yellow-orange in a mixture of perfumed coconut oil and raw or baked ena. The loin cloth (*eu'eu*) and robe (*kahu*) of the girls were likewise dyed yellow with unbaked saffron. The bodies of both youths and maids were anointed with saffron and oil, making them brilliant, soft, and—to the native sense—sweet-scented. Further embellishments were flowers in the hair and behind the ears, crowns and necklaces (*hei*) made of fragrant flowers or herbs, and particularly of the heavy scented pandanus seed. The prime motive of the ka'ioi was play. They spent their time in beautifying themselves and in circulating about the valleys in groups seeking amusement. *Uta* and *komumu*, love songs, and erotic songs called *hioo*, were those which they sang particularly.[1]

The Marquesan culture is simpler than that of Tahiti and the ka'ioi were not organized as a society, but their activities probably represent the background in earlier Tahiti on which the arioi society was devolped, and in addition to beautification and pleasure

[1] Handy, E. S. C., "The Native Culture in the Marquesas," *Bernice P. Bishop Mus., Bull.*, **9**: 39.

the Marquesan culture contained elements of the histrionic activity of the arioi emphasized by the missionaries:

It seems probable that *ka'ioi* was a more definitely developed institution in the northern section than in the southern. The accounts of early visitors suggest its being more definitely organized there than evidence obtained from informants in the southern section would indicate. Certain it is, however, that there was nowhere any definite organization into a society comparable to that of the *arioi* in Tahiti. And, furthermore, it is certain that there was never any honor paid to them in the Marquesas.

Stewart speaks of the ka'ioi of Nuku Hiva in this way: "There are those among the men, a species of dandy I presume, who imitate the females in the use of the juice of the papa, and in avoiding all exposure to the sun; but do it at the sacrifice of the privileges of the tabu. They are indeed chiefly of the number already under its restrictions, as singers and dancers at the public exhibitions. The singers by profession called ka'ioi are the poets and composers as well as performers of the songs sung on these occasions." Garcia describes the part played by the ka'ioi in the festivals. In a description of a great ko'ina that he witnessed, he says: "Among them, there were even a number of true buffoons (*saltimbanques*), young men and women, more embellished still than others, and especially oiled and saffroned with a kind of yellow pigment which made of them demons as red as fire. While they performed their farces, dancing, marching, and gesticulating, and while the music played its airs to the accompaniment of the prayers of the priests, all the rest of the assembly [were] seated with the air of princes on their thrones."[1]

On the other hand, there was a religious aspect in the activities of the Marquesan ka'ioi and the Tahitian arioi. The actor, dancer, pantomimist, was, in function if not in name, a priest. At the seasonal festivals the histrionic performances were designed to promote fertility of men, gods, and land:

While superficially the main object in the festivities seems to have been enjoyment, there was certainly an underlying religious meaning. In the first place, just as the offerings at this and other times were intended to attract the gods to places where their presence was desired, so on these occasions of food gathering the feasting, sports, and dances were undoubtedly thought, and intended, to attract the gods, in whose honor the rites were celebrated, to the localities where their influence (*mana*) was needed. The very bounty of the feasts at these times was probably also believed both to strengthen and to exhilarate the gods present as it did men, and to affect directly the fecundity of the earth. . . .

The arioi society in Tahiti . . . represents an elaboration of the ka'ioi institution of the simpler Marquesan culture. In Tahiti the arioi were much more than a mere unorganized body of young people who sang

[1] *Ibid.*, 40–41.

and danced at feasts. It was an organized order which, while retaining its original function and purpose, had developed or acquired many new characteristics. Yellow was the color of the arioi as it was of the ka'ioi; but red was made use of also, for this was sacred to Oro, who was their patron; the red girdle, also sacred to this god, was the symbol of the order. The arioi society had a system of lodges in the various districts and islands of the Society Islands, with different degrees or ranks within the lodges. There were elaborate initiation rites, the payment of fees upon admission, and advancement in rank. Each degree was distinguished by a particular tattoo design. Those who presented themselves as candidates were supposed to be inspired by Oro: they announced their candidacy by leaping into a circle of arioi, when they were assembled, and performing a dance. The life of the members of the lodges consisted in traveling from place to place, dancing, singing, and feasting upon the bounty of the land, for the groups of arioi were everywhere lavishly entertained and honored. They were, furthermore, regarded as very sacred; for there was a special form of religious service performed at the district temple for deceased arioi; and it was believed that their souls went to dwell in everlasting bliss in a paradise reserved for them, situated above the sacred Mount Mehani on Raiaatea. The sacredness of the arioi is one of the indications of the religious significance of the order; a second indication lies in the rule, which was enforced without exception, that they should kill all their offspring; a third is found in their activities at the times of religious feasts; and finally, the myth that explained their origin clearly shows this institution to have been fundamentally religious, and confutes the popular conception that its only object was unrestrained indulgence of the sexual appetite and enjoyment of the hospitality of chiefs and people.[1]

This combination of the sacred and profane as described by Handy may be accepted as the origin of the arioi society, but from other sources it appears that he has emphasized somewhat disproportionately its sacred and serious aspects. An examination of the narratives of the old voyagers and missionaries makes it plain that the society was recruited from the most various elements of society, including priests, chiefs, political aspirants, effeminate sons of noble families, aristocratic women with their lovers, sexual degenerates, many handsome, athletic specimens, etc., in addition to the singers and dancers.

The sacred aspect of the society was the basis of a popular response and hospitality, but transgressing the original meaning of the seasonal festivals, the arioi pillaged the inhabitants to the degree that in some cases they withdrew from the more fertile lands to the more inaccessible mountains. The informant of

[1] Handy, E. S. C., "Polynesian Religion," *Bernice P. Bishop Mus., Bull.*, **34**: 306–308.

Captain Wilson, in the following passage written in 1797, was a Swedish Finn, living in the island at the time:

From the center hills towards the sea, for a little distance up, the hills abounded with coconuts and breadfruit, and the more interior parts with mountain plantain, taro, and a variety of other things, which they have recourse to when the low land cannot supply all their wants. Asking Peter what reasons they gave for not cultivating more of those articles on the low ground, as it was evident they would grow as well, or better, there, he said it was on account of the havoc made by the ariois, and those who accompany Otto in his feastings round the island; at which times, though they only stay two or three days in a district, they consume and wantonly destroy all the produce, and often the young plants, leaving nothing for the settled inhabitants of the place to subsist on, but what they derive from the mountains: on this account they submit to the trouble of climbing almost inaccessible places, rather than expose much of the produce of their labor to those privileged robbers.[1]

The suggestion of Handy that the obligatory infanticide had originally a religious meaning is also highly improbable. It looks like anything but a part of the fertility rites in connection with which he mentions it, and its ultimate origin is probably in the preoccupation of women with other things than children. We have noticed the preoccupation with beautification and pleasure, and this pattern of interest was prominent in all Polynesian societies. In Tonga, for example, the refinement of beautification reached the following culmination among the girls of the nobility:

Special care was taken of the complexion of girls of rank. The following processes were used: (*a*) *kaukautuitui*, the rubbing of the entire body with chewed candle nut (*tuitui*); (*b*) painting of entire body, excluding lips, with a mixture (*valienga*) of *lolo* oil and turmeric (*enga*). This was done twice a week on alternate weeks and after several hours was washed off, and the skin dressed with oil, to produce a smooth glistening surface; (*c*) keeping in shade to prevent sunburn.

After bathing a chief's daughter previous to her retiring, her female attendants chew scented fruits and flowers, and mixing the masticated material with scented oil rub it over her body. . . .

The female attendants upon the daughter of a chief did not allow her to eat too much. This *tapu* was enforced to prevent the overdevelopment of her abdominal region.

When a chief's daughter ate or sat in her house, she was surrounded by a mat screen and seated on a high cushion (*fakamolu*) composed of mats and soft tapa. The purpose of the soft cushion was to keep the skin of her upper legs and buttocks soft and smooth, unblemished by

[1] Wilson, J., *A Missionary Voyage to the Southern Pacific Ocean, Performed in the Years* 1796, 1797, 1798, *in the Ship Duff, Commanded by Captain James Wilson*, 197.

any hard thickness or marks that might result from sitting on a hard surface.

A treatment applied only to the daughters of high chiefs is called *fakatafa*. After an evening bath and oiling from head to feet, the girl's legs were tied together just about the knees with a piece of fine soft tapa, and she was laid upon her side to sleep. This sleeping position (*tokonaki*), lying on the shoulder with the arms straightened, prevented the elbows from being exposed to pressure or other contact that would mar their beauty. The tying of the knees was for the express purpose of insuring the maiden against sexual attack on the part of a foolish lover or malicious enemy.

A chief's daughter or chief's women of youth and beauty sit with the feet half folded under and crossed at one side in a manner as to protect the ankle bones from possible pressure against a hard surface, a position known as *faite*, thus insuring a smooth skin over the ankles, a mark of beauty.

The "corset" (*nonoo*) for chief girls consists of a short piece of tapa wrapped about the small of the waist and the abdomen and tied in front. Its purpose is to suppress the abdomen and give the waist a small appearance.[1]

This preoccupation, which was shared by the general population, was not favorable to the rearing of children, and infanticide was prevalent in Polynesia. Captain Wilson says of the Tahitians in his diary, under the date July 13, 1797:

This evening I learnt that, besides the members of the arreoy society, it is the common practice among all ranks to strangle infants the moment they are born. A perpetrator of this horrid act was among those whom curiosity drew to visit us: she was a good-looking woman, and esteemed by the natives a great beauty, which I suppose to be the inducement that tempted her to murder her child; for here the number of women bearing no proportion to the men, those esteemed handsome are courted with great gifts, and get so accustomed to change their husbands, to go with them from place to place, and run after the diversions of the island, that rather than be debarred these pleasures, they stifle a parent's feelings, and murder their tender offspring.[2]

The missionary Williams has given a picture of the extent of the practice in 1829:

[The practice of infanticide] did not prevail either at the Navigators or Hervey groups; but the extent to which it was carried at the Tahitian and Society Islands almost exceeds credibility. Of this, however, I may enable the reader to form some estimate by selecting a few out of numberless circumstances which have come within my own knowledge. Gen-

[1] Gifford, *op. cit.*, 129–130.
[2] Wilson, *op. cit.*, 194.

erally, I may state that, in the last-mentioned group, I never conversed with a female that had borne children prior to the introduction of Christianity, who had not destroyed some of them, and frequently as many as from five to ten. During the visit of the Deputation, our respected friend, G. Bennett, Esq., was our guest for three or four months; and, on one occasion, while conversing on the subject, he expressed a wish to obtain accurate knowledge of the extent to which this cruel system had prevailed. Three women were sitting in the room at the time, making European garments, under Mrs. W.'s direction: and, after replying to Mr. Bennett's inquiries, I said, "I have no doubt but that each of these women have destroyed some of their children." Looking at them with an expression of surprise and incredulity, Mr. B. exclaimed, "Impossible! such motherly, respectable women could never have been guilty of so great an atrocity." "Well," I added, "we'll ask them." Addressing the first, I said to her, "Friend, how many children have you destroyed?" She was startled at my question, and at first charged me with unkindness, in harrowing up her feelings by bringing the destruction of her babes to her remembrance; but, upon hearing the object of my inquiry, she replied, with a faltering voice, "I have destroyed *nine*." The second, with eyes suffused with tears, said, "I have destroyed *seven*;" and the third informed us that she had destroyed *five*. Thus three individuals, casually selected, had killed one-and-twenty children![1]

Mention is made also of infanticide as a means of improving status:

> If a woman of rank was united to a man of inferior grade, the destruction of two, four, or six infants was required, to raise him to an equality with her; and when this had been effected, the succeeding children were spared.[2]

Other reports do not mention the elevation of the man to a higher rank but state that all children of a union between a woman of rank and a commoner were killed and, as pointed out by Mühlmann,[3] we may have here the critical point in the infanticide provision of the arioi. The women members of the society were usually individuals of rank, they are reported as surrounding themselves with lovers, often from the lower classes, and they were interested in introducing these as members of the society. The general situation was favorable to the definite casting into a fashion of a prevalent practice, and, since it was obligatory to kill the children of these high-class women and their lovers anyway, the fashion and the rule of the society may have crystallized at this point.

[1] Williams, J., *A Narrative of Missionary Enterprise in the South Sea Islands*, 498–500.
[2] *Ibid.*, 504.
[3] Mühlmann, W. E., "Die Geheime Gesellschaft der Arioi," *Internat. Arch. f. Ethnog.*, **32**: 70.

The attitude of the members of the society toward the practice when the fashion had become recognized in a code is shown in the following items from the narrative of Wilson:

[April 8, 1797.] One of the ariois, the *tayo* [close friend] of brother Henry, came to us with his wife big with child: they were taking their leave of us, in order, during their absence, to destroy the infant which should be born, according to the ordinance of that diabolical society. We thought this a proper opportunity to remonstrate with them against this horrid custom. The mother felt with tenderness, and appeared willing to spare the infant; but the brutal chief continued obstinately bent on his purpose, though he acknowledged it a bloody act, pleading the established custom, his loss of all privileges, and the dissolution of the society, if this should become general. . . .

[April 9, 1797.] Pomarre [a chief] and Iddeah [his wife] came at noon, and going into the married brethren's apartment, found them conversing with the ariois on the evil of destroying infants. Iddeah was particularly addressed on the subject, as she too was pregnant by a *toutou* who cohabited with her, and was also of the arioi society. Pomarre and Iddeah had for some time ceased to cohabit; he had taken another wife, and she one of her servants; but they lived in the same state of friendship, and with no loss of dignity. The brethren endeavored to convince her of the dreadfulness of murder, in a mother especially. They promised to receive the child immediately, and it should be no trouble to her; but she was sullen, and made no reply. They then addressed Pomarre, and entreated his interference in suppressing such acts of inhumanity; and to give orders that no more human sacrifices should be offered. He replied, he would; said, that Captain Cook told him it should not be done; but did not stay long enough to instruct them. . . .

We renewed our attempts with Iddeah, invited her to continue with us, and suffer our women to take care of her child; that her example would have the happiest effects upon the nation; and knowing her eagerness for European cloth, we promised her three shirts, and any other articles, when the ship arrived; yea more, that we would report her conduct to Queen Charlotte and the British *earee* [noble] ladies, to whom nothing would more endear her; and that the next ship would assuredly bring her very valuable presents. She said the child was base born; had it been Pomarre's, it would have lived; but that now they were ariois—and marched off with her paramour, who sat by and heard with utter indifference. . . .

[April 12, 1797.] This day Iddeah appeared again in public, and Manne Manne communicated to us the afflictive intelligence that she had murdered her newborn babe. . . .

[July 17, 1797.] Iddeah having come to Matavai, sent to the ship to know whether the captain was angry with her. The messenger was told that he was not; and as a token thereof, a plantain leaf was sent her. She then came on board, bringing with her two large hogs and two

bundles of cloth: one of each was her own present, the other that of Pomarre. When seated in the cabin, she was asked the reason why she killed her child: in answer to which she said, that the man with whom she cohabited was a low man; had the child been Pomarre's, she would have spared it; but since it was the custom of the *earees* to murder all base-born children, she had only acted agreeably thereto. The father of the child was sitting by her, without seeming in the least angry; however, herself seemed rather hurt at the home questions that were put to her, and the conversation was turned.[1]

There is an incomparably intricate arrangement of social distance in India in connection with the caste system. Risley has attempted to make the complications more comprehensible by indicating what our own system of interpersonal relationships would become if conformed to the caste patterns:

I have always been much impressed by the difficulty of conveying to European readers who have no experience of India even an approximate idea of the extraordinary complexity of the social system which is involved in the word caste. . . . Let us take an instance, and, in order to avoid the fumes of bewilderment that are thrown off by uncouth names, let us frame it on English lines. Let us imagine the great tribe of Smith, the "noun of multitude," as a famous headmaster used to call it, to be transformed by art magic into a caste organized on the Indian model, in which all the subtle *nuances* of social merit and demerit which "Punch" and the society papers love to chronicle should have been set and hardened into positive regulations affecting the intermarriage of families. The caste thus formed would trace its origin back to a mythical eponymous ancestor, the first Smith who converted the rough stone hatchet into the bronze battle-ax and took his name from the "smooth" weapons that he wrought for his tribe. Bound together by this tie of common descent they would recognize as the cardinal doctrine of their community the rule that a Smith must always marry a Smith and could by no possibility marry a Brown, a Jones, or a Robinson. But over and above this general canon two other modes or principles of grouping within the caste would be conspicuous. First of all, the entire caste of Smith would be split up into an indefinite number of "in-marrying" clans, based upon all sorts of trivial distinctions. Brewing Smiths and baking Smiths, hunting Smiths and shooting Smiths, temperance Smiths and licensed-victualer Smiths, Smiths with double-barreled names and hyphens, Smiths with double-barreled names without hyphens, Conservative Smiths, Radical Smiths, tinker Smiths, tailor Smiths, Smiths of Mercia, Smiths of Wessex—all of these and all other imaginable varieties of the tribe Smith would be as it were crystallized by an inexorable law forbidding the members of any of these groups to marry beyond the circle marked out by the clan name. Thus the Unionist Mr. Smith could only

[1] Wilson, *op. cit.*, 153–156, 218.

marry an Unionist Miss Smith, and might not think of a Home Rule damsel; the free trade Smiths would have nothing to say to the protectionists; a Hyphen-Smith could only marry a Hyphen-Smith and so on. Secondly, and this is the point which I more especially wish to bring out here, running through this endless series of clans we should find another principle at work breaking up each clan into three or four smaller groups which form a sort of ascending scale of social distinction. Thus the clan of Hyphen-Smiths, which we take to be the cream of the caste—the Smiths who have attained to the crowning glory of double names securely welded together by hyphens—would be again divided into, let us say, Anglican, Dissenting, and Salvationist Hyphen-Smiths, taking ordinary rank in that order. Now the rule of this trio of groups would be that a man of the highest or Anglican group might marry a girl of his own group or of the two lower groups, that a man of the second or Dissenting group might take a Dissenting or Salvationist wife, while a Salvationist man would be restricted to his own group. A woman, it will be observed, could under no circumstances marry down into a group below her, and it would be thought eminently desirable for her to marry into a higher group. Other things being equal it is clear that two-thirds of the Anglican girls would get no husbands, and two-thirds of the Salvationist men no wives. These are some of the restrictions which would control the process of matchmaking among the Smiths if they were organized in a caste of the Indian type. There would also be restrictions as to food. The different inmarrying clans would be precluded from dining together, and their possibilities of reciprocal entertainment would be limited to those products of the confectioner's shop into the composition of which water, the most fatal and effective vehicle of ceremonial impurity, had not entered. Fire purifies, water pollutes. It would follow in fact that they could eat chocolates and other forms of sweetmeats together, but could not drink tea or coffee, and could only partake of ices if they were made without water and were served on metal, not porcelain, plates.[1]

More abstractly, Risley and Senart have defined caste as follows:

A caste may be defined as a collection of families or groups of families bearing a common name which usually denotes or is associated with a specific occupation; claiming common descent from a mythical ancestor, human or divine, professing to follow the same professional calling, and regarded by those who are competent to give an opinion as forming a single homogeneous community. A caste is almost invariably endogamous in the sense that a member of the large circle denoted by the common name may not marry outside that circle, but within the circle there are usually a number of smaller circles each of which is also endogamous. Thus it is not enough to say that a Brahman at the present day cannot marry any woman who is not a Brahman; his wife must not only

[1] Risley, H. H., *Census of India:* 1901, 1 (Part 1): 518–519.

be a Brahman, she must also belong to the same endogamous division of the Brahman caste.

By the side of this rigid definition I may place the general description of caste which is given by M. Emile Senart in his fascinating study of the caste system of India. After reminding his readers that no statement that can be made on the subject of caste can be considered as absolutely true, that the apparent relations of the facts admit of numerous shades of distinction, and that only the most general characteristics cover the whole of the subject, M. Senart goes on to describe a caste as a close corporation, in theory, at any rate, rigorously hereditary; equipped with a certain traditional and independent organization, including a chief and a council; meeting on occasion in assemblies of more or less plenary authority, and joining in the celebration of certain festivals; bound together by a common occupation, observing certain common usages which relate more particularly to marriage, to food, and to questions of ceremonial pollution; and ruling its members by the exercise of a jurisdiction the extent of which varies, but which succeeds, by the sanction of certain penalties and above all by the power of final or revocable exclusion from the group, in making the authority of the community effectively felt.[1]

It has been agreed by Risley and other students of caste that the problem of caste formation cannot be solved completely, and this is true of every historical process. Caste like language is structuralized partly by unobserved and unobservable accretions. But it is possible to indicate the situations contributing to the development of the caste pattern.

It has been emphasized, especially by Senart,[2] that in historical time a prejudiced situation had been prepared by the successive invasions and settlements of superior light-colored groups called Aryans, whose relation to the aborigines became comparable to that of the Boers and Kaffirs in Africa and the whites and negroes in America, and that caste distinctions are largely a projection and elaboration of the prejudice of the invaders against the smaller, dark-skinned aborigines.

In this connection it is not clear that there was ever an Aryan "race" as assumed (there are certain Aryan-language groups), but it is certain that there were invasions and settlements of India from the northwest both by light-haired and long-headed and by dark-haired and short-headed tribes. And, whatever may be their origin, there are marked physical contrasts in the population correlated with superior and inferior culture and in fact the basis of class distinctions:

[1] *Ibid.*, 517-518.
[2] Senart, E., *Les Castes dans l'Inde.*

There exists in the Punjab and Rajputana at the present day, a definite physical type, represented by the Jats and the Rajputs, which is marked by a relatively long (dolico-cephalic) head; a straight, finely cut (leptorrhine) nose; a long, symmetrically narrow face; a well-developed forehead, regular features, and a high facial angle. The stature is high and the general build of the figure is well proportioned, being relatively massive in the Jats and relatively slender in the Rajputs. Throughout the group the predominant color of the skin is a very light transparent brown, with a tendency towards darker shades in the lower social strata. . . . [On the other hand, in the Dravidian type] their low stature, black skin, long heads, broad noses, and relatively long forearm distinguish them from the rest of the population, and appear at first sight to confirm Huxley's surmise that they may be related to the aborigines of Australia.[1]

Now the word "caste" has been reserved for the Hindu situation but the beginning of a social hierarchization resembling it is always found when groups of greatly contrasted physical appearance come together. There is first a "race prejudice" ranking one of the groups higher and the other lower, and there is further a gradation between high and low of the descendants of mixed marriages or loose sexual unions. In America at present the social distance between the "high brown" and the black is about as great as between the white and the black, and in the colored population the tensions and avoidances between shades of complexion and degrees of social position are, if anything, more acute and complete than those between different classes of the white population.

The reverse situation, where migrants from a superior group penetrate an inferior culture, is illustrated by the case of the so-called bastards of Rehoboth and other settlements in Africa containing the descendants of Boer fathers and African mothers. As the Boers expanded northward they sometimes married Hottentot girls, often rich in cattle, and at present, after several generations, there is a rigid aristocracy of the fairer and wealthier families, who seek to rise even higher by marrying their daughters to Europeans. There is no intermarriage with families of the lower classes, and the men of these classes even continue to marry African women, thus perpetuating the marks of social distance.[2]

We may accept the view that the invasions of India were an important influence in the cleavage of population groups but the caste pattern had long been forming independently along economic, occupational, and sacerdotal lines, and according to Indian tradi-

[1] Risley, *op. cit.*, 508.

[2] Fischer, E., *Die Rehobother Bastarde und das Bastardierungsproblem beim Menschen*, 236–237.

tion the following four classes were clearly differentiated two thousand years ago: the Brahmans or priests, the Kshatriyas or warriors, the Vaisyas or merchants and cultivators, and the Sudras or laborers and menials. Risley has summarized this situation as represented in the *Laws of Manu:*

> The oldest and most famous [theory of the origin of caste], accepted as an article of faith by all orthodox Hindus, . . . appears in its most elaborate form in the tenth chapter of that curious jumble of magic, religion, law, custom, ritual, and metaphysics, which is commonly called the *Institutes of Manu.* Here we read how the *Anima Mundi,* the supreme soul which "contains all created beings and is inconceivable," produced by a thought a golden egg, in which "he himself was born as Brahman, the progenitor of the whole world." Then "for the sake of the prosperity of the worlds, he caused the Brahmana, the Kshatriya, the Vaisya, and the Sudra to proceed from his mouth, his arms, his thighs, and his feet," and allotted to each of these their distinctive duties. The Brahman was enjoined to study, teach, sacrifice, and receive alms; the Kshatriya to protect the people and abstain from sensual pleasures; the Vaisya to tend cattle, to trade, to lend money, and to cultivate land; while for the Sudra was prescribed the comprehensive avocation of meekly serving the other three groups. Starting from this basis, the standard Indian tradition proceeds to trace the evolution of the caste system from a series of complicated crosses, first between members of the four original groups, and then between the descendants of these initial unions [emphasizing the rule of hypergamy by which the son of a Brahman by a lower caste woman is elevated to a higher caste than that of his mother while the son of a lower caste man by a Brahman woman is ranked below the caste of his father]. . . . Thus the son of a Brahman by a Vaisya woman is an Ambastha, to whom belongs the art of healing; while . . . the son of a Sudra by a Brahman woman . . . is described as "that lowest of mortals," and is condemned to live outside the village, to clothe himself in the garments of the dead, to eat from broken dishes, to execute criminals, and to carry out the corpses of friendless men. . . .
>
> It is small wonder that European critics should have been so impressed by the unreal character of this grotesque scheme of social evolution, that some of them have put it aside without further examination as a mere figment of the systematizing intellect of the ingenious Brahman. Yet, fantastic as it is . . . it shows us that at the time when Manu's treatise was compiled, probably about the second century A.D., there must have existed an elaborate and highly developed social system, including tribal or national groups like the Magadha, Vaideha, Malla, Licchivi, Khasa, Dravida, Saka, Kirata, and Chandal; and functional groups such as the Ambastha, who were physicians, the Suta, who were concerned with horses and chariots, the Nishada, and the Margavas, Dāsas, or Kaivartas who were fishermen, the Ayogava, carpenters, the Karavara and Dhigvansa, workers in leather, and the Vena, musicians and players on

the drum. It is equally clear that the occupations of the Brahmans were as diverse as they are at the present day, and that their position in this respect was just as far removed from that assigned to them by the traditional theory. In the list of Brahmans whom a pious householder should not entertain at a *sraddha* [sacrificial feast for the dead] we find physicians; temple priests; sellers of meat; shopkeepers; usurers; cowherds; actors; singers; oilmen; keepers of gambling houses; sellers of spices; makers of bows and arrows; trainers of elephants, oxen, horses, or camels; astrologers; bird fanciers; fencing masters; architects; breeders of sporting dogs; falconers; cultivators; shepherds; and even carriers of dead bodies. . . . Then, as now, Indian society was made up of a medley of diverse and heterogeneous groups, apparently not so strictly and uniformly endogamous as the castes of today, but containing within themselves the germs out of which the modern system has developed by natural and insensible stages.[1]

With these statements as a background we may inquire (1) what were the sources of the definitions of the situation which shaped the present caste system, and (2) what are the forms of struggle for rank and distinction among the castes.

The Brahman was a conscious, professional, privileged, and formalistic definer of all situations. By his definitions all actions and groups were graded and ranked, and in all schemes of classification he ranked himself the highest:

In the *Institutes of Manu* . . . we read how the Brahman is by right the lord of the whole creation, since through his mouth the gods continually consume the sacrificial viands and the manes receive the offerings made for the benefit of the dead. Other mortals subsist through his benevolence; he can create new worlds and new guardians of the world, and can deprive the gods of their divine station. Though Brahmans employ themselves in all sorts of mean occupations, they must be honored in every way; for each of them is a very great deity. To slay a Brahman is a mortal sin; whoever threatens him with physical violence will wander for a hundred years in hell; the man who seizes his property will feed in another world on the leavings of vultures. Even the cardinal duty of veracity is dispensed with in the interest of the Brahman. In the chapter on witnesses the obligation to tell the truth is strongly insisted on and is enforced by the most terrible penalties. "Naked and shorn, tormented with hunger and thirst and deprived of sight, shall the man who gives false witness go with a potsherd to beg food at the door of his enemy." Yet it is also written: "No crime, causing loss of caste, is committed by swearing falsely to women the objects of one's desire, at marriages, for the sake of fodder for a cow, or of fuel, and in order to show favor to a Brahman."[2]

[1] Risley, *op. cit.*, 547–548.

[2] Risley, H. H., *The People of India*, 151–152 (London: W. Thacker & Company; Calcutta: Thacker, Spink and Company. By permission).

When a Brahman received a gift from another Brahman he had to acknowledge it in a loud voice; from a Rajanya or Kshatriya, in a gentle voice; from a Vaishya, in a whisper; and from a Sudra, in his own mind. To a Brahman he commenced his thanks with the sacred syllable *om;* to a king he gave thanks without the sacred *om;* to a Vaishya he whispered his thanks; to a Sudra he said nothing, but thought in his own mind, *svasti,* or "This is good."[1]

The favorable position of the Brahman for the definition of situations and the dictation of behavior patterns is therefore without a parallel. The main direction of his rulings was in the line of the purity of persons and pursuits as compared with himself and his function, and the psychological basis of this was the principal contagious magic—that influence is transferable by contact. In this case pollution and degradation through partaking of food in common was emphasized, and in accordance with the ritualistic habit of the Brahman all contacts were regulated with reference to both physical and social distance. It is an extreme example of the stepping-up of a simple concept, and resulted in the stepping-down of elements of the population into the unclean and untouchable castes:

The fifth or lowest group in the scheme of precedence is that of the impure castes who cannot be touched. If a high-caste Hindu touches one of them he should bathe and have his clothes washed. These castes are not usually allowed to live inside a Hindu village, but have a hamlet to themselves adjoining it. The village barber will not shave them, nor the washerman wash their clothes. They usually have a separate well assigned to them from which to draw water, and if the village has only one well, one side of it is allotted to them and the Hindus take water from the other side. Formerly they were subjected to more humiliating restrictions. In Bombay a Mahar might not spit on the ground lest a Hindu should be polluted by touching it with his foot, but had to hang an earthen pot round his neck to hold his spittle. He was made to drag a thorny branch with him to brush out his footsteps, and when a Brahman came by had to lie at a distance on his face lest his shadow might fall on the Brahman. Even if the shadow of a Mahar or Mang fell on a Brahman he was polluted and dare not taste food and water until he had bathed and washed the impurity away. In Madras a Paraiyan or Pariah pollutes a high-caste Hindu by approaching within a distance of 64 feet of him. The debased and servile position of the impure castes corresponds to that which, as already seen, attached to the Sudras of the classical period. The castes usually regarded as impure are the tanners, bamboo-workers, sweepers, hunters and fowlers, gipsies and vagrants, village musicians, and village weavers. These

[1] Russell, R. V., *The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India,* **1**: 20 (The Macmillan Company. By permission).

castes, the Chamars, Basors, Mahars, Koris, Gandas, and others, are usually also employed as agricultural and casual laborers. Formerly, as already seen, they were not allowed to hold land.[1]

In Madras especially the idea of ceremonial pollution by the proximity of a member of an unclean caste has been developed with much elaboration. Thus the table of social precedence . . . shows that while a Nayar can pollute a man of a higher caste only by touching him, people of the Kammalan group, including masons, blacksmiths, carpenters, and workers in leather, pollute at a distance of 24 feet, toddy drawers (Illuvan or Tiyan) at 36 feet, Pulayan or Cheruman cultivators at 48 feet, while in the case of the Paraiyan (Pariahs) who eat beef, the range of pollution is said to be no less than 64 feet. Where these fantastic notions prevail and the authority of the Brahman is unquestioned, it follows as a necessary consequence that the unhappy people who diffuse an atmosphere of impurity wherever they go are forbidden to enter the high-caste quarter of the village, and are compelled either to leave the road when they see a Brahman coming or to announce their approach by a special cry like the lepers of Europe in the Middle Ages.[2]

The following statement by Gait shows more concretely the regulation of caste on the basis of recognition by the Brahmans, and also reflects the fact that the castes estimate social position among themselves on the basis of their relative recognition by Brahmans. The Brahman has set the pattern followed, for example, by the barbers and washermen:

The first great test of the social position of a caste is whether Brahmans will act as its priests, and if so, what their status is in the hierarchical community. A Brahman loses in social estimation if he acts as priest to any but those of "twice-born" rank, but he is not actually degraded for performing the priestly office for castes regarded as clean Sudras. Castes that enjoy the services of good Brahmans may thus at once be separated from those whose Brahmans are degraded. Similarly, those that are ministered to by degraded Brahmans rank higher than those that have no Brahmans at all. Another general criterion is whether the higher castes will take food or water from a man of the caste under consideration. Certain castes are treated as clean in some localities where the higher castes have need of their services, and unclean in others where they are not needed. Ganges water is less easily defiled than ordinary water, and may sometimes be taken when the latter may not. Similarly, food cooked with *ghi* (clarified butter) may often be taken where food cooked with water is tabu. A great deal depends on whether Brahmans will accept hospitality from a caste, and if so, whether they will eat all kinds of food in their houses, or only food cooked with ghi. The estimation in which the difficult castes are held is indicated by the

[1] *Ibid.*, 72–73 (The Macmillian Company. By permission).
[2] Risley, H. H., *The People of India*, 115 (By permission).

order in which they are placed at public banquets at which Brahmans are present, and it is also reflected in the attitude of the barbers and washermen. The latter will not wash for the lower castes, nor will the former shave them; there are some, moreover, whom they will shave, but whose fingernails they will not pare; and others, again, whose fingernails they will pare, but not the nails of their toes.[1]

But while the attitudes informing the caste system were provided partly by prejudice among racially and economically diversified population groups and partly formulated by the Brahman class, the concrete structuralization of the system went on in the village communities and was based on the variety and character of occupations and their organization into self-contained units resembling the guilds of medieval Europe. At a certain historical point all castes had assumed the guild pattern, and within them the caste tribunal was developed as definer of situations relating to caste membership:

These groups or guilds gradually organized themselves for craft purposes under *panchayats*, or councils of headmen. The primary duty of the panchayats was to settle all questions connected with the craft by which the members of the guild gained their living, and to prevent outsiders from competing with them; but they gradually arrogated greater powers to themselves, first dealing with disputes between members of the guild, and afterwards taking cognizance of all breaches of the social rules by which it was thought that the members of the guild ought to be guided. . . . Intermarriage and commensality were . . . in course of time prohibited absolutely, and the idea that each group was an entirely separate entity became stronger than ever. Hence arose, amongst the functional castes, the rigidity that distinguishes the Indian caste system from other social groupings which at first sight seem to bear some resemblance to it, such as the trade guilds of medieval Europe, or the constitution of society which the Theodosian code sought to lay down for the Western Roman Empire in the early part of the fifth century.[2]

The rulings of the caste tribunal are thus represented by Russell:

The tribunal for the punishment of caste offenses is known as the panchayat, because it usually consists of five persons (*panch*, five). As a rule a separate panchayat exists for every subcaste over an area not too large for all the members of it to meet. . . . The offenses involving temporary or permanent excommunication from caste are of a somewhat peculiar kind. In the case of both a man and woman, to take food from a person of a caste from whom it is forbidden to do so, and especially

[1] Gait, E. A., "Caste," in *Encycl. Rel. and Ethics* (ed. J. Hastings), **3**: 236 (By permission).
[2] *Ibid.*, 235.

from one of an impure caste, is a very serious offense, as is also that of being beaten by a member of an impure caste, especially with a shoe. It is also a serious offense to be sent to jail, because a man has to eat the impure jail food. To be handcuffed is a minor offense, perhaps by analogy with the major one of being sent to jail, or else on account of the indignity involved by the touch of the police. As regards sexual offenses, there is no direct punishment for a man as a rule, but if he lives with a low-caste woman he is temporarily expelled because it is assumed that he has taken food from her hands. Sometimes a man and woman of the caste committing adultery together are both punished. A married woman who commits adultery should in the higher and middle castes, in theory at least, be permanently expelled, but if her husband does not put her away she is sometimes readmitted with a severe punishment. A girl going wrong with an outsider is as a rule expelled unless the matter can be hushed up, but if she becomes pregnant by a man of the caste, she can often be readmitted with a penalty and married to him or to some other man. There are also some religious crimes, such as killing a cow or a cat or other sacred domestic animal; and in the case of a woman it is a very serious offense to get the lobe of her ear torn apart at the large perforation usually made for earrings; while for either a man or a woman to get vermin in a wound is an offense of the first magnitude, entailing several months' exclusion and large expenditure on readmission. Offenses against ordinary morality are scarcely found in the category of those entailing punishment. Murder must sometimes be expiated by a pilgrimage to the Ganges, but other criminal offenses against the person and property are not taken cognizance of by the caste committee unless the offender is sent to jail. Both in its negative and positive aspects the category of offenses affords interesting deductions on the basis of the explanation of the caste system already given. The reason why there is scarcely any punishment for offenses against ordinary morality is that the caste organization has never developed any responsibility for the maintenance of social order and the protection of life and property. It has never exercised the function of government, because in the historical Hindu period India was divided into large military states, while since then it has been subject to foreign domination. The social organization has thus maintained its pristine form, neither influenced by the government nor affording to it any cooperation or support. And the aims of the caste tribunal have been restricted to preserving its own corporate existence free from injury or pollution, which might arise mainly from two sources. If a member's body was rendered impure either by eating impure food or by contact with a person of impure caste it became an unfit receptacle for the sacred food eaten at the caste feast, which bound its members together in one body. This appears to be the object of the rules about food. And since the blood of the clan and of the caste is communicated by descent through the father under the patriarchal system, adultery on the part of a married woman would bring a stranger into the group and undermine its corporate existence and unity. Hence

the severity of the punishment for the adultery of a married woman, which is a special feature of the patriarchal system.

When an outsider is admitted to the caste the rite is usually connected with food. A man who is to be admitted to the Dahait caste must clean his house, break his earthen cooking vessels and buy new ones, and give a feast to the caste fellows in his house. He sits and takes food with them, and when the meal is over he takes a grain of rice from the leaf plate of each guest and eats it, and drinks a drop of water from his leaf cup. After this he cannot be readmitted to his own caste. A new Mehtar or sweeper gives water to and takes bread from each casteman. In Mandla a new convert to the Panka caste vacates his house and the caste panchayat or committee go and live in it, in order to purify it. He gives them a feast inside the house, while he himself stays outside. Finally he is permitted to eat with the panchayat in his own house in order to mark his admission into the caste. A candidate for admission in the Mahli caste has to eat a little of the leavings of the food of each of the castemen at a feast.[1]

At this point it may be said that the pattern of corporate existence has been established and the Indian can conceive of life on no other basis. He can rise or fall in the social scale only as member of a corporation. But a degree of corporate individuality is secured by the partitioning of the parent corporation and the formation of subcastes. There are about 250 castes in the Central Provinces and about 2,000 subcastes. The division may be based on particular skills or particular quality of materials used in an occupation. The caste of weavers does not rank high, but in Bengal the Tanti made the celebrated cloth known as "running water," so fine that a daughter of Aurangzeb when reproached for entering the room immodestly dressed pointed out (so it is said) that she had seven folds of it over her body.[2] Workers in silk, in fine cotton, in coarse cotton, etc., would on this basis form themselves into subcastes.

In addition, the economic and industrial changes, promoted by the English occupation of the country, have resulted in a radical rearrangement of the occupational basis of caste and the development of new subcastes, but without affecting the caste principle and without dissipating, though often splitting, the corporation:

> Changes in the original occupation may give rise to subdivisions of the caste which ultimately develop into entirely distinct castes. Thus among the large castes shown in the maps at the end of this chapter the Ahirs are by tradition herdsmen; the Brahmans priests; the Chamars and Muchis workers in leather; the Chuhras, Bhangis, and Doms scavengers;

[1] Russell, R. V., *op. cit.*, 187–189, 168 (The Macmillan Company. By permission).
[2] Risley, H. H., *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Art. "Tânti."

the Dosadhs village watchmen and messengers; the Goalas milkmen; the Kaibarttas and Kewats fishermen and cultivators; the Kayasths writers; the Koiri and Kachhi market gardeners; the Kumhars potters; the Pods fishermen; and the Teli and Tili oil pressers and traders. But the proportion of a caste that actually follows the traditional occupation may vary greatly. It is shown in the Bengal Census Report that 80 per cent of the Ahirs in Bihar are engaged in agriculture; that of the Bengal Brahmans 17 and of the Bihar Brahmans only 8 per cent are engaged in religious functions; that only 8 per cent of the Chamars in Bihar live by working in leather, the remainder being cultivators or general laborers; that two-thirds of the Kayasths in Bengal are agriculturists, and that only 35 per cent of the Telis follow their traditional profession. . . . Changes of occupation in their turn, more especially among the lower castes, tend to bring about the formation of separate castes. The Sadgops of Bengal have within recent times taken to agriculture and broken away from the pastoral caste to which they originally belonged; the educated Kaibarttas and Pods are in course of separating themselves from their brethren who have not learnt English; the Madhunapit are barbers who became confectioners; the Chasadhobas washermen who took to agriculture. But perhaps the best illustration of the contagious influence of the fiction that differences of occupation imply a difference of blood is to be found in the list of Musalman castes enumerated by Mr. Gait in the Bengal Census Report. This motley company includes the Abdal of Northern and Eastern Bengal, who circumcise Mohammedan boys and castrate animals, while their women act as midwives; the Bhathiara or innkeepers of Bihar; the butchers (Chik and Kasai); the drummers (Nagarchi and Dafali), of whom the latter exorcise evil spirits and avert the evil eye by beating a drum (*daf*) and also officiate as priests at the marriages and funerals of people who are too poor to pay the regular Kazi; the cotton carders (Dhunia or Nadaf) numbering 200,000 in Bengal; the barbers (Hajjam or Turk Naia); the Jolaha, weavers, cultivators, bookbinders, tailors, and dyers numbering nearly a quarter of a million in Bengal and nearly three millions in India; the oil pressers (Kalu); the greengrocers (Kunjra); the embroiderers (Patwa); and a number of minor groups. All of these bodies are castes of the standard Hindu type with governing committees (panchayats or *matbars*) of their own who organize strikes and see that no member of the caste engages in a degrading occupation, works for lower wages than his brethren, eats forbidden food, or marries a woman of another caste. Breaches of these and various other unwritten ordinances are visited in the last resort by the extreme penalty of excommunication. This means that no one will eat or smoke with the offender, visit at his house or marry his daughter, while in extreme cases he is deprived of the services of the barber and the washerman.[1]

Risley has pointed out also that whether the tradition of the four original castes is fact or fiction (and it is evidently a rationali-

[1] Risley, *Census of India* . . . , 521–522.

zation of an existing situation) it has become a classical pattern, and has stimulated groups and tribes to structuralize themselves on this basis and to invent fictional genealogies deriving them from superior ancestry. An aspiring caste may even employ a learned man to invent a legend relating its distinguished origin.

Internal migrations result in new castes, which may be lower or higher in rank than their antecedents. Usually the immigrant group is at a disadvantage, is obliged to marry opportunistically, and a low-rank subcaste is formed. But there are cases where low-caste immigrants gain superior status by misrepresenting their history. Thus a certain caste which reported itself in the census returns as Rajput is thought by Russell and Risley to be an immigrant branch of the

helot weavers and basket makers who perform a variety of servile functions for the organized Dravidian tribes and used to live in a kind of ghetto in the villages of the Kandhs (Khonds), for whom they purveyed children destined for human sacrifice. Mr. Russell observes that "though it is possible that the coincidence may be accidental, still there seems good reason to fear that it is from these humble beginnings that the Barwaik sect of Rajputs in Chanda must trace its extraction. And it is clear that before the days of railways and the half-anna post an inposture of this sort must have been practically impossible of detection." The conjecture seems a plausible one, and the fact that Baraik is a title actually in use among the Jadubansi Rajputs may have helped the Pans to establish their fictitious rank.[1]

The numerous religious sects are being transformed into castes—for example, the Jains, who are vegetarians, take no life, wear veils to avoid the danger of swallowing insects, abhor the word "cutting" because of its connotation of killing, and abandon a meal if the word is inadvertently mentioned. Converts to Christianity tend to form castes, higher and lower according to the Brahmanical code of purity, as determined, for example, by whether a Brahman will take water from them or not. If the young intellectuals of a caste feel rebellious they do not withdraw individually but form a caste, and thus preserve their corporate existence.

The practice of hypergamy, or "marrying-up," which was in existence possibly as early as 400 B.C., and which the ancient lawbooks describe as the origin of the subcastes, operates continuously in the differentiation of caste and in the determination of status. The custom represents the rule that the men of a caste may marry women beneath them but women must marry within their caste or above it. The families of these women are thereby

[1] *Ibid.*, 528.

elevated in status, while the status of the families of the men is only slightly impaired, if at all. A caste or subcaste may thus possess a number of graduated marriage groups: For example,

> Most of the Muzaffarpur Brahmans belong to the Maithil or Tirhutiya subcaste, which is divided into five hypergamous groups—Srotriya or Sote, Jog, Panjibaddh, Nagar, and Jaiwar. The men of each group may take wives from the groups ranking below it in this scale of social precedence, but the women can only marry in their own or in a higher group.[1]

Hypergamy may thus initiate the transition to higher castes:

> The first stage is for a number of families, who discover in themselves some quality of social distinction, to refuse to give their women in marriage to other members of the caste, from whom nevertheless they continue to take wives. After a time, when their numbers have increased, and they have bred women enough to supply material for a *jus connubii* of their own, they close their ranks, marry only among themselves, and pose as a superior subcaste of the main caste to which they belong. Last of all, they break off all connection with the parent stock, assume a new name which ignores or disguises their original affinities, and claim general recognition as a distinct caste. The educated Pods of Bengal are an illustration of the first stage; the Chasi Kaibartta of the second; the Mahisya of the third.[2]

In parts of India, especially among the Kulin caste of Bengal, hypergamy had an exaggerated commercial development. Rivalry for superior husbands led to an inexorable fashion. Fathers felt compelled to marry their daughters well or not at all, and in this situation some of the superior subcastes devoted their sons to the profession of marrying considerable numbers of girls on a commercial basis. A boy might be married to five, ten, or eventually up to fifty or eighty girls, sometimes to as many as three and four in a day and sometimes including all the sisters in a family. The man did not live continuously with any of these wives but made tours of visitation, perhaps annually, over the geographical area containing them. It is related that he was so unfamiliar with his wives and their fathers that he carried a certificate of marrige for identification, and cases of mistaken identity have been recorded. It is stated also that on these visitations and otherwise there was "a denial of nuptial intercourse except upon special monetary consideration given." The arrangement may be regarded as a special form of eugenics, where breeding for rank is emphasized, and the visitations of the man are comparable with the transporta-

[1] Risley, *The People of India*, 215. (By permission.)
[2] *Ibid.*, 263. (By permission.)

tion of a blooded stallion from farm to farm for the purpose of breeding with less pedigreed mares.

This aspect of hypergamy is described in a report addressed to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal and dated the seventh of February, 1867, by a committee composed partly of Hindus, and representing "some 21,000 Hindu inhabitants of Lower Bengal [who] prayed for an enactment to prevent the abuses attending the practice of polygamy in Lower Bengal."[1]

[1] Risley, *Census of India* . . . , 577; *The People of India*, 425–433; Gait, E. A., *Census of India:* 1901, 6 (Part 1): 252–255.

Chapter XIV

PRIMITIVE GOVERNMENT

The original kinship situation in which the older men regulate behavior on the basis of customary norms and enforce certain penalties may be modified in the direction of a political organization under chiefs and kings in which defense of territory and aggression against neighbors become prominent, and hereditary rulers, families, and classes are developed; and this condition may be reached in several ways.

There are in every group exceptional individuals from the standpoint of personality, glandular drive, and leadership who come to the front and acquire positions of influence. An individual may by mere wealth, patronage, and manipulation be recognized as a chief. A kinship group, among other kinship groups, may expand in power, property, and prerogatives and become dominant among the combined kinship groups of a considerable territory, and its position may become hereditary. A number of kinship groups may combine for common defense and appoint a leader, whose line may become hereditary. An initial separation between kinship rule and political rule is sometimes seen in the operations represented historically in Europe by the comitatus—a mixed band of kinsmen and adventurers who follow the fortunes of a leader. There is a frequent alliance of the chief or king with the shaman or witch doctor, and the claim may be made that the ruler represents divinity or is the divinity.

The "big man," as he is frequently called in primitive groups, may be a disturber on the one hand or a constructive influence on the other, and this will depend to some extent on the complexion of his society. Mead says of the Mundugmor of New Guinea:

> The leaders [in the initiation feasts and the victory feasts following a successful head-hunting raid] are known to the community as "really bad men," men who are aggressive, gluttons for power and prestige; men who have taken far more than their share of the women of the community, and who have also acquired, by purchase or theft, women from the neighboring tribes; men who fear no one and are arrogant and secure enough to betray whom they like with impunity. These are the men for whom a whole community will mourn when they die; their arrogance, their lust for power, is the thread upon which the important moments of

social life are strung. These men—each community of two or three hundred people boasts two or three—are the fixed points in the social system. They build their compounds well and firmly. There is a strong palisade around them; there are several strong houses; there are slit drums too big to be moved about easily. Meanwhile, less important men, men with fewer wives and less security, quarrel among themselves, move about, now living with a cousin, now with a brother-in-law, now with a mother's brother, until a quarrel over a woman disrupts the temporary alliance, which is based upon no economic necessity. These less important men shift their allegiance from one of the established big men to another, or begin to work with a man who, though still young and possessed of only three or four wives, is rising rapidly to a position of power. In this atmosphere of shifting loyalties, conspiracies, and treachery, head-hunting raids are planned, and the whole male community is temporarily united in the raid and the victory feasts that conclude them. At these feasts a frank and boisterous cannibalism is practiced, each man rejoicing at having a piece of the hated enemy between his teeth.[1]

The initial trend toward the recognition of "big men" on the basis of desirable social qualities may be seen among the Andamanese and the Orokaiva:

There is [says Radcliffe-Brown] no organized government in an Andamanese village. . . . The affairs of the community are regulated entirely by the older men and women. . . . Amongst the chief men of several friendly local groups it would generally happen that one of them, by reason of his personal qualities, would attain to a position of higher rank than the others. Younger men would be desirous of joining the local group to which he belonged. He would find himself popular and respected at the annual meetings of the different groups, and his influence would thus spread beyond the narrow limits of his own small community. There was no special word to denote such men and distinguish them from others. In the languages of the North Andaman they were spoken of as *er-kuro* = "big."[2]

There is [says Williams of the Orokaiva of New Guinea] no well-defined chieftainship, but merely a recognized ascendancy of the old men. The leader and ruler of any clan is the eldest of its men, provided he is not so old as to be incompetent, and provided always that his personality is equal to his position. It is consequently difficult to find a word which would correspond with our idea of "chief," and unsatisfactory to use the English word "chief," as too pretentious for even the most important of clan leaders. The Orokaiva expressions as far as I know them are *embo-be* (a proper man), and *embo-peni*, *embo-pajirari*, *embo-paitukiari*, and *embo-siakabada* (all of which mean no more than "big or important

[1] Mead, M., *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies*, 186–187 (William Morrow & Company, Inc. By permission).

[2] Radcliffe-Brown, A. R., *The Andaman Islanders*, 45 (Cambridge University Press. By permission).

man"); and these terms may be used of men of importance who cannot claim to be actually leaders.[1]

It was not uncommon among the Eskimo [says Nelson], particularly about the shores of Bering Strait and northward, for some man of great courage and superior ability to gather about him a certain following and then rule the people through fear; such men usually confirmed their power by killing anyone who opposed them. In order to keep their followers in a friendly mood, they made particular effort to supply them with an abundance of food in times of scarcity, or to give them presents of clothing at festivals; they also try to secure the good will of white men whenever they think it to their interest to do so. . . . The Alaskan Eskimo, so far as I observed, have no recognized chiefs except such as gain a certain influence over their fellow villagers through superior shrewdness, wisdom, age, wealth, or shamanism. The old men are listened to with respect, and there are usually one or more in each village who by their extended acquaintance with the traditions, customs, and rites connected with the festivals, as well as being possessed of an unusual degree of common sense, are deferred to and act as chief advisers of the community.

On the lower Yukon and beyond to Kuskokwim river such leaders are termed *näskuk*, meaning literally "the head." Among the Unalit Eskimo they are called *änaiyukok*, "the one to whom all listen."

These terms are also applied to men who gain a leadership by means of their greater shrewdness, whereby they become possessed of more property than their fellows, and by a judicious distribution of food and their superior force of character obtain a higher standing and a certain following among the people.

The man who has accumulated much property, but is without ability to guide his fellows, is referred to merely as a rich man or *tugu*. . . . The Eskimo are very jealous of anyone who accumulates much property, and in consequence these rich men, in order to retain the public good will, are forced to be very open-handed with the community and thus create a body of dependents. They make little festivals at which are distributed food and other presents, so that the people appreciate the fact that it is to their interest to encourage the man in his efforts toward leadership, in order that they may be benefited thereby.[2]

A number of dominant and gifted personalities have been noted among the Australians. Howitt has described the influence exercised by one of these:

At the time I knew the [Dieri] tribe in 1862–63, the principal headman was one Jalina-piramurana, the head of the *kunaura* totem, and he was recognized as the head of the Dieri tribe. Subsequently Mr. S. Gason, as an officer of the South Australian Mounted Police, was stationed in the

[1] Williams, F. E., *Orokaiva Society*, 104 (Oxford University Press. By permission).

[2] Nelson, E. W., "The Eskimo about Bering Strait," *Bur. Amer. Ethnol., Ann. Rep.*, **18** (Part 1): 303, 304, 305.

Dieri country for six years, and was well acquainted with this man. He has described him to me as a man of persuasive eloquence, a skillful and brave fighting man, and a powerful medicine man. From his polished manner the whites called him "the Frenchman." He was greatly feared by his own and the neighboring tribes. Neither his brothers (both of them inferior to him in bravery and oratorical power) nor the elder men presumed to interfere with his will, or to dictate to the tribe, except in minor matters. He decided disputes, and his decisions were received without appeal. The neighboring tribes sent messengers to him with presents of bags, *pitcheri*, red ocher, skins, and other things. He decided when and where the tribal ceremonies were to be held, and his messengers called together the tribe from a radius of a hundred miles to attend them, or to meet on intertribal matters.

His wonderful oratorical powers made his hearers believe anything he told them, and always ready to execute his commands. He was not by nature cruel or treacherous, as were many of the Dieri, and when not excited was considerate, patient, and very hospitable. No one spoke ill of Jalina-piramurana, but on the contrary with respect and reverence. This is understood when Mr. Gason adds that he distributed the presents sent to him amongst his friends to prevent jealousy. He used to interfere to prevent fights, even chastising the offender, and being sometimes wounded in so doing. On such an occasion there would be great lamentation, and the person who had wounded him was not infrequently beaten by the others.

As the superior headman of the Dieri, he presided at the meetings of the *pinnarus* [heads of totems], sent out messengers to the neighboring tribes, and even had the power of giving away young women, not related to him, in marriage, of separating men from their wives, when they could not agree, and of making fresh matrimonial arrangements.

He periodically visited the various hordes of the Dieri tribe, from which he also periodically received presents. Tribes even at a distance of a hundred miles sent him presents, which were passed on to him from tribe to tribe. . . .

He was at Lake Hope (Pando) as I was returning to the South Australian settlements, and, to use the language of the present day, interviewed me, together with a deputation of his *pinnarus*, with two requests. The first was, that I would go with him and kill all the "Kunabura-kana," that is, men of Kunabura, who were "*malingki kaṇa*," that is, bad men; the second, that I would tell the white men who were coming up to his country, according to the information sent him by the tribes further down, that they should "sit down on the one side of Pando, and the Kana would sit down on the other, so that they would not be likely to quarrel."[1]

Hewitt points out that in some Indian communities "any person by virtue of the acquisition of wealth could proclaim himself

[1] Howitt, A. W., *The Native Tribes of South-east Australia*, 297–299 (The Macmillan Company. By permission).

a chief."[1] One of the functions of chiefs on low cultural levels is to give festivals and see that adequate food is provided. Von den Steinen says of Brazilian tribes that the greatest fault of a chief was to be stingy, and if the people were dissatisfied they simply moved to another place.[2] Of the Hottentots Hahn says:

A rich man (*gou-aob*) was a fat man; he could afford to be fat (*gousa*), he could anoint himself with fat (*goub*). Therefore the word *gou-aob*, "fat man," is identical with *!khu-aob*, "rich man," and both have now become the words by which rulers, kings, chiefs, masters, and lords are addressed; *gou-aob*, or *gao-aub*, being generally used for chief or king, and *!khu-aob* for master or lord, sometimes simply *!khub*, in which form it is also used for the "Lord in heaven," . . . The richest man became the most influential man, and gradually rose to the station of a chief. He could buy as many wives as he liked, and thus ruled through the number of relations and such admirers who had to live on him. It is now still expected that a Khoikhoi chief must have an open hand and an open house; and the worst that can be said of a chief is, that he is *gei-‖are—i.e.*, greatly left-handed or stingy. It happens sometimes, that another man is made chief, who is expected to be more liberal.[3]

Sometimes a man may be recognized as chief in consequence of some profitable enterprise or manipulation. Among the Baguta of South Africa a man made himself chief (in 1815) by exchanging cattle for girls and using them and their children as business assets,[4] and in East Africa, "about 150 years ago a man of the Kilindi tribe gained renown chiefly in exterminating the wild pigs which devastated the fields of the Washambaa, and was eventually invited to rule the tribe."[5]

From the standpoint of origins it appears, therefore, that warfare, pillage, and the conquest of territory are not so important in the development of leadership and government as might be expected. The Australians, for example, have a great deal of warfare, or at least fighting, but it leads to no political organization or annexation of territory. Radcliffe-Brown reports, in fact, that the Kariera tribe is so habituated to a traditional territory that it cannot conceive of occupying any other, and that the colonists had difficulty in inducing natives to herd sheep on any but their own ground.[6]

Small peaceful groups may be forced into defensive warfare and fight under leaders for a time, but tend to relapse into kinship

[1] *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico* (ed. Hodges), **1**: 264.
[2] Steinen, K. von den, *Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens*, 331.
[3] Hahn, T., *Tsuni-‖goam*, 16–17 (K, Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co. By permission).
[4] Fritsch, G., *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrikas*, **1**: 483.
[5] Dundas, C., "Native Laws of Some Bantu Tribes of East Africa," *Jour. Anth. Inst.*, **51**: 218.
[6] Radcliffe-Brown, A. R., "Three Tribes of Western Australia," *Jour. Anth. Inst.*, **43**: 146.

organization and patriarchal organization when the crisis is passed. Dornan reports this of the Tati Bushmen, and Bleek points out that the older paintings of the southern Bushmen show no warfare, whereas the later ones do, and surmises that they had leaders when meeting the invasions of the Hottentots and Kaffirs:

Tribal organization does not exist, but there is a little clan organization. A few of these clans or families may combine in the face of danger, but the combination soon comes to an end as soon as the danger is past. They never seem to feel the need of unity. Each family goes its own way, and the father is a despot as long as he can maintain his position.[1]

One point in the life of all southern Bushmen [says Bleek] is the same. They live in small family groups and have no chiefs. The colonial Bushman language has no word for chief; they sometimes used a Hottentot word to apply to white rulers, but never to themselves. All old Bushmen tell me that chiefs and villages were unknown in their country.

Three or four huts stand together. In one is the father, in others his married children. At most eight or ten huts of connections were dotted about within a radius of a few miles from the water, but this is an institution of later days. In the tales of the *mantis* the early way of living is shown. There is not one story about a chief or a chief's daughter in all Bushman folklore known to me. "Grandfather" is the highest title of respect used. I think travelers have often misconstrued this respect paid to age into submission to a chief, and have called some "grandfather" known to them the "chief" or "captain" of the tribe. At most one might call him the "head of the family." . . .

Possibly in the final struggle for existence which raged fiercely in some parts of South Africa, Bushmen may have been driven to imitate the methods of their opponents and group themselves under some noted fighter, but in happier days we hear of no gatherings save for a dance and possibly a game drive, when several family groups met for the occasion. Such scenes are found in the older Bushman paintings. The newer ones sometimes show fights of a larger number of Bushmen with Hottentots or Kaffirs.[2]

On a higher level, the Akamba, a Bantu tribe south of Mount Kenia, appoint war leaders, who retain some prestige but no permanent office. The beginning of a transition from rule by elders to rule by chiefs may be seen, however, under white influence:

There have never [says Lindblom] been any chiefs,[3] although occasionally a rich person with a commanding personality has succeeded in

[1] Dornan, S. S., "The Tati Bushmen (Masarwas) and Their Language," *Jour. Anth. Inst.*, **47**: 53.

[2] Bleek, D. F., *The Mantis and His Friends: Bushman Folklore* (ed. D. F. Bleek), Introduction, iii, iv–v (Capetown: T. Maskew Miller. By permission).

[3] Hobley does not treat of the system of government in his work, but mentions that the Akamba have chiefs, and even hereditary chiefs. From his description one inevitably gets the incorrect idea that chieftainship is one of their original institutions, while in reality it is very characteristic of the political organization of the Akamba that they have never had chiefs.

attaining to the leadership within an extensive territory, as did Kivui in Kitui. Kivui lived in the time of Krapf, and was personally known to him. He was practically a kind of chief, a position which he had gained through his higher intelligence and his great physical strength. At the same time he was a great medicine man, and possibly provides an illustration of Frazer's theory that kings and chiefs have their origin from medicine men, whose social influence sometimes advances them to the position of chiefs. He made his people victorious against their enemies, and many Akamba are said to have paid him taxes, and so even the Masai living at Donyo Sabuk.

In times of war, however, experienced warriors were selected as leaders, the so-called *asilili* and *apiani*, but their authority was only temporary, and in times of peace they occupied no public position in the tribe. On account of their great reputation, however, they often represented it in transactions with the Arabian merchants and other trading caravans which came up to Ukamba from the coast. They usually decided whether the caravans should be allowed to pass unmolested, and the leaders of the caravans were anxious to enter into a sworn brotherhood with them, according to the usual Kamba custom, so that they might thereby obtain protection for themselves and their property.

The home government is in the hands of a council of the elders, *nzama*, of which only *atumza* are members. This corporation is of a purely local character, and there is no authority for the whole country. The *matumza* grade does not in itself carry with it the right to a seat in the nzama, for which a separate and special payment is exacted. The most important function of the nzama is to act as a court, in which all cases are tried and decided. It also decides on wars of aggression (plundering raids); *kzgole*, lynching, which is practiced by the Akamba, may also only be ordered by the nzama. . . .

These old men and women of the nzama and the *zpaembo* (place of sacrifice) are the custodians of the tribe's traditions, in the manners and customs pertaining to which they are well versed. They see that they are maintained, and they have, on the other hand, authority to prevent the rise of customs which they consider harmful, and can even abolish customs which are already in existence. Anyone who is in doubt as to how he ought to proceed in a certain case, according to the custom of the tribe, goes to a *mutumza wa nzama* for information, for which he pays a small fee, such as a goat, or, if he is a rich man, a bull.

This short description of the system of government, however, no longer tallies with the actual facts, since there is no sphere in which contact with Europeans so quickly makes itself felt on the old order of things as the political. Englishmen certainly follow in their colonies a principle of allowing the old order to remain as far as possible, and in consequence, among other things, the nzama still remains as the judging authority; but by the side of it, a system of chiefs has been established, the country being divided up into small districts, each having a "chief"

(and under him "headmen"), who is responsible for the payment of the hut tax within his district. At first the most influential man in a district was appointed chief on principle. However, since the older men seemed to have a difficulty in understanding and appreciating the reforms for which they are required to work among the people, during the last few years intelligent younger men, who showed a better understanding of the new order of things, have been appointed. A "government school" has been established in Kitui, and to it are sent the sons of these "chiefs," to learn to read and write, in order that they may succeed to their fathers' offices. Perhaps in time a hereditary chieftainship will be established in this way. The institution is still quite new, and most of these chiefs find it very difficult to assert their authority over the other atumza, who have never been accustomed to acknowledge any other authority than the nzama, of which, indeed, they were usually members themselves.[1]

Dundas, who as administrator gained a profound insight into Bantu customs, has pointed out that while there has been an independent rise of political rule in times of stress there is a frequent tendency to revert to a kinship basis, and that, in general, the situation among Bantu tribes has been greatly influenced by native invasions and European occupation:

A tribe or collection of tribes might be united under the rule of a prominent man, or times of stress would knit them together in common defense, or a ruler might be imposed upon them by an invader. Conversely, stable rule collapsed through internal dissension or gradual decline resulting from prolonged security. The latter tendency is observable in many parts since the establishment of European rule. . . . In course of time the kingdom of Vuga was established, being named after Vuga the capital, or king's residence, and this kingdom extended from North Pare to Tanga, Pangani, and Uziguha. When Rebmann landed at Pangani in 1848, the chief of that town was a vassal of the King of Vuga, who commanded him to receive the traveler. Today the Wakilindi form the aristocracy of Usambara, and most, if not all, of the petty headmen are Wakilindi. But in course of time the royal family was divided, a separate ruler of Masinde broke from the Vuga family, and the powerful and well-organized state created by the Wakilindi declined until, at the present day, the Washambaa are divided into such a number of petty headmanships that they bear the appearance of a tribe which has never attained any real unity. Elsewhere chiefs have been created where they never existed before: thus among the Wakikuyu; in other parts the chiefs, backed by the invincible power of European government, have become more powerful than before: so the Chagga chiefs. In general it may be said that where chiefship was not known or hardly existed, it has developed under European rule, and where it was most firm and absolute it has declined.[2]

[1] Lindblom, G., "The Akamba," *Arch. d'Études orientales*, 17: 149–151.
[2] Dundas, *op. cit.*, 218.

African tribes differ from other native populations in the degree to which the local groups have been conquered by invaders. In some regions these were pastoral Hamites and Semites and in others neighboring negro conquerors. For the most part the rulers are therefore not representatives of the local families. Torday comments on the thesis developed by Spannaus that the formation of great states in Africa was not due to the expansion of the local groups but was in every case the consequence of conquest:

> Nobody acquainted with the history of Africa will contest this, but when he attributes to the pastoral people the principal role in this political upheaval, he is on more debatable ground. As far as North-Central and Eastern Africa are concerned he is fully justified. This, however, is not the case in South, Central, and a great part of West Africa. The foundation of the Zande and Manbetu empires by Sudanic peoples may, indirectly at any rate, owe something to Lybian influences, and even Bushongo and the empire of "the Great Makoko" may derive their existence from movements started farther north by pastoral peoples (the word being used in the most elastic sense); but there is only the flimsiest evidence, which will scarcely bear scrutiny, as far as Monomotapa is concerned. The empires of the South due to the upheaval caused by Chaka's exploits, the kingdoms of Congo, of Lunda, of Kazembe, of the Barotse, and so on, were all founded by pure negro conquerors.[1]

The history of Kilimanjaro reveals how chiefs stimulated plundering and also to some extent encroached on the rights of individuals and sibs with respect to the distribution of the booty from plundering expeditions but at the same time regulated and legalized its distribution. Originally the share of the chief was a voluntary contribution. A warrior might drive home a captured ox and the following day present its head to the chief as a gift. If he captured four or five cattle he gave one to the chief. If he captured a single cow he felt bound to give the chief the first calf, but if the first was a heifer calf he might reserve this and substitute a bull calf. In connection, however, with the development of war tactics the chiefs introduced also different tactics in plundering. Chief Rindi of the Moschi division of the Chagga, for example, divided his men into spearmen and plunderers (literally, "shield testers" and "halter looseners"). The first were the real fighters; they noticed no cow or hut but sought out the enemy and forced them from all sides out into the open spaces and held them there. In the meantime the plunderers sought out every cow and every

[1] Torday, E., *Africa*, **4**: 359 (Review of Spannaus, *Züge aus der Politischen Organization Afrikanischer Völker und Staaten*).

goat from the huts and hiding places, assembled them and drove them home, protected on the front, rear and flanks by the spearmen:

This division of function on the war pattern made plundering expeditions much more profitable than formerly, but the division of the booty had to be committed to someone who was able to estimate the contribution of each individual to the success of the whole enterprise. The division must not only recognize the daring of the warriors but satisfy the plunderers, on whose efforts the volume of booty to a great extent depended. This function was naturally assured to the chief both because of the increased success produced by his planning and because he was in general a referee in disputed matters.

Now the whole plunder was assembled in the courtyard of the chief. No one dared take a single piece of it to his own home. Half of it went to the chief—out of twenty cattle, ten, out of sixty, thirty. The chief's portion was first set aside. The other half was divided among the members of the expedition according to fixed rules. The first rule was, every spearman received an ox or cow, as far as possible. If there were enough cattle every plunderer received one, and in that case the spearmen received twice the numbers. But the leader of each local division always received one cow or ox more than the spearmen. . . . Whoever had killed one of the enemy and brought his spear and sword to the chief as proof received one head of cattle more than the others of his class. If he had killed a number the spear of each was sufficient proof. If he killed a leader he received two additional head.

The warriors did not begrudge a proper chief his share of half the booty because they knew that they were placing him in a position to entertain his men, release debtors, nourish childbearing women, etc. The chief also voluntarily transferred some selected cattle from his share to favorite leaders, distinguished fighters, and wise old advisers.

It might happen that the booty was not enough to give each spearman a cow or ox. In that case the warriors presented the whole amount to the chief as a gift. "We come to your court every day and you slaughter for us. Accept this return and continue to entertain us. We only ask that you arrange another expedition soon so that we can get together enough to divide." Custom then required that the chief should hand over the total result of the next expedition to his men as a gift. In that case he took only one head of cattle or a calf from each local division.[1]

Among the Chagga it was also customary for the old men to hand over the country to young chiefs on their accession in an address containing precepts and admonitions, reflecting the principles of a kinship habit system and a fear of despotism, and emphasizing the conditions of harmonious interaction between a people and a ruler:

[1] Gutmann, B., *Das Recht der Dschagga*, 538–539 (C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung. By permission).

When a young chief who with his age group is taking over the independent administration of the country the principles of ruling are stressed to such an extent that they amount to a real system of instruction for the chief.

This happened in Moschi when the regent Tukia retired with his age group and handed the province over to young Rindi. One Masiwa Temu at that time presented the body of precepts in an impressive manner. The fragments that still live on in the memory of the old people are here quoted at length as direct testimony of the sense of justice that dominated an age group. . . .

"Chief, we shall now step aside and deliver the province into your hands. If you ignore the advice of your men, you will not keep the country which you now receive from your father through our hands. *Kiengerya mringa mfongo fukafo—matsotso:* 'What increases the waters so that the canal is filled? The dripping springs.' Support the poor man, that he may marry, and you will add to the country issue that fights bravely. Thus you will find men who are willing to serve you and who, when the time comes, will gladly shoulder a difficult task, which others would perform with resentment only.

"The place where an orphan survives is under your wing—and you will gain a circle of allies who till your fields for you. But if you shake your wings in displeasure, the orphans die—and you have no allies to till your fields.

"If you use your wings to protect the weak against the strong, *i.e.*, the rich, by whom they are sorely pressed, you become their refuge. And those who gladly and frequently bring you victuals are just those humble ones whom you have rescued.

"A bird named *ndo* (raven) inhabits the steppe. With his wings he pushes the young out of the nest so that they fall to the ground and are eaten by the beasts of prey. That is the reason why this kind of bird is so rare. Don't do as it does, chief, don't push with angry wings. If a poor man comes into your yard, never turn him away; don't scold him, don't shun him. Help him instead, that he may regain his strength. This will enable you to summon the youth class to the grove at frequent intervals. But if you turn away the poor, your country will soon pass into the hands of an alien chief. . . .

"You must give clear and definite instructions and assemble the people at the right time. Then they will rejoice in having one who unites them. . . . We say that you have the eye of an eagle, that your watchful glance reaches into every part of your province. But if you depend on yourself alone, you will still remain blind. Into every territory you must send a special agent, to whom you give meat and other necessities. He will inform you what noteworthy things take place. Then you can summon the leaders and old men from all the territories and tell them what alarms or puzzles you. . . .

"If by chance even a leper comes to you and wishes to speak with you, don't despise him, but follow him to the banana grove and listen to what

he may have to tell you. It may well be that he alone was passed over when a plot was being hatched against you and now he has come to disclose it. . . .

"If you turn to oppression and impoverish the country and turn it into a poorhouse—that is your concern. Chief, never send sneaking agents around in the country to find out for you who has just brewed himself a little beer. These sniffers waste one half before they bring you the other. And the people become shy and secretive. If a farmer has brewed some beer and brings you some of it, accept it in good faith. If then his neighbor comes and accuses him, implying that he has brewed many vatfuls, don't mark him down for punishment; that would ruin your country. Instead, conceal a warning in a joke; and he will thank you with a gift.

"You must always remember: As the wives of a man struggle for the favor of the common master, so the men vie with one another for the favor of the chief. . . .

"Don't take over the country and destroy it as Orombo did. When Orombo saw the increase (in children), he said: 'They are all squatty!' And he destroyed them, and thus his country went to ruin. Chief, do not destroy the country with your anger. While Orombo was still a lad he had the hyenas encircled by fire and burned. Then the survivors sang the chant of curses upon him. He also had all the lizards killed, and that only because one had strayed into his mouth while he was drinking. As chief he commanded that all children of short stature be killed, because he wanted only *makisawu,* long-legged people, about him, he himself being one. Thus the Wangumai, the Masai, had an easy task among the other chiefs when they urged them to betray Orombo. . . .

"If you hear that there are people inclined to treason, don't decide anything alone, but summon those who belong to your body—your trusted associates.

"You are the pillar of the country, but don't quarrel with it. If you do, we shall have to depose you and give the realm to your brother. They will not dare to tell you openly, when your reign becomes injurious to the country. But they will sing you a song: *oruka luwode wuve.* Heed the warning and reform. . . .

"The root of the baobab cannot be found, no matter how deep one digs. To dig out the root of the baobab is impossible. It is just as impossible to propitiate a dead man who left an oath of revenge behind as his last will. We tell you the same as we told your brothers at the age group change: Do not conspire against the life of a brother. A single evil deed in your house can annihilate your whole kinship; for who can satisfy a dead man's desire for revenge? . . .

"The wife of a man is never struck. She is man's donkey and carries his things. A man or a lad who is cursed or taunted by a woman shall swallow his anger. . . . If you punish a man who struck another man's wife and take away cattle from him, the whole province will approve. Since the days of our fathers it has been impressed upon us that a man's

wife may not be struck. Men may strike each other, but no one is to lay hands upon a man's wife. If a man is struck by a woman, he is to complain to her husband and settle with him, with blows, if necessary. . . .

"If a lad jostles an old man so that he falls to the ground and exposes himself, the children will perish. Tolerate no arrogance toward the old people. Whoever insults an old man, injures the whole country. . . .

"If a widow has children, let aid be given her by recommending her to the care of the leader of the district. If she has a son she is not to marry again. Then the boy will suffer want and perhaps even perish for lack of care. A woman who has girls only should marry again and get her inheritance. . . .

"If you sit down, no matter where, to partake of meat and see a veiled young woman (sign of pregnancy) pass by on the road, give her of what you eat, for she bears the coming generation. And if you are drinking beer, let your attendant bring her a cup that she may moisten her lips and pass by in peace. If you begrudge her these things your children will perish.

"We, the old men, now step aside and give the country to you and your men. We want to see how you rule it with their aid. Beware of a hasty decision. Let no anger seize you when someone comes bleeding to the council meadow and says to you: *mangi, ndzimbahe:* 'Chief, I am killed!' Listen to both parties in the regular process of the law. It may turn out that the bleeding man was the one who sought the quarrel. Then you must say: 'Keep your cut to yourself.' Investigate an accuser thoroughly. Do not act on instigation of an accuser, but summon two leaders and discuss the matter with them. Then do what they advise you.

"Keep the envy of neighbors in mind. Perhaps someone comes to you and accuses his neighbor of receiving a clandestine visitor from the (enemy) province Kiboscho, and of having slaughtered a fat ram for him. As proof he brings you a fresh bone, which he rescued from the waste. In reality, however, it is the bone of a sick goat which the accuser had to kill. If the accused person denies his guilt and, offering a head of cattle as pledge, wishes to know who the accuser or witness is, then you must name him. If the examination of the two does not clarify the matter, let them take the judicial test of the *kimanganu* [ordeal].

"When a man brings you the gift of an ox with the request that you have a clan brother of his killed, do not grant it, for not all in the clan would approve. But do not refuse the gift either. Put it in the kraal and summon a council of four trusted men, before whom you lay the matter. They will give you information about the state of affairs. One of them is to warn the threatened man that he should betake himself without delay to your house and beg for his life. This gives you an opportunity to call an assembly of the men, whom you inform that so-and-so has asked you to protect his life. The men will finally tell you that they cannot imagine who might want to see this person dead. Then

name the man. This forces you to bring to light both the ox and the giver. But add that you are ignorant of who might have warned the threatened man. After that let the men settle the matter by themselves. They will force him who hates his brother to ask you for the return of the ox, instead of which he will give you two others. And he must remove his brother from your protection with a conciliatory gift of two cattle.

"You are the chief over all men. Grant the frightened one his life. Do not overlook hands crossed in suppliance and extended toward your lap. Give him back part of the animals given you in repentance.

"Do not drive away the poor man who brings you his gifts of produce secretly. Appreciation shown him who thus knocks at your gate brings still others, until the whole country becomes your source of gifts. Even in times of famine you will never suffer want. . . . The poor man fasts and denies himself food. Do not demand the poor man's only cow for taxes. It is his only real possession and he sacrifices much to give it proper care, because his existence depends on it. Do not let yourself become prejudiced against him, as though he were only begrudging you the tribute. He will never improve if you take away his one and only possession. His wife will leave him, for she does not wish to live in a cold and empty house. Thus you have turned him into a dangerous person who may emigrate and betray the country. 'The roots of a banana plant are not pulled up until the fruit has matured.'"

The official transfer of the council ground to the next age group included also the commendation of the chief to the loyalty of the group. Care of the chief and care of the country were synonymous: "Today you men take over the country. The chief is yours. We make it plain—the chief belongs to you. . . . Whoever delivers up his country and becomes a mouse gnawing at the border, before him the chief will throw down his staff. Yes, even before a councilor of the chief the staff will be thrown down when he harbors intentions of cutting the throat of the chief. . . . "

The mouse gnawing at the border is the traitor who has commerce with neighboring chiefs. The throwing down of the staff by the chief is the pronouncement of the death sentence.[1]

As indicated above, African royal revenues were derived partly from plundering expeditions, when this was possible, and this was approved by the people. Another means of increasing revenue and at the same time maintaining order was the "eating up" of rebellious subjects. Among the Kaffirs, according to Maclean,

when an individual obstinately refuses to obey the orders of his chief, the kraal to which he belongs is held responsible for his conduct; and the headman thereof is expected to punish him; the fine going, of course, to the chief. When a kraal, or clan, is rebellious, the custom of "eating up" is resorted to; which consists in collecting secretly an armed party,

[1] *Ibid.*, 349–357, *passim* (C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung. By permission).

sufficiently strong, and proceeding in as stealthy a manner as possible to such kraal or clan, and seizing all their cattle, etc. If they resist, they are fired upon or assegaied without ceremony; and should any other kraal attempt to assist the rebels, they also would be eaten up.

"Eating up" is the only physical force which a chief has at his command to keep his people in order; and although often abused for political purposes, it is absolutely necessary, as being the only means he has of commanding obedience to the laws.

To maintain his popularity, and cause his people willingly to assist him on such occasions, the booty is always divided among the party engaged on such service, the chief reserving only a very small portion for himself. Hence the system of "eating up" is very popular among the Kafirs; and they are always ready to turn out and assist their chief in plundering their fellow subjects, without ever thinking of inquiring into the merits of the case.[1]

Gutmann reports a case where a chief who was unable to control his subjects invited a friendly neighboring chief to come in and "eat up" the country. Chief Mlavi of one division of the Chagga invited chief Rindi of another division to pillage his subjects in this way, on the sole condition that no one should be killed. This was done, and the expedition became known as "the face-slapping war."[2]

The chief or king also made claims on certain values which were of indeterminate ownership or recognized as suitable to his position. K. R. Dundas enumerates some of these claims among the Wanga:

In the following the term king is applied to the supreme chief only. The privileges and prerogatives enumerated below are in some cases confined to him alone; in others they are enjoyed alike by all the *itawkho*. Most of the king's privileges are also enjoyed by reigning chiefs within the limits of their own districts; this is so in the case of Ligirri, for instance:

If a man kill an elephant, or find the tusks of a dead elephant, one tusk and the tail are claimed by the chief. If the elephant is a single tusker or if only a single tusk be picked up, it becomes the property of the chief. The hunter or finder is in such case entitled to a reward.

All leopard and lion skins are claimed by the chief, who gives the owner a small present and invites him to drink beer with him. An itawkho is rewarded with the present of a bullock.

Only the king may wear a leopard-skin cloak, or sleep on a lion skin. Ligirri is an exception to this rule; he has the hereditary right to wear a leopard-skin cloak.

[1] Maclean, J., *A Compendium of Kafir Law and Custom*, 76.
[2] Gutmann, *op. cit.*, 539.

Certain kinds of stones and beads, such as ancient Egyptian beads, may only be worn by chiefs. Anyone finding such a stone or bead must take it to the chief, who gives him in return a sheep.

The skin and certain portions of the meat of all hippo killed are claimed by the chief. One foreleg is the special perquisite of his headman. The chief does not himself eat the meat but he gives it to his wives, children, and servants. The person who killed the animal is not entitled to any reward. All buffalo skins are taken by the chiefs, who give them to their warriors to make shields of.[1]

The royal revenues are also derived to a considerable degree from the possession of women, acquired as contributions from or levies on families, as fines and bribes, and by paying the debts of dead men and taking over the widow and her children. The following is an extraordinary case, reported by Westermann from the Kpelle of Liberia, in the words of a native, born of negro parents who had emigrated to that country from America:

A king has many wives who are his property. When a king gets a wife he must pay for her; he gets none of them for nothing. . . . When anyone has a love affair with any of the wives of the king he must pay the king money. When anyone has a love affair with one of the king's wives the king forces him to pay part of the price that he paid for her.

When a king has many wives (there are many kings who have more than two hundred) he picks a number of them, he gives them to his men and says, "You are my laborers." He picks other wives and gives them to his men and says, "You are my porters." He picks other wives and gives them to his warriors, his principal men, those who are good in carrying on wars, and says to them, "Any war that comes about in my city, you are to fight it."

He picks other wives. The one he first got is the mistress of the house. He picks another out; she is his wife for the sacrifices. He picks a wife out and makes her his wife for his journeys. He picks another as his wife for cooking, that is, she does the cooking, and the mistress of the house she gives it [the food] to the king. He says of these wives he has picked out to everyone in the city, "No one shall have any love affair with my wives, and if anyone disregards this and begins a love affair with my wives and does not pay the money for it, then I will certainly seize the man and sell him." All these wives that the king keeps with him are in his name; when he wants one he calls her.

The king distributes these wives among his plantations; they never live together in the same city. When a month has passed the king calls all his wives in and says to his principal wife, "Ask these young wives whether they have had a love affair with a man, and then come and tell me about it." It often happens that some of them confess such a rela-

[1] Dundas, K. R., "The Wawanga and other Tribes of the Elgon District, British East Africa," *Jour, Anth. Inst.*, **43**: 25.

tion, but frequently the most of the wives answer and say, "We have had no man." The principal wife informs the king and says, "Most of the young wives won't mention any man's name." Then the king says to his wife, "All right, sit down, look at me, you asked them, they denied it, I will call the ordealist and he will take them through an ordeal." The king sends for his messenger and orders him to call the ordealist. The king names all the wives who would not name a man to the ordealist and says to him, "My wives have had love affairs but they are 'hard of hearing' and will not name the man in question, so I have called you to take them through an ordeal." Then the ordealist says to the king, "I am agreed. The country is your property, and the city and all the people. Since you have called me I will make no conditions. As you see, there are many people and I cannot finish the ordeal in a day; I cannot finish it in a month. I will be your guest while I am conducting it. On the other hand, when I have finished it and you are satisfied, whatever you give me I will take. That is what I have to say." The king answers and says, "I thank you. Carry out my instructions. When you have finished I will do what I can for you."

So the ordealist says to the king, "Bring your medicine and I will eat it [swallow it] so that all the people I am giving the ordeal to will see that if I eat it and swear on it and then do not act impartially the medicine will kill me." [The king's medicine is stronger than the ordealist's medicine and controls it.] So the king comes with his medicine and the ordealist eats it. When he has done that he begins giving the ordeal. He gives it to a woman and when it begins to work on her the king sees and his chief wife sees that the ordeal has seized her, and the woman names the name of the man. When she names the name the king sends for his messenger, some young man. The woman goes to those who have reason to fear the king [the man and his family] and says, "I have named your name." This man tells his family right away and says, "The king's wife has named my name and I am in fear. You, my mother, and you, my father, come with me and give me to the king. Say to him I will be his son. Let him give me this woman I had a love affair with, and I will work for him. I will work for him always. If I should violate my word and run away then you would have to clear the matter up by giving him another wife." That is the way the king gets all his working people. It is the Kpelle custom.

The people who thus give their children to the king, and the king agrees to it, have nothing more to do with whatever their children do for the king. If he kills an elephant it belongs to the king; if he kills a leopard it belongs to the king. The king informs his family, and says to them, "That was a good thing that your son did." They say to the king, "You have informed us, but he is your son; we gave him to you; whatever good he does belongs to you." . . .

[In case the lover is the son of a rich and important man his father and the woman visit the king.] They take a goat, they take a basket full of white rice, they take a large cloth, they take a chicken, they

carry it and come to the king. The lover's father speaks to the king and says to him, "It is about this woman and my son and their love affair that I have come to ask your pardon." The king says, "It is good that you come. Let me see your hand." The man gives him the chicken first and says, "My son did you a bad turn, but pardon it. I am not speaking idly. Here is a fowl which is the reconciliation *kola.*" [Any gift made when asking for pardon is called "kola."] He does the same with the goat, and says to him: "This basket of rice and this cloth, I bow to your feet, we are all together in the land, you are the king. You take care of us all. O, my Lord, I cannot endure to give my son to work out the bride price of a wife. I prostrate myself at your feet. Don't take me through a palaver [legal process]." The king says to him: "You have spoken. You introduced the palaver very well. But you say you cannot give me your child to work out the bride price. That is all right. But if you want to quiet my feelings you must give a girl."

Then the man says to him: "I have no daughter myself, but my sister has many daughters. Wait. I will go and beg one of her and give her to you, for all the children which my sister bears belong to me, but I must speak to her first, before I give one of them to anybody." The king says to him: "Go, ask for one and bring her here and the matter is settled."

And the man goes and tells his sister and she gives him a daughter, and he brings her to the king, and the king accepts her. That is the way a Kpelle king collects his many wives. When the ordealist is giving the ordeal he continues every day until the case of every woman is settled.

When the ordeal takes hold of another woman the king sends a man with her and they go and inform the man, and she says: "I named your name." If the relatives of this man whose name she has named don't want to give him to the king, and if there is no girl child, they take a large sum of money, and give it to the king and pacify his feelings. That is the way a king does with all his wives when a man has an intrigue with them. That is the reason the king has much money and many men. That is our standpoint, and we say: "The wives of a Kpelle king are a great source of revenue."[1]

If rulers grow too oppressive the last resort of the kin groups is desertion. The Chagga chiefs are influenced by the fear of this and frequently temper legal decisions with a view to forestalling the emigration of families. K. R. Dundas reports a case of oppression and the wholesale desertion of a population among the Wanga, together with a declaration of rights from the kinship standpoint:

When Murono died, he was succeeded by his son Kitai, who oppressed the people greatly. He robbed them of their best milk cattle, and it is

[1] Westermann, D., *Die Kpelle: Ein Negerstamm in Liberia*, 115–120 (Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht. By permission).

related of him that, when he heard of any specially fine beast, he would go to the owner's village and remaining there would refuse all meat and drink, until the man, fearing lest his chief should die in his own village, gave up the cow to him.

So the people wearied of Kitai's oppression, and one by one they crossed over the Nzaea into Loreko, until he was finally left with scarcely any people to rule over.

When therefore Musui was crowned king, the people came to him and said: "Look at Kitai, how because of his oppression of us he is left without any people; see to it therefore that, when you die, your children do not do as he has done, or else we cannot give them the copper bracelet," and Musui agreed to what they said; and I think there is no doubt that his descendants have on the whole faithfully kept this promise.[1]

At the point where the power of rulers is confirmed and tends to become hereditary and absolute they may continue a policy which is a reflection on the policy of the elders in kinship groups, as in the case of the Chagga, or a lust for power and blood is sometimes developed, as in the case of the Zulu chief Chaka, mentioned later. The beginning of the serious restriction of the influence of the kinship group as a whole is frequently seen when rulers gather at court representatives of distinguished families and attach to themselves subordinated and allied neighboring chiefs or when the leader of an invading comitatus establishes his entourage about him. Thus among the Kaffirs (whose rulers are native) the *amapakati* or councilors

have the privilege of going to *busa* at the great place; that is, they go and reside on the chief's kraal for a longer or shorter period, according to their own inclinations; and while they remain there, they form the court or ministry for the time being; during which time they enjoy many privileges. They settle all lawsuits laid before the chief, and assist him with their counsel in all state affars; and they share in all the fines which may accrue to the chief during their ministry. They are also employed as *imisila*, or sheriffs, to enforce the sentence of the chief, and they receive the fees appertaining to that office.[2]

But the influence of the kinship group persists, and the local chiefs when incorporated in the central government tend in general to maintain a stubborn adherence to traditional organization, to the extent that the king in some cases reigns but does not rule. There is nowhere in Africa a more elaborated governmental organization than among the Bushongo, a Western Bantu group. There are about 137 gradations and specializations of court functionaries under the *nyimi* (head chief and supreme judge) consisting of 18

[1] Dundas, K. R., *op. cit.*, 22.
[2] Maclean, *op. cit.*, 76–77.

legal officials, including a judge of crimes committed with a sharp weapon, a judge of stolen goods, a judge deciding whether death is from suicide, and if so assessing fines against the parents, a judge of witchcraft, an agent who administers the poison ordeal, etc.; 5 military officials, including one to reassemble deserters and dispatch them to rejoin the army on the field of battle; 6 administrative officials, one of them to receive funeral taxes, another to give village chiefs girdles significant of authority; 16 representatives of tribes; 17 representatives of trades—hunters, fishermen, boatbuilders, blacksmiths, weavers, salt manufacturers, singers, dancers, etc.; a representative of the fathers of twins; 42 court officials with determined functions or sinecures with privileges, including presumptive heirs, bearers of insignia, a narrator of legends, a collector and appropriator of gifts brought to the nyimi but dropped in the excitement of the donors, a collector (with an assistant) of gifts made to the nyimi by those recovering from sickness through his divine influence, an attendant for running before the nyimi to remove obstacles from his path; slaves on whom the nyimi sits; 14 women functionaries, including kindred of the nyimi, a head of the royal harem, one responsible for the cleanliness of the harem, one to put pepper in the eyes of disobedient women, and an assistant to attend the women while thus temporarily blinded, a teacher of songs to women, etc.[1]

But the chiefs incorporated in the central government as representatives of the territorial divisions take at the same time the place of the tribal kinship heads and maintain the kinship independence:

> Theoretically the *nyimi* is an absolute monarch of divine right and descends direct from Chembe (God); in fact, he is now nothing but a representative person, and his power is limited by the high *kolomos* [district chiefs] like the Kimi Kambu, Epanchula, Chikala, etc., who represent the national aspirations of the Bushongo. These latter are the Bushongo par excellence and, though a chief of exceptional strength of character, as for example Shamba Bolongongo or Bope Mobinji, may be able to seize the real power at the same time as the theoretical power which devolves upon him, such an occasion has less chance of happening than in any of the other African tribes which we know. In the eyes of the Bushongo, the nyimi represents rather an idea, as for example, in proportion, the Mikado in the eyes of the Japanese. In public, in accordance with ancient ceremonial, they pay him the greatest reverence; even his bitterest personal enemies—for they do exist—would be ready to give their lives to defend him or to avenge an insult to him. Thus, the

[1] Torday, E., and T. A. Joyce, "Notes éthnographiques sur les peuples communément appelés Bakuba . . . : Les Bushongo" *Ann. du Musée du Congo Belge* (3d series), 1: 53–60.

unintentional insult, the cause of the uprising of 1904, was resented more keenly by the kolomos, even though the personal enemies of the nyimi, than by the latter; they forced the nyimi, despite his refusal, to open hostilities against the Europeans (see p. 34). Their personal and private relations with the nyimi are nevertheless entirely different. They are too proud to pay him a visit and would consider that beneath their dignity; if he wishes to see them, it is he who must go in person to their dwelling-places or meet them on neutral ground. As an excuse they say that, old as they are, they fear to look upon his magnificent wives. When we were making up the list of chiefs, it became necessary to bring together the nyimi and the high kolomos. At first the nyimi had the kolomos called to the encampment of the expedition, but they made him wait so long that he left before their arrival. Later, when, in response to an invitation sent by the members of the expedition, they finally made their appearance, the nyimi took his revenge by making them wait an hour. When the nyimi had to reply, the kolomos watched his words for the least mistake and the slightest lapse was immediately corrected by them with a disdainful air. No doubt this apparent lack of respect on the part of the high officials in their relations with the nyimi was caused by the decline of native institutions, as a result of European influence.[1]

The Jukun of Nigeria are among the tribes mentioned in Chap. XI as killing their kings before they become senile, and in this case the limitation of the power of the chief is chiefly in the hands of the prime minister, as described by Meek:

The Jukun system of government is, in theory at least, of a highly despotic character. The king is supreme. His decisions have a divine authority, and there is no appeal. Before the advent of the British Government he had the power of life and death. As head of a spiritual principality, which included a number of nominally independent chiefdoms, he could order the deposition or execution of chiefs who disobeyed his behests. He could command his people to till the royal fields and repair the palace. He could appropriate the major portion of all fines inflicted; for in his person all legislative, judicial, and executive functions were merged. He exacted tribute in kind, bundles of corn from all at harvest time, and gifts of beer on the occasion of any private religious celebration. He was the recipient of gifts from all persons seeking any of the numerous offices. He claimed a share of all major game animals killed by hunters, and he exacted a penalty of seven slaves from any household a member of which had been responsible for causing a virgin girl to become *enceinte*. He could sell into slavery all the uterine relatives of a person who had been found guilty of witchcraft. He could take as a wife not merely any unmarried girl he pleased, but the wife of any of his subjects. If two suitors quarreled over a girl the king might settle

[1] Torday and Joyce, *ibid.*, *passim*.

the matter by appropriating the girl himself. He could, in fact, appropriate any form of property. Even in days when the Jukun had fallen under the domination of the Fulani the despotic character of the Jukun system of government was noticed by Dr. Barth.

It is obvious, however, that a system of government based on the conception of divine kingship is liable to become a tyranny of the worst description; and the Jukun, like other people who believe in the divinity of kings, safeguarded themselves in a variety of ways. The king was judged by results. If the harvests were good the people were prepared to put up with a moderate amount of tyrany. But excessive tyranny would evoke a demand for his death whether the harvests were good or bad. He was so surrounded by tabus that it was never difficult to discover some breach of tabu which could be interpreted as a repudiation on his part of the gods whom he was supposed to represent, and a consequent repudiation of him by those gods. On this account the king is compelled to give due consideration to the advice of his counselors, who form a patrician caste which is the embodiment of tribal tradition. This caste is headed by the *abo,* who is the permanent prime minister of the state. A vigorous abo may gather into his own hands all the threads of government, so that a weak king becomes his puppet. An unscrupulous abo may compass the death of an innocent king. So strong is the position of an abo, that he may, if annoyed with the king, absent himself for a considerable period from the daily royal ritual. To do this is almost tantamount to a repudiation of the king's divinity. It places the king in a position of extreme embarrassment, for the abo knows the secret of the royal ritual, and the authority of the king is largely dependent on the continuance of the mystery surrounding the ritual. It is of paramount importance that the secrecy of the daily rites should be maintained.

In the same way the absolute power of the king is curtailed by the necessity of living in accord with the priests of the more important cults, especially those priests who have charge of parts of the bodies of former kings. For a priest who has charge of the skull or hands of a former king has only to threaten to expose these sacred relics in order to compel the king to toe the line. The exposure of the relics would cause the king to sicken and die. To offend the priest is to offend the spirit or deified ancestor whom the priest represents, and if a drought ensues, the cause of the drought can readily be ascribed to the king's contempt of the priest of one or other of the innumerable cults. The king or chief is, in fact, at the mercy of his own ancestors, and it was stated at Dampar that a chief of Dampar can always be deterred from carrying out an injustice by asking him not to persist "for the sake of Agi Washu," Agi Washu being the original chief of Dampar who obtained the royal cult from Wukari. The mere mention of his name has the immediate effect of bringing an unjust ruler to his senses.

The very sacredness of the king's personality operated as a factor in the curtailment of his power. No one could approach him directly. Anyone who had a complaint or who was in a position to give firsthand

information could only approach the king through a chain of officials, each of whom took their dues. Anyone breaking this regulation was liable to be sold into slavery. The king was, therefore, only informed of such matters as the various officials, headed by the abo, considered were suitable (from their point of view) for him to hear. The late Aku of Wukari tried to break down this system by insisting that all and sundry should have direct access to himself. The result was a partial alienation of his senior officials, and an uncomfortable feeling on the part of the people that the king was divesting himself of his divinity. One of the first essentials of divine kingship is that the king should never lower the dignity of his office.

To return, however, to the abo or prime minister, the meaning of the term abo cannot be explained by the Jukun. It is used by the Ibibio and Ododop in the sense of king or chief, and among the Bantu-speaking Abaw it appears as "*mbo.*" Whatever is the origin of the term, the *abo achuwo* (*i.e.*, the senior abo) is, among the Jukun, the king's vis-a-vis. That is to say that he is the representative of the people in their relations with the king, who is the representative of the gods. Though he is debarred from attaining the kingship himself, he has a court of his own, which is only inferior to that of the king. He receives his food ceremonially, like the king, and after waiting on the king each morning he enters his own sacred enclosure and drinks beer in ritual fashion, the members of his court sitting respectfully outside. He has his own *ajifi*, and he has also a second-in-command, the *abo zike*, or junior abo, who also has his own court and also receives his food in ceremonial fashion. The abo achuwo is the king's principal adviser, and has access to the king at any time. He reports to the king daily everything of importance that occurs. He disposed (in former times) of all judicial cases which did not require the king's personal investigation. He might be called upon to act as leader in war. But normally he never left the capital, being the king's principal counselor. He is the prime mover in all matters, and if there were a demand to kill the king it would be essential to obtain the concurrence and cooperation of the abo.

Among the ministers at the courts of kings there are frequently developed skillful parliamentarians specialized in finished speaking (loaded with proverbs and metaphor) who at the same time represent the kinship principle and the mores. Torday has presented a picture of one of these:

The general council's meeting went off better than I had expected. It is true the Kimi Kambu, ostentatiously respectful, spoke some very cruel words to the king concerning public affairs in general, and the late war in particular, but the majority of the elders received these coolly and seemed pleased that peace had been made.

[1] Meek, C. K., *A Sudanese Kingdom: An Ethnographical Study of the Jukun-speaking Peoples of Nigeria:* 332–335 (K. Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co. By permission).

As the Kimi Kambu left the Assembly I joined him and tried to soften his heart towards the king. Though years had bent his shoulders, the old man stood a good head taller than I; now he leant forward and looked straight into my eyes: "Mingenja," he said, "you think that I am one of those who always want to kill the cuckoo, the cock, and the weaverbird [a Bushongo saying for a very quarrelsome person: these three birds announce in succession the coming day]; you are mistaken. I am old and want peace and rest; but I want such a peace as is given to the elephant who does not want to hurt anyone, but whom nobody dares to hurt; I have no use for the peace of the worm who cannot hurt anyone and nobody thinks worth hurting. I want rest, but how can I have rest when I see my country perishing? While I live I must try to avert its doom. Where is the king's authority? The Bangendi defy it with impunity. Where is the valor of our young men? They show it when facing the fleshpot and the cup. What becomes of our art? People disdain the cloth we make and crave for foreign goods. What about our morals? Young men who ought to be fully initiated have not yet passed the first tests. Even our old language is forgotten, and besides myself there are not twenty men who understand it."[1]

Witch doctors, secret societies, and religious cults are developed in different degrees and of different kinds throughout Africa, and have various relations to political organization. In some tribes the chief is in alliance with the juju, poro, or other societies but there is no evidence that political rule ever originates in or is transferred to these men's organizations. In some cases, however, and in certain directions they may exercise more power than the chief. A situation of this kind is described by Westermann for the Kpelle:

The power of the head chief is very much restricted through the influence of the leader of the *poro* society who as religious head of the community and spiritual superior of the whole population often forces his policies upon him. He can appoint meetings at which the chief has to appear and he can also exclude the chief from such meetings, and in critical situations, such as disputes between two localities of the same kingdom or between the kingdoms, he may complicate matters by arranging a witch trial or beginning a course of instruction in the poro society. While the head chief is responsible to the elders for all his decisions the poro leader passes his sentences independently, even death sentences, and carries them out through his secret agents.[2]

The powerful and respected position of witch doctors in parts of Africa (as distinguished from sorcerers) will be indicated in the

[1] Torday, E., *On the Trail of the Bushongo*, 161–162 (London: Seeley, Service and Co.; Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. By permission).
[2] Westermann, *op. cit.*, 94 (Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht. By permission).

following chapter, but frequently rulers will not identify themselves with them for the reasons stated below:

The reputation of witch doctors, as of all other Zande magicians, is completely overshadowed by the political power of the royal Vongara house. The prestige of the chiefs rests on a powerful political organization and its sanctions are of a purely political nature. The secular and government functions of the state are everywhere supreme and its ritual functions are entirely subordinate to them. One of the ways in which this subordination is maintained is by members of the noble class abstaining from magical activities, so that magic becomes mainly a commoner interest and practice. The witch doctors have no political power, and those with political power do not become witch doctors. It is important that chiefs are not initiated as witch doctors and that commoners with political ambitions refrain as a rule from joining the corporation. It can easily be understood that under these circumstances the witch doctor's social position is never an exalted one.

At the same time, chiefs respect witch doctors and give them patronage. Chiefs, like everyone else, have their interests to protect from witchcraft. They have indeed a wider range of interests, since political interests are added to those of householder and producer. It is one of the special cares of a witch doctor summoned to court to inform his master of any unrest in his kingdom or principality. A chief, owing to his large harem, is also more susceptible than a commoner to attacks by women witches, since he has a greater range of contacts with women and has consequently greater opportunity for arousing feminine ill will.

Avongara [chiefs] patronize witch doctors because their magic is good magic. It causes no one an injury and protects many from harm. It is not an ally of jealousy and spite, but their enemy. All Azande are agreed that the witch doctor is harmless and everyone praises his medicines. Witch doctors may, it is true, fight among themselves, but that is their affair. They do not injure others so that people do not fear them and speak ill of them. Their squabbles and magic combats among themselves are a great source of amusement to Azande.[1]

The succession to rule comes about in the first place as the continuation of habit; succession naturally continues in the line of the deceased ruler. In the formative stage, however (not alone in Africa but everywhere), it did not necessarily fall to his son, but rather to the most suitable person within certain degrees of kinship with him. It usually amounted to an election in which the elders, and frequently only the elders, or representatives of specified families, had a voice. In Westermann's account relating to the Kpelle it is noticeable that maturity, almost old age, is regarded as indispensable, in addition to other desirable qualities, thus continuing in a way the kinship practice of control through elders:

[1] Evans-Pritchard, E. E., "The Zande Corporation of Witchdoctors," *Jour. Anth. Inst.*, **63**: 94–95.

While succession to kingship is hereditary the right of no individual is definitely recognized but the choice is made in a definite order of relationship among a number of related families having equal claims. The rule is that the eldest surviving brother of the king, or if there is none, the eldest cousin takes over the office. Only when there is no survivor of the same generation is a son or nephew considered. . . .

Often several candidates appear, supported by favorable claims—advanced age, the affection of the people, riches, or logical position from the standpoint of birth—and each seeks support among the village chiefs and chiefs of other kinship groups who have the elective right. . . .

A king on his accession must be a man advanced in years. The present king of Densu was when chosen between forty-five and fifty years old and nevertheless objections were made to him on account of his extreme youth. As further desirable qualities he should have no physical defect, should be markedly tall with a stately bearing, and should be experienced in dancing, games, with women, and in drinking. In a word, he must be a model. They demand also that he shall have general esteem, a sound judgment, and a sense of justice. . . .

In addition to these aboriginal hereditary kings, or kings of the country (*doi kalon*), the Kpelle have had experience with war kings (*ko kalon*)—conquerors, either head chiefs of districts or men without rank who through their military ability have subjugated a large territory and united it into a kingdom. But such a form of rule has seldom endured beyond the lifetime of the founder, since being based solely on force and the personality of the conqueror, it has fallen apart again. It was the southerly direction of these foundations of kingdoms which for several centuries convulsed the western portions of the Sudan.[1]

In a further stage, however, the king names his own successor, and the nomination may be confirmed by the transfer of certain royal regalia which are the symbols of kingship, and among the Wawanga (Bantu), for example, there is a test to validate the king's choice. This tribe is also among those which kill their kings when these are advanced in age and show signs of sexual impotence, in the belief that the potency of kings works magically for the prosperity of the country, and the recognition of direct hereditary descent is favored by this idea. The wrapping of the corpse of the king in the fresh hide of a bullock in the following account by K. R. Dundas seems to reflect in a vague way the magical idea of sexual potency, and of its possible transfer and continuity, and may be regarded as a parting good wish to the dead king:

Wawanga kings are not allowed to die a natural death. Should they become too old to rule, or should they fall sick beyond recovery, they are

[1] Westermann, *op. cit.*, 90, 91, 93, 95 (Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht. By permission).

strangled by the *wachero* [official undertakers to the king]; a cord is used for this purpose. This custom must date back a long time, for I am assured that Kwandedi and all his ancestors, who died in their huts, were put an end to in this manner. . . .

The king himself chooses his successor from amongst his sons, and communicates his choice to the Wakhalivu [clan] elders, who may not divulge the secret to anyone during his lifetime. Should they do so, the son selected will die. The eldest son is not necessarily chosen.

The king also nominates a second son to act as cochief with the first. I am not quite clear as to what particular position this other chief occupies or what his duties are. But I take it that in the event of the king dying without male issue, or if the son selected to succeed him were still a minor, the office of king would devolve upon the junior chief. . . .

The principal chief succeeds to all his father's regalia, such as the sacred spears, Wanga's copper bracelet, the leopard-skin cloak, etc. Great importance is attached to this copper bracelet; by virtue of its possession alone does the king hold office. On his death it is taken off by the wachero and given into the custody of the principal Wakhalivu, who guard it jealously, until the time has come to place it upon the new king's wrist. . . . All sorts of superstitions have been woven round Mumia's copper bracelet by the common people, who regard it with the very greatest awe and reverence. One of these is to the effect, that if the king wish to cause the death of anyone, he can do so by striking together, at dead of night, this bracelet with another one he wears on the other wrist; pronouncing at the same time the person's name. . . .

The leopard-skin cloak and spears are entrusted into the keeping of the king's mother, or, of she be dead, to his principal wife. It is believed that a person can cause civil war and domestic strife throughout the Kavirondo country by taking them outside and pointing with them in different directions; for this reason they are always carefully guarded. When they were shown to me, I was told that they had for over ten years not been taken out of the hut, where they are wrapped up in grass and tied to the center pole. Only the chief, his wife, or mother, and a circumcised Wakhalivu, whose age is of no consequence, may handle them. . . .

The corpse is wrapped in the hide of a newly slaughtered bull and buried in a sitting position in the chief wife's hut, with the head above ground. A tube for sucking up beer leading from an empty beer pot is stuck in the mouth, and an inverted bowl is placed over the head.

The chief wife keeps guard in the hut for twenty days, after which the roof is broken down; as soon as the head commences to decay it is covered over with earth.

A year later the wachero dig up the bones, and after washing them in water and anointing them with butter, wrap them in the raw hide of a bull. A great procession is then formed to Matungu, the burial place of the kings, where the bones are finally deposited. The grave is marked

with a few small stones and periodically visited by the new king for purposes of sacrifice. . . .

As I have said before, the reigning king himself chooses his successor and communicates his choice to the Wakhalivu. The nomination, which up till now has been kept a deep secret, requires, however, yet to be ratified in the following manner: At the funeral celebrations a bull is killed, in the hide of which the corpse is wrapped. The king's nominee is given a spear and instructed by the Wakhalivu to kill this beast. The son appointed to act as cochief holds the bull by a rope round its neck, whilst his brother spears it behind the shoulder before the door of the hut, in which the body of the late king is lying; the dying animal must then bolt inside the hut and falling on the corpse there expire; otherwise the late king is presumed to have reconsidered the matter. Thus is his choice made known to all the people.[1]

Some extraordinary forms of political development are found in Africa. About a century ago previously settled tribes in the northeastern part attained (according to tradition) a settled organization promoted by a native Lycurgus in which ten large groups termed *gada* were in charge of the government successively over a period of forty years. Representatives (*butta*) of two apparently related gada were in power simultaneously for eight years, followed by two others, until by the pairwise rule the forty years, or a political generation, was completed and a new cycle begun:

Naturally not all the mature men of the individual families participated in the government but the majority of those who had the inclination or ability. . . . In every family containing a son there was always the possibility that the father, the husband or brother of his wife, or male relatives of the wife of the son would have been active on the government before the expiration of forty years. . . . The *gada-butta*— this combined conception— . . . could be employed also in dating events in the narrow circle of the family, such as births and deaths, and has preserved this trait down to the present. The Oromo mothers universally refer to the birth of their children on this basis, for example, Roba was born in the fourth year of the *butta* of my father, brother, husband, etc.

It is evident that this system disseminates and confirms a general interest in the affairs of state and is an expression of fundamental republican principles. It is an original contribution of African statecraft. But in order to keep alive the interest in the state, especially among the citizens whose butta was completed, another feature was introduced by which special grades of honor were conferred with advancing years— honorary political rank without active political functions.

The retirement of the representatives of the gada to private life has both solemn and noisy features. At the time of the great retirement

[1] Dundas, K. R., *op. cit.*, 26–29.

assembly they withdraw to tents on the border of the forest. The new representatives now declare before the assembly that the existing laws are no longer in force. The people receive this announcement with resentment and tumult. The new officials are now sent to ask advice of the old ones. These refuse at first, as prearranged, to take any part in the matter, but relent when a sacrificial offering is sent, and the people greet this with noisy approval. The new officials then solemnly declare that the old laws will remain in force, and the assembly receives the announcement with wild expressions of joy.[1]

Among the Nandi of East Africa, who, like the neighboring Masai mentioned in Chap. XII, have no chiefs but elected mouthpieces and advisers of the kraals, and whose organization is directed toward the development of a fighting machine represented by a warrior class, the country is formally handed over periodically from an older age level to a younger:

The ceremony of handing over the country from one age to another is one of the most important in the annals of Nandi history. This takes place about every seven and a half years, and some four years after the circumcision festival. . . . All the adult population that can conveniently do so collect together at a certain spot, but no married warrior may attend, nor may he or his wife leave their houses whilst the ceremony is taking place. The *orkoiyot*, or chief medicine man, must be present, and the ceremony is started by slaughtering a white bullock, which is purchased by the young warriors for the occasion. After the meat has been eaten by the old men, each of the young men makes a small ring out of the hide, and puts it on one of the fingers of his right hand. A circle is then formed round the chief medicine man, who stands near a stool, about which is heaped cow dung studded with the fruit of the *lapotuet* shrub. All the old men and the members of the age immediately preceding the one in power stand up, whilst the warriors who are going to receive the control of the country sit down. On a sign from the chief medicine man the members of the preceding age divest themselves of their warriors' skins and put on old men's fur garments. The warriors of the age in power, *i.e.*, those who were circumcised some four years previously, are then solemnly informed that the safety of the country and the welfare of the inhabitants are placed in their hands, and they are instructed to guard the land of their fathers.[2]

Torday has suggested that in Bantu tribes, some of which have inheritance of the chieftainship in one line and of property in the other, there has been a manipulation of royal marriage in some cases in such a way as to secure a ruler who gets his blood from both

[1] Paulitsche, P., *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas*, **2**: 114–116, *passim*.
[2] Hollis, A. C., *The Nandi: Their Language and Folk-lore*, 12 (Clarendon Press. By permission).

lines without violation of the rules of incest, and refers to the Western Bantu Bakongo in this connection:

Having two distinct lines of descent one would expect to find two forms of inheritance, as among the Ova-Herero, where inheritance of property is in the clan (*eanda*), and succession to chieftainship in the gens (*oturo*). Such a differentiation has never been noted among the Bakongo; on the contrary it seems to me that further investigation will show that succession, at any rate, may be tied to both matrilineal and patrilineal descent. Cross-cousin marriage is not only practiced among them, but it is favored as a union which produces fertility and strength. Whenever the successor of a deceased chief, temporal or spiritual, has to be designated, the elders unite, and discussions, lasting sometimes several days, take place to choose the right person; not only in Kongo, but in many other Bantu tribes. If the succession were purely matrilineal no difficulty could arise. Neither legitimacy nor primogeniture are considered; there must be some other principle guiding the elders which has escaped us. I venture the theory (it is nothing more, though supported by circumstantial evidence) that an attempt is made to find a person who is of both the clan and gens of the original chief. In the first instance this can be achieved only in the second generation. The first successor of a chief will be his sister's son, who is of his clan (inherited from his mother) but not of his gens (which is that of the chief's sister's husband). The same will be the case with the new chief's sister. Should she, however, marry the first chief's son, her cross-cousin, a child of such a union will inherit from his mother the clan and from his father the gens of the first chief whose prospective heir he is. A chief like this might, like the noble chief of Mpangu in his praise song, proclaim himself a whole man, *i.e.*, a full-blooded Mpangu.[1]

Among the Ashanti of West Africa the conception that blood is transmitted through women alone has resulted in an organization in which women have a singularly important position in governmental, social, and religious theory and practice. As Rattray points out below, "a king's son can never be a king, but the poorest woman of the royal blood is the potential mother of a king":

The Ashanti system of tracing descent is matrilineal and matripotestal, that is, clan descent is traced through the female, and authority in the family lies mainly in the hands of the mother's brother, the maternal uncle (*wofa*). We have seen that:

1. *Abusua* (clan) is synonymous with *mogya* or *bogya* (blood).
2. A woman alone can transmit blood to descendants, male or female.
3. Under no conceivable circumstances whatever can a male transmit his blood, which he derived from his mother, and in consequence no

[1] Torday, E., "Dualism in Western Bantu Religion and Social Organization," *Jour. Anth. Inst.*, **58**: 240–241.

Ashanti can, according to orthodox belief, have a drop of the male parent's blood in his or her veins.

4. The male parent transmits to his children his *ntoro*—which I have translated by "spirit"—and the male alone can transmit this ntoro, which is present in every person, male and female.

5. Both the abusua and ntoro are exogamous.

6. The abusua and ntoro together account for all the marriage prohibitions.

7. The *raison d'être* given by the Ashanti for tracing bogya (blood) through the female line alone is to be found in certain physiological conditions which they have observed, *i.e.*, the presence of blood at childbirth and during menstruation.

8. The presence of blood on these occasions has given rise to the supposition that "blood alone can be transmitted by and through a female."

While discussing this matter with three old women, one of whom was the "Queen Mother" of B———, I asked why, if a male had blood in his body, as they acknowledged he had, he could not then transmit it to his offspring. I have indeed repeatedly asked this question and always been told such a thing was impossible and had never been heard of. On this occasion the answer was that "if a male transmitted his blood through the penis he could not beget a child."

I can conceive no possible answer that would show more clearly the underlying belief in the minds of these people, but if further evidence be needed, then the fact that the word for the male-transmitted ntoro (spirit) seems sometimes used in the sense of semen supplies that proof.

To the Ashanti mind therefore the word bogya (blood) in the wider sense we now use it, as being something that may be transmitted by either or both parents, is incomprehensible.

As a result of this belief as seen in daily practice, abusua, *i.e.*, clan or blood, in all cases decides the succession to stools and the inheritance of property. The ntoro, while regulating, by exclusion, certain unions of the sexes, is of lesser practical importance; its action in certain other respects being spiritual rather than material.

The most obvious results of a social organization framed on such lines is to raise immediately the status of women in the community, and when matrilineal descent is found in a society which is frankly communistic, we seem to have in these two factors in many parts of Africa the key to the importance of women, which has been noted by numerous observers.

A proverb, that may be heard as often as the question is put to an Ashanti man or woman why a woman should be of such account, runs as follows: *Oba na owo obarima*, "A woman gave birth to a man." . . .

[The fact that wives are inherited and that the native idiom for "to marry" is "to buy a wife" might seem to point to a servile condition of women] but in Ashanti no woman stands alone, for behind the woman stand a united family, bound by the tie of blood, which has here a power and a meaning we can hardly grasp. "If you see one parrot do not throw a stone at it, for there are many others," runs one of their sayings.

The whole conception of "mother right" affords the woman a protection and a status that is more than an adequate safeguard against the ill-treatment by any male or group of males.

Her children belong to her and her clan, not to that of her husband.

All her individually acquired and inherited property is hers and her clan's, and her husband cannot touch it. Not only is this so, but when she dies, no male even of her own clan may be her heir until all her female blood (clan) relations are extinct.

From these facts it is clear that the position of woman in Ashanti is one of great importance.

"I am the mother of the man," she says, and her meaning we cannot understand until a fuller knowledge of Ashanti social and religious organization shows us what is meant.

"I alone can transmit the blood to a king."

"If my sex die in the clan then that very clan becomes extinct, for be there one, or one thousand male members left, not one can transmit the blood, and the life of the clan becomes measured on this earth by the span of a man's life."

Yet again, unless we understand the full significance underlying that aspect of the Ashanti religion which enjoins that the spirits and memories of famous ancestors be venerated and propitiated, we cannot fully grasp what a calamity in the Ashanti mind, the extinction of his clan entails.

For not only are human beings divided into exogamous clans and ntoro, but in the spirit world (*samando*) the ghosts continue to be concerned with and able not only to confer good upon, but to receive benefits from, those members of the human community alone who were their clansmen on earth. I believe also it may yet be shown that the only hope the inhabitants of the "cold shadowless spirit world" have of reincarnation upon "the warm sun-bathed earth" lies in being born again into that abusua (and just possibly also ntoro) of which they were members on earth. The extinction of the clan would therefore mean the extinction of all hope of return to this world.

I believe in all this we shall find the secret of that irrevocable law among the Ashanti which decrees that none but a clansman (or clanswoman) may ever sit on the clan stool, a belief which, when all the relations are exhausted, causes them to seek a successor from among a group whom they may never have seen, living in a remote part of the country, but bearing the clan's name and thus "all one blood." . . . A king's son can never be the king, but the poorest woman of the royal blood is the potential mother of a king. I purposely reiterate this fact because I think its import has never been fully grasped. Moreover, in olden times when a chief had to be chosen it was the Queen Mother who had most to say in the choice to be made. She would summon her clan mates, male and female, and they would discuss the matter apart from the subchiefs and elders belonging to other clans.

Having chosen the chief the Queen Mother sends a message to the subchiefs and elders who now discuss the nominee, and when they have

agreed, as I am told they generally do—no one can be put upon the stool against whom the Queen Mother gives her veto—the Queen Mother is informed.

The new chief-to-be is admonished in the presence of all the clan and given much excellent advice by "his mother" as to his future mode of life, and then conducted into the presence of the assembled chiefs.

After the usual ceremonies he is taken to where his stool stands apart. He is set upon it the customary three times, and after his sandals have been placed upon his feet and a robe thrown over his shoulder, all the attendant officials with the stool move up to where the Queen Mother sits. Then the new chief takes the customary oath and sits down on the right of the Queen Mother to receive the homage and oaths of allegiance of the assembled chiefs. Ever after, as long as he is king, the Queen Mother's place is on his left hand. She is the "old woman" of Miss Kingsley's picture.

Whenever the chief travels abroad, except to war, she must accompany him and when the chief sits in court her place is beside him. She alone has the privilege of rebuking him, his spokesman (*okyeame*), or his councilors in open court, and of addressing the court and questioning litigants. To her, too, petitions are addressed praying for pardon or mitigation of a sentence.

Every Queen Mother has the right to choose one wife for the chief, who becomes his "senior wife," and to replace her if she dies. The senior wife or, if she has grown very old her daughter, is the potential regent when the king goes to war. She takes the chief's name and the Queen Mother calls her *me 'ba* (my child), and she calls the Queen Mother *ena* (mother). The regent, originally only a woman of the royal harem, has, however, from her want of training, no knowledge of customary law and of court procedure, and the whole of these duties devolve upon the Queen Mother, who holds court and decides cases with the full powers of the chief. But more than this, for in the ordinary way, when the chief is in residence, the Queen Mother seems to have jurisdiction in her own court over women connected with her own attendants and also in all cases of disputes between the chief and his wives. Moreover, the Queen Mother has her own "spokeswomen." She appears to have jurisdiction also in certain cases where males are the litigants; it was and is, I believe, still the practice, on application being made by both parties, to have cases transferred from the chief's to the Queen Mother's court where litigation is cheaper. The Queen Mother was entitled, I am imformed, to a share of the court fees (oath fees) derived from cases heard in the chief's court.

The Queen Mother's share of oath fees at Bekwai was formerly as follows. The fee was divided into three parts; one-third was allocated to the male stool, and of the remaining two-thirds, one-third was handed over to the woman's stool. The Queen Mother, as most of us know, has her own stool, but she is also custodian (with her stool officials) of the blackened stools of departed Queen Mothers, and she performs the rites in connection with these at the *wuku* and *kwesi adae* ceremonies.

Every Queen Mother has to be in daily attendance at the chief's "palace," and should she not put in an appearance, the chief sends to inquire after her health every day that she is unable to attend.

At the ceremonies at which the departed ancestral ghosts are propitiated (the *adae*), when the chief has completed the ceremony in the stool house and received his subjects, he may not return to his room until the Queen Mother has come to salute him, and if this old lady cares to do so she will keep him waiting for a considerable time before she puts in an appearance.

The Queen Mother had and still has in an ever lessening degree, a great influence over all the women. She attends ceremonies connected with birth and puberty, and is (or was) personally concerned with the morals of the young generation. Today the Queen Mothers are unrecognized by us and their position and influence are rapidly passing away. Many of us have only been made conscious of her presence by her "troublesome" activities in stool palavers; some of us may have been in the habit of going out of our way to speak to the old lady, feeling rather than knowing she was a power to be reckoned with. Official recognition she has none.

I have myself been surprised at the results of my investigations. I found it difficult to believe what is here described is still in some measure alive today. I have asked the old men and women why I did not know all this—I had spent very many years in Ashanti. The answer is always the same: "The white man never asked us this; you have dealings with and recognize only the men; we supposed the European considered women of no account, and we know you do not recognize them as we have always done."[1]

Father van Wing has recorded a remarkable governmental pattern of the Bakongo. They choose a youth and a girl for the roles of male and female chief and cultivate in them exemplary qualities; they are not, however, wedded together. The woman functions especially along the lines of social adjustment and the man is developed as a link with the ancestral spirit world and as a worthy and interested representative when he takes his place in that world. It resembles the Aztec practice, as interpreted by Parsons above (Chap. XI), of inaugurating the divinity of persons in this world and passing them on into the next. In a way it is the process of making your own gods:

During the time which elapses between the nomination and the installation, an old chief, formerly the crowned chief himself, is entrusted with the education of the candidate; an old woman, usually a *ndona nkento* [woman chief], takes charge of the girl. They try to obtain above all from their pupils evenness of temper and gentleness—a quieted heart, as they say. They (the candidates) must avoid all outbursts of anger or

[1] Rattray, R. S., *Ashanti*, 77–80, 82–84 (Clarendon Press. By permission).

passion, abruptness of movement, even all haste in gait. They are taught to speak sedately.

(NOTE: The two candidates, whom I met and who were perhaps fourteen years old, were more reserved and serious than their age warranted. Their words, gestures, attitudes expressed a certain dignity and at the same time a remarkable modesty. They were also cleaner and better dressed than other boys. They did not have the shifty eyes which distinguish the Bakongo of their age. They kept their glances lowered or fixed them long and sedately upon their interlocutor. They seemed dreamy and melancholy. The two old *ba ndona*, whom I saw, were completely distinguished from their contemporaries by their serious manner and stately gait.)

In addition to the duties and rites of their future position, the candidates are taught all the traditions of the clan. The boy also learns the language and the proverbs of the palavers. For one or two months preceding the installation, the boy and the girl, together with one or two young men in the capacity of guardian witnesses, withdraw into the forest and live there hidden in a hut built for them. During the day they lie there on the skin of a *kimpiti* antelope. Throughout the day they are permitted to go out only in case of need; at such times, the guardian goes out in advance and utters a loud cry to warn people who might be in the neighborhood to go away. Formerly the penalty of death punished the curious or the imprudent one who looked at the candidates; now they are let off with a heavy fine.

The Installation (*yadika*). As in the case of the naming of the candidates, there is a full gathering of the clan. The ceremonies last at least three days. On the first day the assembly decrees that nothing stands in the way of the installation. Toward evening the candidates are brought to the "house of the ancestors"—*nzo i bakulu*. In this hut on a branch covered with a kimpiti skin is hung the basket of the ancestors, *lukobi lu bakulu*. For the occasion it is adorned with a bunch of *lemba-lemba*.

It is upon the old chief that the duty falls of leading in the chosen ones. During this time all the inhabitants have had to hide themselves. The next morning, the men go to the cemetery; there the members of the clan climb into the surrounding trees or cling to the branches of the *mbota* which overlook the tombs. The drums beat, while the chant resounds:

K' uleki ko, e mambu wa, ma wa.
K' unimbi ko, e mambu wa, ma wa.
E sidi sa, zibula makutu, tuwa mambu.

Sleep not, the things, listen to them, listen to them.
Slumber not, the things, listen to them, listen to them.
Oh! I have spoken, open your ears, we hear the things.

During this time the young men scatter into the surrounding regions and try to kill a bird called *ntietie*. The success of this rather easy hunt is the proof that the shades of the ancestors approve of the installation.

When they return, the crowned chief leads the candidates by the hand to the house of the ancestors. The young man seats himself on a leopard skin, the girl on a mat. All those present group themselves in front of the hut. Drums beat and ivory trumpets resound. The chief then unfastens two iron bracelets from his wrist and puts one of them on each candidate. He removes his headdress, the *mpu*, and places it upon the young man's head. At this moment all the spectators burst into sharp cries and clap their hands frantically to greet their new crowned chief. Palm leaves woven into bracelets are brought; the old chief hands them to the newly installed one and he bestows them upon all the members of the clan. Then he seats himself again and receives in his hands the basket of the ancestors. The old chief then addresses him as follows: "Behold, you are installed on the *nkuwu* (leopard skin). It is for *tomisa nsi*, 'to act in such a way that the country will prosper.' Guard carefully the *nsiku mi mpu:* the laws imposed upon crowned chiefs. Accomplish faithfully the will of our ancestors. Establish no fetishes and introduce none in your dwelling. Beware of touching a gun or of going hunting. When you have grown old, consecrate (*tumba*) another chief to rule in your place."

Then he addresses the audience: "Behold! I have installed your chief upon the leopard skin. He is henceforth your chief, the chief of all of you. Without consulting him you shall undertake no matter of business within your clan. If he is opposed to it, you shall abandon it at once. Whatever his advice or command, scorn it not. He who scorns it is violating the law of the crown: let him ask his chief for peace and pay the fine. Of every animal killed in hunting, you shall give him a quarter; from every animal paid as a fine, you shall offer him, in addition to a fourth part, the heart. For you are his subjects and he is your great chief.

"If he leaves the village, he shall not go on foot, but you shall carry him. He shall not leave his residence except for important affairs in the interest of the clan or the country. You shall never entangle him in affairs with the white man. If he calls you together, you shall all respond to his call. You shall do everything that he tells you to do. As for the ndona nkento, you shall respect her highly. Let no one touch her. Let her give peace to women. She shall choose her husband and shall inhabit no other village than her own. She shall not be given in marriage in return for money but a *kinsunda* goat shall be offered for her. Her marriage shall be broken only by death."

At the festival which follows, the newly crowned chief forms a group apart with the chief who installed him and the older men. The young ndona remains with the aged matrons. The next day the installation fees are paid. The figure was formerly very high for "*mu mpu mu zingila nsi*" is the crown which makes the country live and endure. Among other gifts, it was necessary to offer to the chief in charge of the installation a fourth of the first nine kimpiti antelopes killed in the hunt.

The Woman Chief. The ndona nkento, having arrived at marriageable age, chooses a fiancé. If the proposal which she transmits to the young man through the medium of her maternal uncle is approved, the fiancé's clan brings a kinsunda goat which has borne young once; the marriage feast is celebrated according to the traditional forms. A common meal at which the goat is divided into as many pieces as there are guests and inhabitants of the village brings it to an end. The husband cannot have any other women; he is very strictly held to monogamy and conjugal fidelity. In the same manner, adultery on the part of the ndona nkento formerly resulted in the death of the two guilty ones, who were burned alive. Their ashes were thrown into the river. The marriage is broken only by the death of one of the two partners. If the husband dies, the wife is not permitted to marry a second time.

The ndona nkento of Kingombe, a person who had reached a very advanced age, had lost her husband the year following her marriage. She lived always as a respected widow. If the ndona nkento dies, the husband is free and may follow the customs of the polygamous.

The principal duty of the ndona nkento is: *swanga lugemba:* to give peace. She practices this ministry especially with regard to women, whose conflicts she settles. She reconciles female enemies and as a sign of peace traces on their temples and foreheads a line with *mpemba,* white clay, which she keeps carefully in a small vase. She also grants peâce on the occasion of a treachery. This crime is punished by Nzambi by diverse penalties, particularly by sterility. The guilty person sees his cultivations laid waste, his home destroyed. For these misfortunes there is only one remedy: to confess the fault to the ndona nkento and receive the white line.

The same thing happens in the case of a bad and unreasoned oath. A man loses one of his children. In his vexation he swears: I will beget no more children; if I beget again, may *mindia* consume me! As he says these words he strikes the ground three times with his heel. He has committed a wrong and has sworn by the ancestors. Restored to better feelings he may have himself relieved of this oath by the ndona nkento and receive the white line. He kneels before her, says his palaver to her, confesses his fault. She replies: "*Buta, ulela:* beget, be strong." She traces on his face a line of white clay, extending from the nose to the hair and another on his temples. Then she says: "Peace is yours, perjure yourself no more, utter no more bad oaths."

These religious women chiefs are surrounded by a great respect which, moreover, they deserve. This institution seems at first sight a chance part of the social framework of the people. This compulsory monogamy appears to be of Christian origin, as well as the name ndona. On the other hand, there is nothing either in the role they play or in the rites carried out which does not bear the Bakongo seal. . . . This institution may go back to the period in which the matriarchate granted to women a more important social role.

The Crowned Chief and the Cult of the Ancestors. It is he who has the care of the basket of the ancestors and this basket is the principal feature of the only socially compulsory cult of the Bakongo. It is kept in the *nzo i bakulu:* the house of the ancestors.

This hut adjoins that of the chief and is not different from ordinary huts. It contains a bifurcated branch of a tree planted in the ground and bearing the basket. In the middle of the hut, between two stones, there burns a fire which may never be extinguished. A small boy is entrusted with the care of it. In the evening some hard logs are placed on it to burn all night. No other object, especially no fetishes, may be introduced into the hut. The basket is round and measures about twenty centimeters in height by fifteen in diameter. It is finely woven, but without any ornamentation and is closed by a cover. It contains remains of all former crowned chiefs, of all the ndona nkento, and of all the albinos of the clan. The remains consist of hair, nails, and a finger bone. The albinos are represented because these white nobles—*mfumu zi ndundu*—are thought to be reincarnated spirits of great ancestors. . . .

The Death of the Crowned Chief. When a chief sees death approaching—the Bakongo old men often have a sort of presentiment of their approaching end—he makes haste to name or to install his successor. As soon as the illness becomes serious, friendly and allied clans are notified; and groups of visitors come in succession to bestow upon the sick man tokens of their respect. Formerly the crowned chief was not cared for by means of fetishes, for, in his case, it was ordinarily *lufwa lu Nzambi,* natural death, which was sent to him by Nzambi. His successor and his close relatives watch him closely. When they notice unquestionable signs that the death agony is beginning, two men take the chief's lance, put it across his throat, and, leaning upon it with both knees, stifle the dying man. When the death rattle has ceased and there is no longer any movement, the successor whispers in his ear: *Luka nsi,* leave the earth. He then cuts some strands of hair, a finger bone, and some nails from the corpse; he encloses these remains with lemba-lemba leaves in the sacred basket. Henceforth the dead chief bears the name of *nkulu eto:* our ancestor.[1]

In the ancient Egyptian records the king is represented as a god ruling upon earth. Maspero has reproduced an Egyptian sculpture where a goddess is offering her breast to a king. The conversion of a king into a god, he says, with the appropriate formulas and symbolisms, must have been a long development,

but from the moment that Pharaoh is a god on earth the gods in heaven are his fathers and brothers, the goddesses recognize him as son, and according to the custom prescribed in such cases they consecrate the adoption by presenting the breast for his nourishment, as if he were their own child.[2]

[1] Wing, R. P. van, *Études Bakongo* (Bibliothèque-Congo, no. 3), 142–147, 152–153.
[2] Maspero, G., *Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'Orient classique: Les Origines* 1: 263.

A papyrus, now in the British Museum (133 feet in length), contains a record of the rule of Rameses III, addressed principally to the three great gods of Egypt—Amon of Thebes, Re of Heliopolis, and Ptah of Memphis. The king asseverates his own divinity, records his military campaigns, and gives an inventory (occupying about 90 per cent of the document) of the additions he has made (in gifts to temples, etc.) to the properties of the divine families on earth. Actually the report was prepared immediately after the death of Rameses by his son and successor, but Rameses is represented as speaking:

Said King Ramses III, . . . the Great God, in praising this god, his august father, Amon-Re, king of gods, the primordial, who was at first, the divine god, the self-begetter, who sustains the arm and exalts the *etef*-crown, maker of what is, creator of what exists, . . .

I was king upon earth, ruler of the living; thou settedst the crown upon my head, as thou didst; I was inducted in peace into the august palace; I sat upon thy throne with joy of heart. Thou it was, who didst establish me upon the throne of my father, as thou didst for Horus on the throne of Osiris. I did not oppress, I did not deprive another of his throne. I did not trangress thy command, which was before me. . . .

Hear ye, that I may inform you of my benefactions which I did while I was king of the people. The land of Egypt was overthrown from without, and every man was (thrown out) of his right; they had no chief mouth for many years formerly until other times. The land of Egypt was in the hands of chiefs and of rulers of towns; one slew his neighbor, great and small. Other times having come after it, with empty years, Yarsu, a certain Syrian, was with them as chief. He set the whole land tributary before him together; he united his companions and plundered their possessions. They made the gods like men, and no offerings were presented in the temples.

But when the gods inclined themselves to peace, to set the land [in] its right according to its accustomed manner, they established their son, who came forth from their limbs, to be Ruler . . . of every land, upon their great throne, (even) Userkhare-Setepnere-Meriamon, . . . Son of Re, Setnakht-Mererre-Meriamon. . . . He set in order the entire land, which had been rebellious; he slew the rebels who were in the land of Egypt; he cleansed the great throne of Egypt; he was Ruler . . . of the Two Lands, on the throne of Atum.

He appointed me to be hereditary prince in the place of Keb. I was the great chief mouth of the lands of Egypt, and commander of the whole land united in one. He went to rest in his horizon, like the gods; there was done for him that which was done for Osiris; he was rowed in his king's barge upon the river, and rested in his eternal house west of Thebes.

Then my father, Amon-Re, lord of gods, Re-Atum, and Ptah, beautiful of face, crowned me as Lord of the Two Lands on the throne of him who

begat me; I received the office of my father with joy; the land rested and rejoiced in possession of peace, being joyful at seeing me as a ruler . . . of the Two Lands, like Horus when he was called to rule the Two Lands on the throne of Osiris. I was crowned with the etef-crown bearing the *uraeus;* I assumed the double-plumed diadem, like Tatenen. I sat upon the throne of Harakhte. I was clad in the regalia, like Atum.

I made Egypt into many classes, consisting of: butlers of the palace, great princes, numerous infantry, and chariotry, by the hundred-thousand. . . . I planted the whole land with trees and verdure, and I made the people dwell in their shade. I made the woman of Egypt to go [unmolested?][1] to the place she desired, (for) no stranger nor anyone upon the road molested her. I made the infantry and chariotry to dwell (at home) in my time; the Sherden and Kehek were in their towns, lying the [length] of their backs; they had no fear, (for) there was no enemy from Kusk, (nor) foe from Syria. Their bows and their weapons reposed in their magazines, while they were satisfied and drunk with joy. Their wives were with them, their children at their side; they looked not behind them, (but) their hearts were confident, (for) I was with them as the defense and protection of their limbs. I sustained alive the whole land, whether foreigners, [common] folk, citizens, or people, male or female. I took a man out of his misfortune and I gave to him breath; I rescued him from the oppressor, who was of more account than he. I set each man in his security, in their towns; I sustained alive others in the hall of petition. I equipped the land in the place where it was laid waste. The land was well satisfied in my reign. I did good to the gods, as well as the men, and I had nothing at all belonging to any [other] people.[2]

The numerous American tribes of the Plains were always at war, not for territory or spoils but for distinction, as described elsewhere. They had chiefs, but according to Lowie and Smith they had not a single hereditary ruler.[3] Denig, who was an army scout and married the daughter of an Assiniboin chief (writing about 1852), has described the political behavior of one of these tribes and the limited power of chiefs:

The process of arriving at the chieftaincy—an instance of which was exemplified in the formation of the Red Root Band and of which we were an eyewitness—has always been the same and is as follows: Some ambitious brave young man with extensive relations separate[s] from another band, with eight or ten lodges of his connections, and [they] rove and hunt in a portion of the country by themselves, acknowledging this man as their head on account of his known bravery and successful management of large war expeditions. From time to time additions are made to this band from other bands of persons with their families who from

[1] [Obscure. Literally, "her ears being extended" (uncovered?).]

[2] Breasted, J. H., *Ancient Records of Egypt,* **4**: 112–113, 198–200, 204–205 (University of Chicago Press. By permission).

[3] Lowie, R. H., *The State,* 94; Smith, M. G., "Political Organization of the Plains Indians with Special Reference to the Council," *Univ. Nebraska Studies,* **24**: 1–84.

different causes of dissatisfaction choose to leave their leaders and submit to the government of the new chief. This chief, wishing to rise, does all in his power to benefit his small band by protecting them, choosing good hunting grounds, giving to them all horses and other property taken by him from his enemies, and, if necessary, fearlessly risking his life to strike or kill one of his own people to preserve order or their sense of justice. In the course of some years around this nucleus is assembled a body which assumes the form and name of a band and the leader, rising in power and support, increases in respect, and the standing and name of chief rewards his perseverance. It will be thus seen that the title and position of chief is neither hereditary nor elective, but being assumed by the right and upon the principles above explained, is voluntarily granted him by his followers. . . .

Is each band entitled to one or more chiefs? There is, as observed before, but one nominal chief to each band, and it is he who leads it. Yet this position does not destroy nor militate against the will of several others in the same band whose voices are as much entitled to a hearing and sometimes more so than his. No man's rule over them is absolute; their government is pure democracy. Their consent to be governed or led by any man is voluntarily given and likewise withdrawn at the discretion of the person. But their existence as a people depends on forming themselves into bodies capable of defense. These bodies must have leaders and these leaders must be brave, respected, followed, and supported. In case of a treaty either with whites or with Indians of other nations, the leading chief's voice would have no additional weight because he is in that position. He would be allowed to state his opinions with others of the same standing as men in the same band, but nothing more. . . . There are no bands more honorable than others; some are more powerful, more rascally, or more tractable, but no aristocratic or honorable distinctions exist. . . .

What are the general powers of chiefs in council? To explain this, it will be necessary to describe a council as witnessed by me a few years since. The camp when I was a visitor consisted of about 110 lodges and in the neighborhood, say, 10 or 15 miles off, were two other camps, respectively 50 and 60 lodges, all being of the band Gens des Canots. The council was held in the soldiers' lodge, where, being a stranger, I had a right to be, though having nothing to say regarding the question. This question was, Will we make peace with the Crow Nation? A few days previous the leading chief had received an intimation through me that overtures for a peace were made to them by the Crow Nation, and that the Crow tobacco sent for that purpose was in my possession at any time the council assembled; also that a deputation of Crow Indians was at the Fort, who had commissioned me to bear the tobacco with their request and to await a reply prior to their visiting the camp in person.

To decide this runners were sent immediately to the two camps mentioned with a message from the chief requesting the attendance of all

chiefs, counselors, soldiers, and warriors who felt an interest in the affair in question, who in due time arrived and took up their residence in the different lodges around about until the hour for business arrived. . . . For nearly a half hour the pipe was passed around in silence, it being filled with their own tobacco and handed from mouth to mouth, making its circuit on the right hand, after which it was laid down by the leading chief and he opened the meeting by thus stating its object, the words of whom and others were taken down by us at the time and preserved. It will be necessary to state here that the Crow Indians had massacred about 30 lodges of this same band two years previous on the banks of the Yellowstone, yet had succeeded in making a peace with some of the upper bands of Assiniboin who had not suffered by them.

The leading chief spoke thus from where he sat:

"My children, I am a mild man. For upward of twenty years I have herded you together like a band of horses. If it had not been for me, you would long ago have been scattered like wolves over the prairies. Good men and wise men are scarce; and, being so, they should be listened to, loved, and obeyed. My tongue has been worn thin and my teeth loosened in giving you advice and instruction. I am aware I speak to men as wise as myself, many braver, but none older or of more experience. I have called you together to state that our enemies (the Crows) have sent tobacco, through the medium of the whites at the big fort, to me and my children, to see if they could smoke it with pleasure, or if it tasted badly. For my part I am willing to smoke. We are but a handful of men surrounded by large and powerful nations, all our enemies. Let us therefore by making a peace reduce this number of foes and increase our number of friends. I am aware that many here have lost relatives by these people, so have we by the Gros Ventres, and yet we have peace with them. If it be to our interest to make peace all old enmities must be laid aside and forgotten. I am getting old, and have not many more winters to see, and am tired seeing my children gradually decrease by incessant war. We are poor in horses—from the herds the Crows own we will replenish. They will pay high and give many horses for peace. The Crows are good warriors, and the whites say good people and will keep their word. Whatever is decided upon let it be manly. We are men; others can speak. I listen. I have said."

This speech was received by a slight response by some of "Hoo-o-o-o" and by the majority in silence. After a few minutes' interval he was replied to by another chief, the third or fourth from where he sat. This was a savage, warlike, one-eyed Indian, and his speech was characteristic. He said: "He differed from all the old chief had said regarding their enemies. Individually as a man and as their leader he liked his father, the chief, but he must be growing old and childish to advise them to take to smoke the tobacco of their enemies, the Crows. Tell the whites to take it back to them. It stinks, and if smoked would taste of the blood of our nearest relations. He thought (he said) his old father (the chief) should make a journey to the banks of the Yellowstone, and speak to

the grinning skulls of 30 lodges of his children, and hear their answer. Would they laugh? Would they dance? Would they beg for Crow tobacco or cry for Crow horses? If horses were wanted in camp, let the young men go to war and steal and take them as he had done—as he intended to do as long as a Crow Indian had a horse. What if in the attempt they left their bones to bleach on the prairie? It would be but dying like men! For his part it always pleased him to see a young man's skull; the teeth were sound and beautiful, appearing to smile and say, 'I have died when I should and not waited at home until my teeth were worn to the gums by eating dried meat.' The young men (he said) will make war—must have war—and, as far as his influence went, should have war. I have spoken."

This speech was received with a loud and prolonged grunt of approbation by more than two-thirds of the assembly.

Other speeches followed on both sides of the question, some long, some short, until the council became somewhat heated and turbulent; not, however, interrupting one another, but mixing a good deal of private invective and satire with the question in their speeches. At a point of violent debate and personal abuse, two [Indian] soldiers advanced to the middle of the lodge and laid two swords crosswise on the ground, which signal immediately restored order and quiet. The debate was carried on with spirit for about two hours but it was easily to be perceived long before it terminated, by their responses and gestures, that the war faction greatly predominated. The chief, after asking if all had spoken and receiving an affirmative answer, remarked they could go and eat the feast that had been prepared for them. The warriors gave a loud yell and when out commenced singing their war song. We asked the old chief what was the decision. He said, "It is plain enough; listen to that war cry." He then desired me to send the Crow tobacco back without delay and tell them to leave the fort immediately and go home. A few days after a large war party started to the Crow village. The morning after the council's decision was made known by the haranguer or public crier, at the break of day, walking through the village and crying it out at the top of his voice. From the foregoing it will be seen that the chief only expressed his opinion as the others, yet the large majority or rather the feeling evinced for war by the leaders of the war parties, warriors, heads of families, soldiers, and all who could make war, left none to contend with.

Had the same general exhibition for peace prevailed, the same powers could make it, or rather force would be unnecessary when a unanimity of such a body prevailed. Had the parties or feeling been equally manifest the question would have been laid aside for another time, perhaps years, and each went to war or remained at home as he pleased.[1]

In the more settled American tribes (and to some extent in the Plains tribes) there was a tendency to recognize two classes of

[1] Denig, E. T., "Indian Tribes of the Upper Missouri," *Bur. Amer. Ethnol., Ann. Rep.*, **46**: 432, 435–440.

chiefs, peace chiefs and war chiefs, and to esteem and rank the peace chiefs higher. They represented, in fact, the kinship organization. Among the Iroquois the sachems were peace chiefs. They did not go to war and their office was hereditary. The war chiefs represented the tribal principle and their office was not hereditary.[1] The function of a peace chief among the Winnebago, and the distrust of war, have been described by Radin:

> The chief of the tribe was selected from the Thunderbird clan, although the selection was apparently restricted to certain families. The functions of the chief were connected with peace. He could not lead a war party, although, according to some, he could accompany one. His lodge . . . was an asylum for all wrongdoers. No one could be killed there, and a prisoner who succeeded in making his escape to it was spared. Even a dog destined for a sacrifice at the war-bundle feast was freed if he took refuge in it. . . .
>
> An individual might go on the warpath either alone or with a few people, but the community, in the person of the chief, insisted that he show some warrant for his action. [A native informant says:]
>
> "If a man wishes to go on the warpath he must fast and be blessed by the spirits in a specific manner. If a man is thus blessed, he gives a feast and announces his intention of leading a war party. The chief always has a representative at such a feast (a member of the Buffalo clan), and as soon as it is over this man goes to the former and reports to him. If the chief thinks that the blessing is insufficient and might cause the death of many men he takes the war leader's pipe and lays it across his path and the war leader is then compelled to abandon his undertaking. This action on the part of the chief is sacred and must be accepted as final. The war leader dare not step across the pipe." . . .
>
> If then the war party chose to go, any mishap was directly chargeable to the leader who disobeyed. Should anyone be killed the leader was regarded almost in the light of a willful murderer, and the kinsmen of the deceased could demand redress.[2]

Spier describes the rather indeterminate character of chieftainship among the Maricopa of Arizona at the present time:

> Both Maricopa and Halchidhoma had chiefs whose position was hereditary and functions vague. It proved difficult to get adequate information about them. Dreamers (shamans and others) were mentioned frequently and voluntarily; specific questioning had to be directed to chieftainship with but unsatisfactory results. It would seem that others were at least equally prominent socially: shamans, song and dance leaders, the directors of funerals and mourning ceremonies, custodians of scalps, war leaders, orators, etc. All or most of them had the prestige that derived from dreaming the powers that entitled them to their posi-

[1] Morgan, L. H., *Ancient Society*, 71–72.
[2] Radin, P., "The Winnebago Tribe," *Bur. Amer. Ethnol., Ann. Rep.*, **37**: 156, 160–161.

tions. In a society that put a premium on dream sanctions, it is intelligible why the chief, whose functions were of little moment, should receive slight attention. . . .

The Maricopa tribal chief was in reality the chief of the strongest village. Other villages lacked chiefs: "they came to that place when they wanted to find out anything." Practically he was chosen by the people of his village: they simply came to him for advice and to have him address them, until he came to be recognized as chief. In native theory, however, he dreamed his position. Last Star was not certain what spirit was the subject of a chief's dreams, but presumed it must have been the mocking bird, because anyone who desired to become an orator dreamed of this bird.

His successor was his son or other close relative in the patrilineal line. The rule was not absolute but dependent on the competence or willingness of the logical successor. Normally the inheritor was a son (not of necessity the eldest son) because it was assumed that "the son had been instructed by his father, but they would pass over an incompetent son for a close relative on the father's side." The successor's competence was taken as a sign that he, in his turn, had had the requisite dreams. In default of a qualified son, the dead chief's brother or brother's son was chosen. The transmission was through the chief's sister only if she had sons while his brother had none. No woman could inherit the position. In the case cited below, the succession was to a filial grandson because the daughter could not hold office. . . .

The functions of a chief seem to have been slight: his authority more admonitory than coercive. He rose early in the morning and called the villagers. Talking to the men first, he admonished them to go out to hunt, to feed their wives and children. He told the women to hasten to prepare a meal so the men could start. (A woman who failed to have breakfast ready by sunrise was scorned.) He looked after the meeting house and called men to the meetings.

There appear to have been no speakers (repeaters) for the chiefs or others.

Councilors were mentioned as chosen by the chief, two or three men. Whether they had special functions or authority is unknown to me. They were called *matasinyuk*, "those who agree"; more recently *matawikik*, "helpers."

There were evening meetings which any man might attend as he chose, even young boys, but not women. They took place in a special large house erected in the middle of the sprawling settlement. These were by no means legislative assemblies: decisions were not binding. The opportunity was rather one for the expression of opinion at a convivial gathering. Nevertheless, the proceedings were quite stereotyped.

It was customary for the chief to get the meeting house ready. In midafternoon he started a big fire, which was kept up so that by evening it was intensely hot inside. He would clear it of debris thrown inside by children, for they were not forbidden to play there. The fire was kept

blazing during the meeting with the door closed, so that they would sweat. A pile of food was stacked within the doorway on the south side for the convenience of the fire tender, an old man who alone had the duty of feeding the fire.

As evening came on, the chief would stand in the open to call the men to the meeting: "they might have something to discuss." He advised them to bring enough tobacco, so that the unprovided would not lack it. Meetings always began by smoking privately, not passing their lighted cigarettes around. Two or three were selected to do all the talking (whether orators who had dreamed or others is not clear). In the early evening they discussed "things like crops." Toward the middle of the night arrangements would be made for hunting. Warfare was discussed. (Young men were not supposed to go off on unauthorized raids, but if they did, they were nevertheless praised.) Talking would continue until the appearance of the morning star, which was taken as the signal to break up. They did not think it proper to leave early in the night: if topics were exhausted they sang until this star rose. No one was allowed to sleep, because the older men were delivering admonitions and advice to their juniors; telling them not to gamble, to treat their wives well, not to beg even though starving, not to be lazy, and the like. Anyone who slept was sent out. There were no guards at the door.[1]

The Iroquois and Creek confederacies were constructions on the basis of kinship between tribes, as shown for the Iroquois in Morgan's classical account below, and it will be noticed that when faced by the necessity of giving power to a military leader they appointed two, in order that one might be a check on the other:

The Iroquois have furnished an excellent illustration of the manner in which a confederacy is formed by natural growth assisted by skillful legislation. They resided in villages, which were usually surrounded with stockades, and subsisted upon fish and game and the products of a limited horticulture. In numbers they did not at any time exceed 20,000 souls, if they ever reached that number. . . . They were first discovered A.D. 1608. About 1675 they attained their culminating point, when their dominion reached over an area remarkably large, covering the greater parts of New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, and portions of Canada north of Lake Ontario. . . .

When the confederacy was formed, about A.D. 1400–1450 . . . the Iroquois were in five independent tribes, occupied territories contiguous to each other, and spoke dialects of the same language which were mutually intelligible. Beside these facts, certain gentes were common in the several tribes. . . . In their relations to each other, as separated parts of the same gens, these common gentes afforded a natural and enduring basis for a confederacy. . . .

[1] Spier, L., *Yuman Tribes of the Gila River*, 154–158, *passim* (University of Chicago Press. By permission).

It is affirmed by the Iroquois that the confederacy was formed by a council of wise men and chiefs of the five tribes which met for that purpose on the north shore of Onondaga Lake, near the site of Syracuse; and that before its session was concluded the organization was perfected and set in immediate operation. At their periodical councils for raising up sachems they still explain its origin as the result of one protracted effort of legislation. It was probably a consequence of a previous alliance for mutual defense, the advantages of which they had perceived and which they sought to render permanent. . . .

The general features of the Iroquois Confederacy may be summarized in the following propositions:

1. The confederacy was a union of five tribes, composed of common gentes, under one government on the basis of equality; each tribe remaining independent in all matters pertaining to local self-government.

2. It created a general council of sachems, who were limited in number, equal in rank and authority, and invested with supreme powers over all matters pertaining to the confederacy.

3. Fifty sachemships were created and named in perpetuity in certain gentes of the several tribes; with power in these gentes to fill vacancies, as often as they occurred, by election from among their respective members, and with the further power to depose from office for cause; but the right to invest these sachems with office was reserved to the general council.

4. The sachems of the confederacy were also sachems in their respective tribes, and with the chiefs of these tribes formed the council of each, which was supreme over all matters pertaining to the tribe exclusively.

5. Unanimity in the council of the confederacy was made essential to every public act.

6. In the general council the sachems voted by tribes, which gave to each tribe a negative upon the others.

7. The council of each tribe had power to convene the general council; but the latter had no power to convene itself.

8. The general council was open to the orators of the people for the discussion of public questions; but the council alone decided.

9. The confederacy had no chief executive magistrate or official head.

10. Experiencing the necessity for a general military commander, they created the office in a dual form, that one might neutralize the other. The two principal war chiefs created were made equal in powers. . . .

For all purposes of tribal government the five tribes were independent of each other. Their territories were separated by fixed boundary lines, and their tribal interests were distinct. The eight Seneca sachems, in conjunction with the other Seneca chiefs, formed the council of the tribe by which its affairs were administered, leaving to each of the other tribes the same control over their separate interests. As an organization

the tribe was neither weakened nor impaired by the confederate compact. Each was in vigorous life within its appropriate sphere, presenting some analogy to our own states within an embracing republic. It is worthy of remembrance that the Iroquois commended to our forefathers a union of the colonies similar to their own as early as 1755. They saw in the common interests and common speech of the several colonies the elements for a confederation, which was as far as their vision was able to penetrate.

The tribes occupied positions of entire equality in the confederacy in rights, privileges, and obligations. Such special immunities as were granted to one or another indicate no intention to establish an unequal compact or to concede unequal privileges. There were organic provisions apparently investing particular tribes with superior power; as, for example, the Onondagas were allowed fourteen sachems and the Senecas but eight; and a larger body of sachems would naturally exercise a stronger influence in council than a smaller. But in this case it gave no additional power, because the sachems of each tribe had an equal voice in forming a decision, and a negative upon the others. When in council they agreed by tribes, and unanimity in opinion was essential to every public act. The Onondagas were made "Keepers of the Wampum," and "Keepers of the Council Brand," the Mohawks "Receivers of Tribute" from subjugated tribes, and the Senecas "Keepers of the Door" of the Long House. These and some other similar provisions were made for the common advantage.

The cohesive principle of the confederacy did not spring exclusively from the benefits of an alliance for mutual protection, but had a deeper foundation in the bond of kin. The confederacy rested upon the tribes ostensibly, but primarily upon common gentes. All the members of the same gens, whether Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, or Senecas, were brothers and sisters to each other in virtue of their descent from the same common ancestor, and they recognized each other as such with the fullest cordiality. When they met, the first inquiry was the name of each other's gens, and next the immediate pedigree of their respective sachems; after which they were usually able to find, under their peculiar system of consanguinity, the relationship in which they stood to each other. Three of the gentes—namely, the Wolf, Bear, and Turtle—were common to the five tribes; these and three others were common to three tribes. In effect, the Wolf gens, through the division of an original tribe into five, was now in five divisions, one of which was in each tribe. It was the same with the Bear and the Turtle gentes. The Deer, Snipe, and Hawk gentes were common to the Senecas, Cayugas, and Onondagas. Between the separated parts of each gens, although its members spoke different dialects of the same language, there existed a fraternal connection which linked the nations together with indissoluble bonds. When the Mohawk of the Wolf gens recognized an Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, or Seneca of the same gens as a brother, and when the members of the other divided gentes did the same, the relationship was not ideal, but a

fact founded upon consanguinity, and upon faith in an assured lineage older than their dialects and coeval with their unity as one people. In the estimation of an Iroquois every member of his gens, in whatever tribe, was as certainly a kinsman as an own brother. This cross-relationship between persons of the same gens in the different tribes is still preserved and recognized among them in all its original force. It explains the tenacity with which the fragments of the old confederacy still cling together. If either of the five tribes had seceded from the confederacy it would have severed the bond of kin, although this would have been felt but slightly. But had they fallen into collision it would have turned the gens of the Wolf against their gentile kindred, Bear against Bear; in a word, brother against brother. The history of the Iroquois demonstrates the reality as well as persistency of the bond of kin, and the fidelity with which it was respected. During the long period through which the confederacy endured they never fell into anarchy nor ruptured the organization.

Unanimity among the sachems was required upon all public questions, and essential to the validity of every public act. It was a fundamental law of the confederacy. They adopted a method for ascertaining the opinions of the members of the council which dispensed with the necessity of casting votes. Moreover, they were entirely unacquainted with the principle of majorities and minorities in the action of councils. They voted in council by tribes, and the sachems of each tribe were required to be of one mind to form a decision. Recognizing unanimity as a necessary principle, the founders of the confederacy divided the sachems of each tribe into classes. No sachem was allowed to express an opinion in council in the nature of a vote until he had first agreed with the sachem or sachems of his class upon the opinion to be expressed, and had been appointed to act as speaker for the class. Thus the eight Seneca sachems being in four classes, could have but four opinions, and the ten Cayuga sachems, being in the same number of classes, could have but four. In this manner the sachems in each class were first brought to unanimity among themselves. A cross-consultation was then held between the four sachems appointed to speak for the four classes; and when they had agreed they designated one of their number to express their resulting opinion, which was the answer of their tribe. When the sachems of the several tribes had, by this ingenious method, become of one mind separately, it remained to compare their several opinions, and if they agreed the decision of the council was made. If they failed of agreement the measure was defeated and the council was at an end. The five persons appointed to express the decision of the five tribes may possibly explain the appointment and the functions of the six electors, so called, in the Aztec confederacy.

By this method of gaining assent the equality and independence of the several tribes were recognized and preserved. If any sachem was obdurate or unreasonable, influences were brought to bear upon him, through the preponderating sentiment, which he could not well resist,

so that it seldom happened that inconvenience or detriment resulted from their adherence to the rule. Whenever all efforts to procure unanimity had failed, the whole matter was laid aside because further action had become impossible. . . .

When the Iroquois confederacy was formed, or soon after that event, two permanent war chiefships were created and named, and both were assigned to the Seneca tribe. One of them (*Tawannears*, signifying "needle breaker") was made hereditary in the Wolf, and the other (*Sonosowa*, signifying "great oyster shell") in the Turtle gens. The reason assigned for giving them both to the Senecas was the greater danger of attack at the west end of their territories. They were elected in the same manner as the sachems, were raised up by a general council, and were equal in rank and power. Another account states that they were created later. They discovered immediately after the confederacy was formed that the structure of the Long House was incomplete, because there were no officers to execute the military commands of the confederacy. A council was convened to remedy the omission, which established the two perpetual war chiefs named. As general commanders they had charge of the military affairs of the confederacy, and the command of its joint forces when united in a general expedition. Governor Blacksnake, recently deceased, held the office first named, thus showing that the succession has been regularly maintained. The creation of two principal war chiefs instead of one, and with equal powers, argues a subtle and calculating policy to prevent the domination of a single man even in their military affairs. They did without experience precisely as the Romans did in creating two consuls instead of one, after they had abolished the office of *rex*. Two consuls would balance the military power between them, and prevent either from becoming supreme. Among the Iroquois this office never became influential.[1]

Swanton has compared the Creek confederacy with that of the Iroquois and finds that the organization was less dependent on kinship, but points out that the kinship principle may have been operative in the first place:

When we turn our attention to attainments in the art of government, we are compelled to award first place to the Iroquois and second place to the Creeks. In doing so we must reject the dictum that "that government is best which governs least" as a principle upon which to base our conclusions. From the point of view of the factors involved, or for the purposes that they had to serve, the governments of the Choctaw, Cherokee, Caddo, and many smaller tribes were just as good as the two just mentioned—from Jefferson's point of view better. We must also reject absolutism as a criterion of superiority, one which, if accepted, would have placed the Natchez in the foremost rank. But although the Natchez theocracy included some alien tribes, the problem confronting

[1] Morgan, L. H., "Houses and House-life of the American Aborigines," *Contrib. to North Amer. Ethnol.*, **4**: 25–39, *passim*.

Iroquois and Creek statesmen was much more difficult than that which the Natchez Great Sun had to face, for the problem with them was not the mere addition of alien tribes but the evolution of a common system of usages, legal and governmental procedure, and the accompanying concepts, acceptable to a considerable number of originally independent and mutually hostile peoples. So far as we may judge there never was any great diversity among the people which constituted the Choctaw, Cherokee, and Caddo nations. A few small bands were added to certain of them at a late period, but they were too insignificant to affect the polity of the tribe as a whole, and this was equally the case with the Natchez.

The Creek state partook less of the nature of a free union of peoples than that of the Iroquois since one particular group of bands occupied a position of numerical and moral dominance. To this group belongs properly the name Muskogee, though that is probably foreign in origin. As the original organization seems to have been confined to this group, it may once have been comparable to the organization of the Iroquois, a voluntary union among equals, but from the time when it came clearly to the knowledge of Europeans almost half of the federal body consisted of peoples of alien speech who, though not oppressed, were in some measure looked down upon by the Muskogee. According to the only fragments of the national epic which have survived, two of the main bands of Muskogee, having subdued or driven away all of their enemies, agreed to institute an intertribal ball game in order to keep their martial spirit alive. These were the Coweta and the Kasihta. It was also agreed that each might adopt bodies of related or alien people who would then form one "fire" with it and might participate in the game on its behalf if this were subscribed to in preparing for the contest. Coweta and its towns came to be associated with war, while Kasihta headed the peace side, and for obvious reasons took in more outsiders than its rivals.[1]

The Oglala (Sioux) of the Plains are distinguished by a form of representative government, which may have been influenced to some extent by contact with the whites, but is fundamentally native:

> The Oglala are the chief and dominant division of the Teton-Dakota. . . . When reservations were established, two of these divisions were placed under the Pine Ridge Agency. . . . The two former Pine Ridge divisions are now known as the Red-cloud camp (Oglala) and the Kiaksai. As far as our information goes, it appears that the former had by far the more complex organization and in the main prevailed when the reservation was established. It was in this camp that the chiefs' society originated. As will be fully explained later, this was an organization comprising the majority of the efficient older men of forty years or more. It elected its own members. Independent of its organization, it elected seven chiefs (*wicasa itacan*) to govern the people. These chiefs were

[1] Swanton, J. R., "Notes on the Cultural Province of the Southeast," *Amer. Anth.*, N.S., **37**: 380–381.

elected for life. Since it was customary for vacancies to be filled by the election of a worthy son or relative these offices were partially hereditary. These seven chiefs did not actually participate in the daily government but delegated powers to younger or more virile men, by the appointment of four councilors to serve for life, though they could resign at any time. These may or may not be members of the chiefs' society but the seven chiefs are not eligible to the office. They are spoken of as the "owners of the tribe," but more particularly as the "shirt wearers" since upon investment in office they are given a special form of hair-fringed shirt. These shirts are spoken of as "owned by the tribe." Their owners are the supreme councilors and executives. They are charged with the general welfare; to see that good hunting is provided, healthful campsites selected, etc. Thus, though theoretically deputies, these four men are the real power in the government.

The seven chiefs, often assisted by the four shirt wearers and the whole chiefs' society, elect four officers (*wakicun*) to organize and control the camp. All except the four shirt wearers are eligible to this office. These men serve for about one year. It seems to have been the custom to reelect two or three of them so as to have experienced men in office. In former times, the tendency was for the people to scatter out in winter, but early in the spring the camp circle was formed and its government organized. This was initiated by the selection of the wakicun.

The wakicun are after all the true executives, the shirt men standing as councilors. A tipi was set up in the center of the camp circle as the office of the wakicun in which they occupied "the seats of honor." The shirt men as well as the seven chiefs had seats there as councilors, but did not sit continuously like the wakicun. As soon as invested in office the wakicun appointed two young men to act as orderlies, see that fuel and food were provided, etc. They appointed a herald to promulgate their orders. They also selected two head *akicita* (*akicita itacan*). We were told that the society of chiefs announced the election of a wakicun through the head akicita. A stick is prepared to represent the candidate's achievements. Thus, if he has been a victorious *blotaunka*, a striped stick is used; if wounded in battle, a red stick; if he killed an enemy, a black stick. The akicita go to his wife's tipi and thrust the stick into the ground. The woman prepares food and sends it with the stick to the executive tipi. If her husband has been reelected, he is already there, but, if newly elected, he hunts up a fine pouch, a pipe, a generous supply of tobacco and takes his place in the tent.

The two akicita itacan select two others to serve with them, thus constituting a governing board, or chiefs of the akicita. These select either eight or ten men to act as akicita, or the force, or designate some one of the akicita societies to act instead. In the latter event, the leaders of the society detail the men. . . . We may insert a narrative of Chief-high-bear in which the brave society acts as akicita:

"The herald goes near the tent in the center, builds a large fire, and calls the four pipe carriers belonging to the brave society. Being

instructed to do so the night previous, he gives them news of buffalo being in a different place and tells them they had better move. Then the pipe carriers instruct him to announce the moving order, deciding about the course of travel, since they know the lay of the ground.

"The pipe carriers lead the procession or throng. They go only about two miles the first day for most of them travel on foot. The next morning the herald announces that they must all prepare to travel as they are going to slaughter buffalo. They only travel about seven or eight miles that day, resting three times and the fourth time they camp, and the akicita see to the order of camp, etc. Then a messenger comes in telling about the buffalo and they bring him to the center where the four pipe men are. Then he fills the pipe and the bowl of the pipe is put against a bunch of buffalo manure there and the scout takes a whiff of smoke at which they all say 'Hoye.' It is an expression of assent or satisfaction. Then the pipe man smokes a whiff, and they all say 'Hoye.' A large crowd looks on. The pipe man then says, 'You are not a child and you know this country. Tell me what you have seen from any hill you have looked from and you will please me.' He says, 'I have gone to a hilltop and looking beyond, saw many buffalo.' They all rejoice and disband. They swing their robes and shout with joy.

"The herald announces, 'Sharpen your knives and get your horses ready because today I am going to kill lots of buffalo.' Then they go, the akicita on each side, at the back and in the front, leading. When they come to the hill and see the buffalo herd, the pipe men consider the situation, direction of wind, etc., and instruct the men which way to go. The herald announces that they must split in two bands and the slaughtering begins. The akicita move up and the rest on each side and close in on the buffalo slowly. When ready the akicita wave their blankets and shout for them to start. Then they run in on them. They kill many buffalo and butcher them and carry the meat home on horseback. As they near the camp everybody rejoices and shouts. The women take charge of the meat. The hides are staked out and meat scraped off.

"If anyone goes out alone and scares up the buffalo, charges them, and brings meat home, the braves go to him, strike him senseless, and cut up his tipi cover and the poles. If anyone kills another in camp, the braves kill the murderer.

"When the tribe first mingled with the whites, the braves would not sanction it because they did not wish to eat the white man's food and the white man would eat all their buffalo. If the braves discovered anyone going among the white people, they would intercept him and kill him and his horse. They were afraid that the smell of coffee and bacon (foreign smells) would scare the buffalo and make them stay away. However, they would allow the white traders to come in and bring merchandise but would not buy foods that created a peculiar smell. They did not want the *wakpamini*, the government issue, and did not want the white people coming in. They drank broth of buffalo.

"Finally, they fought and killed each other until akicita realized that fighting was bad because the whole country smelled of dead bodies and there were lots of dry bones. There were also many orphans and widows because of the killing of fathers and husbands, and much property was being destroyed. They did not like all this, so all the tribes agreed to live in peace with the whites. The Indian married a white woman and the white man an Indian woman, and thus they intermingled. That is, this was sanctioned."

The Indians define the word *akicita* as "those who see that there is general order in camp when traveling from one place to another; those who attend to the duties of overseeing the buffalo hunt so that no one may chase the buffalo singly; those who see that all can charge the buffalo at once or split up the party so that when one chases buffalo one way, the other band closes in; and those who supervise the chase to get better results. They also see that no one kills another, but in case one does, they either kill him or destroy all his property, kill his horses, destroy his tipi," etc. Thus, though in general literature the term akicita is rendered as "soldiers," its approximate equivalent seems to be police or marshals.

The akicita itacan seem to serve continuously during the season. Although our informants are not quite consistent it seems that, as a rule, the four head akicita were chosen from the same society and while it was expected that they choose their assistants from the society, they were at liberty to recruit the force at large. Thus, we were told that if the leaders of a society were appointed as head akicita, their administration would be efficient by reason of their having in hand a highly organized corps of able-bodied men upon whom they could call for police service.

When chosen by the four chiefs the head akicita are sent for. They come to the executive tipi wearing buffalo robes but unarmed. They are then informed of their election. Two black stripes are made on their faces and war bonnets placed on their heads. They are invested with a special club and are assigned a herald to promulgate their orders. They are addressed by one of the chiefs who says, "You are to help us in governing the tribe. You shall see that no prairie fires are started; that no one shall scare away the buffalo; that no one shall go away from camp to camp elsewhere; that no one, when on the buffalo chase, goes ahead and shoots the buffalo; and that all offenders be punished." Then the chief akicita go around the camp circle and choose their akicita. As stated above, these head akicita may choose their force from their own or some one society. At the proper time, the herald is ordered out to call the chosen society together. It seems that the society designated at the beginning of the summer hunt usually served during the season, automatically passing out of service at the end. This would give them about one year's service. It also seems to have been usual but not obligatory for the chiefs to choose from the societies by rotation. No one may decline service but can be discharged for misconduct—murder,

quarreling, eloping with wives of society brothers, or other unworthy acts. Appointment to the service was regarded as an honor. Dances or public fetes were often held for the akicita at which time the akicita itacan may nominate two or three worthy young men to assist them. This was looked upon as a high honor. So far as our information goes, no special akicita were appointed for the sun dance and other ceremonies.

Returning to a consideration of the scheme of government, it is clear that all the civil and economic affairs of the camp are in the hands of the wakicun. On all these matters, they are free to instruct and can enforce their orders through the akicita. They decide when to break camp, where to go, and again select the new site. Hunting must be carried on when and as they direct. They also see that every person receives a fair share of the meat and is provided with enough robes to make the winter endurable. They settle disputes, judge and compound crimes, and make rules to ensure proper decorum in camp. However, our informants all felt their chief function to have been the regulation of the hunt, or the conservation of the food supply. . . .

There is some reason for believing that the office of chief was a modern innovation and that the original tribal government of the Oglala was vested in the wakicun. Writing of the eastern Dakota in 1847 Philander Prescott says:

"The chieftainship is of modern date; that is, since the Indians first became acquainted with the whites. Tradition says, they knew of no chiefs until the white people began to make distinctions. The first Sioux that was ever made a chief among the Dakotas, was Wah-ba-shaw, and this was done by the British. Since that time, chieftainship has been hereditary. There are small bands existing that have no recognized chiefs."

This is at least an interesting suggestion and, so far as our data go, entirely consistent with the scheme of government.[1]

The extravagant behavior of the tribes of the northwest coast, their potlatches and prerogatives and their application of criminal law are described in Chaps. XIII and XV. Their governmental organization, which emphasizes rank excessively and seems to be the result of rivalry between families and villages, is described by Sapir:

All these tribes [of the northwest coast] are characterized by a clear development of the idea of rank; indeed, it may be said that nowhere north of Mexico is the distinction between those of high and those of low birth so sharply drawn. . . . Three classes of society may be recognized —the nobility, the commoners, and the slaves. . . . We learn here and there from their legends that individuals of low rank were sometimes raised to a higher rank by marriage into a chief's family; but the very

[1] Wissler, C., "Societies and Ceremonial Associations in the Oglala Division of the Teton-Dakota," *Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., Anth. Pap.*, **11**: 3, 7–12, *passim*.

point made in such cases serves to emphasize the essential differences of rank. High rank is determined primarily by descent—whether in the male or female line depends on the tribe. A very important factor, furthermore, in determining rank is wealth, as illustrated more particularly by the distribution of great quantities of property at ceremonial feasts generally known as potlatches. It is not enough for one of high birth to rest in his hereditary glory. If he wishes to preserve the respect of his fellow tribesmen, he must at frequent intervals reassert his rank by displays of wealth, otherwise he incurs the risk of gradually losing the place that properly belongs to him on the score of inheritance. . . .

A necessary consequence of the division of the village community into a number of large house groups is that, associated with each chief, there is, besides the immediate members of his own family, a group of commoners and slaves, who form his retainers. The slaves are immediately subject to his authority and may be disposed of in any manner that he sees fit. The commoners also, however, while possessing a much greater measure of independence, cannot be considered as unattached. [Everything clustered about a number of house groups headed by titled individuals], and in West Coast society, as in that of medieval feudalism, there was no place for the social free lance. If the number of commoners and slaves connected with a chief's family grew too large for adequate housing under a single roof, one or more supplementary houses could be added on to the first; but they always remained under its sphere of influence. In this way we can understand how even a group of houses forming an outlying village might be inhabited entirely by people of low birth, who were directly subject to one or more chiefs occupying houses in the mother village. From this point of view the whole tribe divides into as many social groups as there are independent chiefs.

The rank of chief or noble is connected in most cases with a certain degree of personal power, but real communal authority is naturally vested in only the highest chief or chiefs of the village, and then not always as absolutely as we might be inclined to imagine. Even the highest chief is primarily always associated with a particular family and house, and if he exercises general authority, it is not so much because of his individual rank as such, as because the house group that he represents is, for one reason or another, the highest in rank in the community. In legendary terms this might be expressed by saying that the other groups branched off from or attached themselves to that of the head chief.

Fully as characteristic of high rank as the exercise of authority is the use of a large variety of privileges. The subject of privileges among the West Coast Indians is an exceedingly complex one and cannot be adequtely disposed of here. Privileges include not only practical rights of economic value, such as the exclusive or main right to a particular fishing ground or the right to receive a certain part of a whale which has drifted on to the tribal shore; but also, and indeed more characteristically, many purely ceremonial or other nonmaterial rights. It is these which form

the most important outward expression of high rank, and their unlawful use by those not entitled to them was certain in every case to bring about violent friction and not infrequently actual bloodshed. One of the most important of these privileges is the right to use certain carvings or paintings, nearly aways connected with the legendary history of the family which the chief represents. . . . From our present point of view the crests are but one of the many privileges that are associated with high rank. A further indication of such rank is the right to use certain names. The right to the use of any name is, properly speaking, determined by descent, and the names which have come to be looked upon as higher in rank than others naturally descend only to those that are of high birth. These names comprise not only such as are applied to individuals and of which a large number, some of higher, others of lower rank, are at the disposal of the nobleman; but also names that he has the exclusive right to apply to his slaves, to his house, very often to particular features of his house, such as carved posts and beams, and in some cases even names applied to movable objects such as canoes or particularly prized harpoon heads or other implements. Further indicative of rank is the right to perform particular dances both in secular feasts or potlatches and, though perhaps to a somewhat less extent, also at ritualistic performances.

Perhaps the clearest outward manifestation of rank is in the place given a chief whenever it is necessary to arrange in some order the various participants in a public function. Thus, in a public feast or potlatch, those of high rank are seated in certain parts of the house that are preserved exclusively for the nobility. These are the rear of the house and the halves of the sides which are nearest the rear. These seats are graded as to rank, and it is perhaps not too much to surmise that the obvious grading made visible to the eye by a definite manner of seating at feasts was in a large measure responsible for the extension of the idea of grading of ranks and privileges generally. The exact seat of honor differed somewhat with the different tribes. In some it was the center of the rear; in others that seat on the right side of the house, as one faces the door, which was nearest the corner. Other arrangements into series which could give a concrete idea of the ranking enjoyed by an individual are the order in which gifts are distributed to the chiefs at a potlatch; furthermore, the order in which they are called out when invited by a representative of another tribe to attend a feast which is to be given some time in the near future by the latter. The ranking orders thus arrived at by seating, distribution of gifts, invitations to feasts, and in various other ways that it is not necessary to enter upon here, might be expected to coincide. To a certain extent they do tend to approximate, and the highest in rank in a community will nearly always be found to head any such list that might be constructed. In practice, however, one finds that the various orders do not necessarily strictly correspond, in other words, that a person might individually be of lesser rank than another from the point of view of seating, but would have a

prior claim to be invited, say. This curious state of affairs shows clearly enough that at last analysis rank is not a permanent status which is expressed in a number of absolutely fixed ways, but is rather the resultant standing attained by the inheritance of a considerable number of theoretically independent privileges which do, indeed, tend in most cases to be associated in certain ways, but may nevertheless be independently transmitted from generation to generation. . . .

In those tribes, like the Haida and Tlingit, that are subdivided into phratries and clans . . . this grading of chiefs represents something of a political or administrative basis, inasmuch as subsidiary to the town chief we have a number of clan heads. Subordinate to these, in turn, are the heads of the various house groups. Here again, however, it is important to notice that the town chief is always at the same time the chief of the particular clan that is dominant in that village and that the clan chief is at the same time the head of the particular house group that forms the nucleus of, or is the highest in rank in, the clan. In other words, ranking is not so much of a political or administrative character as it is determined by the handing down of status and privilege from holder to heir. It follows that the political organization, such as it is, impresses one as superimposed on the house group or family organization by inner growth of the latter. . . .

To a certain extent a man has the right to split his inheritance, in other words to hand down to one of his sons or nephews, as the case might be, certain privileges, to another certain others. Very often such a division is reducible to the association of privileges with definite localities, a point which is of primary importance in connection with the village community as the fundamental unit in West Coast organization. Thus, if one by the accidents of descent has inherited according to one line of descent a number of privileges associated with village A, in which he is no longer resident, and a number of other privileges according to another line of descent originally associated with village B, in which he is resident, it would be a quite typical proceeding for him to bring up one of his heirs, say the one naturally highest in rank, to assume control of one set of privileges, a younger heir of the other. If the privileges originally connected with village B, let us say, tend to give one a higher place in the tribe than those connected with village A, the chances are that the first heir will be induced to take up his permanent residence in that village, while the transmitter may take the younger heir down to the more distant village and take up residence for a period in order to introduce his heir, as it were, to the privileges designed for him. In other words, there is a more or less definite tendency to connect honors with definite villages and, indeed, no matter how much rights of various sorts may become scattered by the division of inheritances, by the changes of residence due to intermarriage, and by other factors which tend to complicate their proper assignment, a West Coast Indian never forgets, at least in theory, where a particular privilege originated or with what tribe or clan a particular right, be it name, dance, carving, song, or what

not, was in the first instance associated. In short, privileges are bound to the soil.

This brings us to what I believe to be one of the most fundamental ideas in the social structure of these Indians, that is, the idea of a definite patrimony of standing and associated rights which, if possible, should be kept intact or nearly so. Despite the emphasis placed on rank, I think it is clear that the individual as such is of very much less importance than the tradition that for the time being he happens to represent. The very fact that a man often bears the name of a remote ancestor, real or legendary, implies that the honors that he makes use of belong not so much to him individually as to his glorious ancestry, and there is no doubt that the shame of falling behind, in splendor and liberality, the standard set by a predecessor, does much to spur him on to ever greater efforts to increase his prestige and gain for himself new privileges. There is one interesting fact which clearly shows the importance of the family patrimony or of the standing of a particular line of descent as such, as distinct from the individual who happens to be its most honored representative. This is the merging of various persons belonging to three or four generations into a single unit that need not be further differentiated. Among the Nootka Indians, for instance, an old man, his oldest son say, the oldest son of the son, and, finally, the infant child of the latter, say a daughter, form, to all intents and purposes, a single sociological personality. Titularly the highest rank is accorded, among the Nootka, to the little child, for it is always the last generation that in theory bears the highest honors. In practice, of course, the oldest members of the group get the real credit and do the business, as it were, of the inherited patrimony; but it would be difficult in such a case to say where the great-grandfather's privileges and standing are marked off against those of his son, or grandson, or great-granddaughter. In some cases even a younger son, who would ordinarily be considered as definitely lower in rank than his elder brother, might represent the standing of his father by the exercise of a privilege, say the singing of a particular song in a feast, that belongs to the patrimony of the family. "For men may come and men may go," says the line of descent with its distinctive privileges, "but I go on forever." This is the Indian theory as implied in their general attitude, though there is no doubt that tremendous changes have in many instances gradually evolved by the dying out of particular lines of descent and the taking over of their privileges by other groups only remotely perhaps connected with them by kin, by the introduction of a new privilege gained say as a dowry, and by numerous other factors. The best way to gain a concrete idea of such a structure of society is to think of the titled portion of the tribe as holding up a definite number, say fifteen or more, honored names, or occupying that number of seats, that have descended from the remote past. The classification of the tribe according to kin intercrosses with that based on rank, as by it individuals are brought together who, from the latter point of view, would have to be kept apart. It is clear that not all the members of a

large family group can inherit the standing and all the privileges that belong to it. There must be a large number, particularly the younger sons and daughters and those descended from them, who are less favored than their elders and who will inherit only some, probably the lesser, privileges. In the course of time, as their relationship to the heads of the family or clan becomes more and more remote, they must be expected to sink lower and lower in the general social scale, and there is no doubt that a large proportion of the commoners are to be considered as the unprivileged kinsmen of the nobles. This is no doubt the attitude of at least some of the Indian tribes such as the Nootka, among whom such a notion of the relation between the classes of society as we find among the castes of India, say, is certainly not found. There is no doubt, however, that with the growth of power attained by the chiefs and with the increasing remoteness of the ties of kinship binding them with most of the commoners, the chasm between the two would gradually widen. The slaves must be left out of account in this connection. They do not enter into the genealogical framework of the tribe, but seem to a large extent to have been recruited from captives of war.[1]

The Yoruk and Western Mono tribes in south central California present a picture containing features which might have developed into the class and behavior system of the Northwest Coast tribes or may possibly be a reflection by borrowing of that system, but in other points is quite unlike it. They have hereditary chiefs with considerable influence through property, and there is a general destruction and distribution of property at mourning festivals, suggesting the potlatch of the Kwakiutl but not reproducing it. And on the other hand, they have no class or caste development. An outstanding feature is a working agreement between chiefs and shamans through which a far-reaching control of behavior is secured in the general population through the fear of death. This unique situation is described by Gayton:

The social organization of the Yokuts and Western Mono tribes was exceedingly simple. There was a complete absence of anything like a class or caste system. With the exception of the chief's and *winatums'* [managers and messengers] lineages, which were mildly aristocratic, any man was as good as his neighbor. This does not mean that there was a failure to recognize differences between individuals. But the differences of influential superiority or inferiority grew out of qualities inherent in the person himself, such as his abilities to acquire wealth or supernatural power, or to be an inspiring orator. Though wealth was regarded as desirable, and a wealthy man was respected for his possessions, the actual range of financial extremes was not great. There was no wealthy

[1] Sapir, E., "The Social Organization of the West Coast Tribes," *Trans. Roy. Soc. of Canada*, 9: 358–365.

class. The annual mourning ceremonies, at which much property was destroyed and more distributed among the attendants, dispossessed a bereaved family of such wealth as it might have accumulated. The casting away of gifts at mourning ceremonies had the further advantage of keeping money and coveted objects in circulation. One might say that among the Yokuts and Western Mono the per capita wealth had a low mean deviation.

To seek assistance from supernatural powers for success in gambling, hunting, or general good health and fortune was anyone's privilege. This was accomplished through dreams of animals and birds, as of eagle for wealth, mountain lion for hunting, etc., which were acquired by the use of a tobacco emetic, a day-to-week-long meat fast, and praying to the animal both before and after its dream appearance. Relatively simple as were the rules for gaining supernatural help, many persons thought them too troublesome and preferred to ignore them. Thus it was that in south central Californian society an individual attained success by his own inherent abilities and energy; the intelligently industrious person, perhaps encouraged by belief that sacred powers were aiding him, would, other things being equal, find himself in a better social and financial position than his stupid or less enterprising neighbor.

As a citizen in the community the chief possessed social prestige based primarily on his revered totem and authoritative office, and secondarily upon the wealth that accrued to him because of his position. His position was acquired by heredity. Normally the office passed from an elder brother to the next younger, and then reverted to the elder brother's eldest son. This rule was not rigid, however, and was modified in accordance with circumstance. When a chief became too enfeebled with sickness or age to continue his duties he would say whom he wanted to take his place. If his choice was acceptable to the other chiefs and elder men of the village, a gift of money was sent to the nominee. The man chosen did not have to accept the office unless he wished to.

The chief's house was perhaps larger than that of others but not necessarily or markedly so. Neither was the dress of a chief or of the members of his family distinctive. Powers states that chiefs wore their hair long, but so did all men, according to my informants. The food storehouses of the chief were always well filled. He did not hunt himself. Food was provided for the chief's family by young hunters in the village. Such men were not permanently appointed for the task, but would be dispatched by the winatums to get fresh meat or fish for the chief. Informants disagree as to whether the chief paid for his provicions or not, but the weight of evidence indicates that he did not. The shief had to have a plentiful food supply for it was his duty to offer a meal to every traveler, foreign messenger, or stranger who entered his village. Furthermore, the chief or his wife gave meat to extremely poor people or those who had difficulty in obtaining sufficient food, as the aged or widowed. Such people would accept the food and if possible would return a little acorn meal to the chief when they had an extra

supply. A basket might be given in return. Such a return was prompted by courtesy and gratitude, and was not compulsory. . . .

In monetary wealth the chief always surpassed his fellow citizens. The manner in which his worldly goods were acquired is not completely clear but there are several known sources. One of these was through commercial trading of desirable objects such as eagle down, and of articles traded with trans-Sierra Mono, or between local tribes. The commerce in eagle down was controlled by the chief as the bird was sacred to him and could not be killed without his permission. On this matter a Wukchumni informant gave the following:

"Only a chief could order an eagle killed. He paid the man who killed it three to five dollars for the bird. Some man or woman was then asked to prepare the bird; they were paid for their trouble. The large feathers were plucked off. The skin was removed with the down still on it. The leg bones were kept for making whistles. The meat was removed but only the fat saved for tallow salve. The feathers, down, leg bones, and tallow were kept by the chief, and these he sold to doctors or any other persons who wanted them for religious or ceremonial purposes. The carcass was given a special ritualistic burial, at which a mournful attitude prevailed."

This trade in eagle products brought some profit to the chief. The demand for eagle down was constant as it was used by the majority of people for religious purposes such as scattering during prayer, and to make ropes of down which had power in curing sickness. Such ropes were used by nonprofessional persons who had supernatural power as well as by doctors.

Further profit came to the chief through intertribal commerce. Traders who came from other tribes with baskets, pottery, salt, tanned skins, etc., would first go to the chief's house to state their business, as was customary with all outsiders, and to receive the welcoming meal. Hence the chief had first chance to buy the wares they brought and retail them to his neighbors if he so wished. As a man of wealth he could take advantage of this opportunity to purchase desirable articles. The chief's house was often made headquarters for buying and selling when foreign traders appeared. Winatums were dispatched to notify other villages if the traders did not intend to go further.

Chiefs shared in the payment received by doctors of their tribe when dances were given for purposes of entertainment. Thus at the annual mourning ceremony the doctors' contest, which was an indispensable part of the ritual series, was performed by four to ten shamans. Some of the shamans were of the local or host tribe, but the majority were invited for the occasion. At such times invitations, together with a gift of money, were sent to chiefs who were asked to bring their doctors to the ceremony. The shamans themselves were paid by the audience. Each person present at the contest contributed a little shell money, the equivalent of ten to twenty-five cents. This money was collected by the shamans' winatums, and the total was divided among the shamans,

the singers who accompanied their performance, and the shamans' winatums. . . .

What becomes apparent from this system of paying for the expenses of festivities is this: that the chief requested certain performances, sanctioned others, that cost money; doctors and dancers did not dance and winatums did not run errands for nothing. But it was the spectators who paid the expenses. The chief was, and was regarded as, the ceremonial leader of his community of whom it was said "he gave this dance," "he made that mourning ceremony," etc., in spite of the fact that it was the public at large who paid for them. No public taxes were levied and placed in a general fund, but the more simple expedient of having the persons present at any ceremony contribute on the spot produced the same result. . . .

The chief, however limited in power, had a social prestige resting upon his position as a protégé of and surrogate for Eagle, the mythological creator chief. He possessed more wealth than the average citizen in spite of the fact that his position incurred more than average expenses. His relations with his subjects had a distinctly patriarchal aspect: he provided food for the poor, settled quarrels, generously paid messengers and ceremonial performers, gave advice on debatable projects, protected public safety by permitting bad shamans and poisoners to be killed, and addressed assemblies in words betokening his desire for the well-being of his people. That this is the generally accepted aspect of the chief appears from the foregoing accounts supplied by a variety of informants. However, a chief who was not a good man at heart, and who had a desire for personal aggrandizement, attained it through illegitimate arrangements with malevolent shamans. . . .

In every tribe a powerful shaman was the close friend and associate of the chief. This alliance operated in various ways as the following accounts show. (In an earlier section we referred to the fact that theoretically no one was compelled to contribute to the annual mourning ceremony, or any other ceremony, for that matter, but that dire results often befell those who did not do so.) George Dick, himself of chiefly lineage, and grandson and grandnephew of two powerful shamans, described instances of cooperation of chiefs and shamans among the Entimbich and Wobonuch:

"If a man, especially a rich one, did not join in a fandango, the chief and his doctors would plan to make this man or some member of his family sick. The doctor would sicken his victim with the 'air shot' (*toiyuc*) used in the doctors' contest. The doctor sees to it that he is called in to make the cure. He makes several successive attempts to cure his victim, each time being paid for his services. He withholds his cure until he has financially broken the man and got him in debt. If he then cures the patient he sucks the shot out and shows it to the bystanders, saying that Night or a spring has made him ill. On the other hand, he may let the person die, in which case the family must perforce join in the next mourning ceremony.

"The money which the shaman has collected as fees in the case he divides with the chief. Should the victim's relatives seek vengeance, for which they must obtain the chief's permission, the chief refuses his sanction on the ground of insufficient evidence. Hadn't the doctor shown that Night had caused the illness?"

The machinations of chiefs and shamans were so well established that it was possible to make arrangements for intertribal killings:

"A chief may be jealous of a rich man in another tribe. If he wants him killed he sends his winatum to several other chiefs of near-by tribes, including that of the ill-fated man, asking them to come to a certain place on a certain night. Tawatsanahahi (Baker's Hill) was a favorite spot for these meetings. The various chiefs together with their doctors come at the stated time. There might be ten to fifteen present, including the doctors and the chiefs' trusted winatums.

"The chief who called the meeting addresses the group saying that he (and perhaps others) want to do away with this certain man, and asks those present for their opinion in the matter. The people who want the man killed put up a sum of money to pay the doctors who are to do the killing. If the doomed man's chiefs want him saved they have to double this sum and give it to the opposing chiefs. If they do not do so they automatically sanction the man's death. The case is decided right there at the time. Very often such a man is killed not because he is rich but because 'he knows too much' (about doings of chiefs, etc.) or because some man wants the victim's wife, and has bribed the chief to have the man killed. If the man is to be killed the doctors start right in to do it. 'No matter how far off that man may be the doctors will be able to kill him.'" . . .

Turning to the intrigues of chiefs and shamans, it will be seen that there was some justification for the alliance. A chief who hired a shaman to sicken a rich man who did not join in the expenses of a fandango or mourning ceremony was setting a public example at the same time that he was enriching himself. To the chief and to his shaman, who shared the money paid in fees by the sick man, it was unquestionably a matter of financial profit. But from the point of view of the public at large it was a fair punishment. Thus: a man of money who neglected or refused to bear his share of a public expense was placing a heavier financial burden upon his fellow citizens; furthermore, generosity was an ideal, and the man who failed to contribute his share was showing himself to be greedy, and hence received no sympathy if misfortune befell him. In the absence of any law or system of taxation, it behooved each citizen, especially those of wealth, to participate in the sharing of public expenses, lest he incur the displeasure of the chief and of the public, and sickness or death be visited upon him.

The chief, however, in his turn could not unrestrainedly make use of malevolent supernatural power. He was a public figure, and as such was open to censure. Though his position was acquired by inheritance, his retention of it depended upon his conduct. Simple as was the civili-

zation of Yokuts and Western Mono, upon the chief, as official executor, devolved all manner of responsibilities—and these were not easy. Take, for example, the management of a mourning ceremony in which the chief's own village, other villages, and even other tribes were involved. The financial resources of all persons concerned had to be determined, and the intertribal exchange of money and food so adjusted that there was no unexpected loss to any of the participants. These matters, together with the wishes of other chiefs, the bereaved families . . . and guest tribes had to be managed to the satisfaction of all persons involved. This in itself is not so difficult, save that it called for executive talents which every man might not possess.

The greatest responsibility of a chief was the settlement of quarrels and granting permission to kill a supposed murderer. This responsibility was increased rather than lessened by the absence of codified legal system. A chief making an unsatisfactory decision could not excuse it on the ground that he was simply reading the law; he was personally responsible for the results of his counsel. To this end, he did not always depend upon his own judgment but sought the opinion of another chief or of respected elders. The hearing of cases did not take place publicly, but in or before the chief's house. This privacy did not matter, for a man who left dissatisfied aired his grievance to his neighbors. The community was small: there was little chance for secrecy, what one man knew, everybody knew. Lacking newspapers, gossip was rife. Popular sentiment turned against the chief who gave unfair decisions, or was suspected of self-aggrandizement. Such a man was not deposed from office, but gradually lost prestige. He was ignored in favor of another chief. If necessary, a new chief could be selected from among possible heirs, as a brother, or son, or even a cousin. Such a drastic procedure was rare, unless the incumbent were insensible. The chief, holding the highest place of respect in the community, would not care to lose it. Loss of respect, loss of prestige, in turn meant loss of wealth, a combination of disasters which no normal man wished to bring upon himself. The intriguing chief could and did hold office, but his selfish enterprises were carried on in secrecy and curbed by public opinion.[1]

A strange governmental organization existed among the tribes of the lower Mississippi Valley. They have practically disappeared, but Swanton has reconstructed the situation as far as possible from the evidently questionable descriptions of French historians and Jesuit fathers, dating from about 1750 and later. The Natchez village dwellers were the most important of the tribes. Their rulers were called suns, and in addition there were nobles, honored people, and stinkards. The suns were children of sun mothers and stinkard fathers; the nobles were children of noble mothers and stinkard fathers, or of sun fathers and stinkard

[1] Gayton, A. H., "Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans," *Univ. of California, Publ. in Amer. Archaeol. and Ethnol.*, **24**: 372–410, *passim*.

mothers; the honored people were children of honored women and stinkard fathers, or of noble fathers and stinkard mothers; the stinkards were children of stinkard mothers and honored men, or of stinkard fathers and stinkard mothers:

The suns [says Swanton] were a purely hereditary body . . . and were the smallest of all classes. La Harpe states that in 1700 there were seventeen suns, but it is not clear whether he includes only those in the Grand Village or the entire number, and whether the suns of both sexes are referred to. Le Petit (1730) gives eleven suns. The intermarriage of stinkards is nowhere directly mentioned, but it must be assumed, for otherwise stinkards would in time become as few as suns, whereas it is evident that they constituted the largest part of the population. War chieftainships, and probably most of the secondary offices, were open to the second rank of nobles.[1]

Among other documents Swanton reproduces the following early descriptions:

[According to Du Pratz] the Natchez nation is composed of nobility and people. The people are called in their language *Miche-Miche-Quipy*, which signifies *puant* (stinkard), a name, however, which offends them, and which no one dares to pronounce before them, for it would put them in very bad humor. The stinkards have a language entirely different from that of the nobility, to whom they are submissive to the last degree. That of the nobility is soft, solemn, and very rich. The substantive nouns are declined, as in Latin, without articles. The nobility is divided into suns, nobles, and honored men. The suns are so named because they are descended from a man and woman who made them believe that they came out of the sun, as I have said more at length in speaking of their religion.

The man and woman who gave laws to the Natchez had children, and ordained that their race should always be distinguished from the mass of the nation, and that none of their descendants should be put to death for any cause whatsoever, but should complete his days calmly as nature permitted him. The need of preserving their blood pure and safe made them establish another usage of which examples are seen only in a nation of Scythians, of which Herodotus speaks. As their children, being brothers and sisters, were unable to intermarry without committing a crime, and as it was necessary in order to have descendants that they marry stinkard men and stinkard women, they wished in order to guard against the disastrous results of the infidelity of the women that the nobility should be transmitted only through women. Their male and female children were equally called suns and respected as such, but with this difference, that the males enjoyed this privilege only during their

[1] Swanton, J. R. "Indian Tribes of the Lower Mississippi Valley," *Bur. Amer. Ethnol., Bull.*, **43**: 107.

lives and personally. Their children bore only the name of nobles, and the male children of nobles were only honored men. These honored men, however, might by their warlike exploits be able to reascend to the rank of nobles, but their children again became honored men, and the children of these honored men, as well as those of the others, were lost in the people and placed in the rank of stinkards. Thus the son of a female sun (or sun woman) is a sun, like his mother, but his son is only a noble, his grandson an honored man, and his great-grandson a stinkard. Hence it happens, on account of their long lives—for these people often see the fourth generation—that it is a very common thing for a sun to see his posterity lost among the common people.

The women are free from this unpleasantness. The nobility is maintained from mother to daughter, and they are suns in perpetuity without suffering any alteration in dignity. However, they are never able to attain the sovereignty any more than the children of the male suns, but the eldest son of the female sun nearest related to the mother of the reigning sun is the one who mounts the throne when it becomes vacant. The reigning sun bears the title of Great Sun.

As the posterity of the two first suns has become much multiplied, one perceives readily that many of these suns are no longer related and might ally themselves together, which would preserve their blood for the most part without any mixture, but another law established at the same time opposes an invincible obstacle, namely, that which does not permit any sun to die a violent death. It is . . . that it was ordered that when a male or female sun should come to die his wife or her husband should be put to death on the day of the funeral, in order to go and keep him company in the country of spirits. That could not be carried out if the wife and husband were both suns, and this blind and barbarous custom is so punctually observed that the suns are under the pleasing necessity of making mesalliances.

[According to Dumant] the submissiveness of the savages to their chief, who commands them with the most despotic power, is extreme. They obey him in everything he may command them. When he speaks to them they howl nine times by way of applause and to show him their satisfaction, and if he demands the life of any one of them he comes himself to present his head. But at the death of this chief his children, boys or girls, never inherit his power and never succeed to the command. His descendants reenter the rank of stinkards, and it is for the boys to perform actions of valor which may raise them to the dignity of honored men. It appertains only to the female sun, whom they call also the white woman, to perpetuate the stem from which spring their chiefs. She has more power so long as she lives than the chief himself, who may be her son or her brother, and never her husband, whom she is able to choose if she wishes from among the stinkards and who is rather her slave than her master. The males who spring from this woman are the chiefs of the nation, and the girls become like herself, female suns or white women. . . .

When these savages are asked the reason for the establishment of this law they reply that, as in accordance with their usage at the death of the great chief or Great Sun, his wives must also die with him, as well as his male and female servants, without which he would be without wives and without followers in the other world, it happens from that that the female suns never desire to be married to the great chief, who for this reason is always obliged to marry stinkard women. "But if it should happen," say they, "that this stinkard woman should by chance yield herself to a stinkard man and the child that arose from this intercourse came to command us, it would follow that we would be governed by a stinkard, which would not be in order. On the other hand," they added, "whether the female sun has children by her husband or by any other person whatever, it matters little to us. They are always suns on the side of their mother, a fact which is most certain, since the womb cannot lie."

With regard to the honored men, it is seen by what I have just said that birth gives this rank to all the grandchildren of the great chief. But besides birth there are other means by which a stinkard may raise himself to this degree of nobility in the nation. One of the most usual is to render himself famous by some action of valor and bravery. The scalp of an enemy, for example, which a warrior may have carried away, or even the tail of a mare or of a horse will suffice to enable him to obtain this title, and to give him, as well as his wife, the right to disfigure the body by carrying on their skins strange figures, which, as I have said, form their principal adornment.

Here is still another means by which a stinkard, provided he is married, may attain to the rank of the honored. If this stinkard, at the death of the great chief of the nation, has a child at the breast, or at any rate of very tender years, he repairs with his wife and his child to the cabin where this chief is laid out. As soon as they have arrived there the father and mother wring the neck of their infant, which they throw at the feet of the body, as a victim which they immolate to the manes of their chief. After this barbarous sacrifice they roll between their hands some twists of Spanish beard, which they put under their feet, as if they would signify by that that they are not worthy to walk on the earth, and in this condition they both remain standing before the corpse of the great chief without changing their positions or taking nourishment all day. During that time the cabin is visited by all kinds of persons who come, some from curiosity, others to see one time more the one who had governed them and to desire him a good passage. Finally, when the sun has set, the man and the woman come out of the cabin and receive the compliments of all the warriors and honored men, to the number of whom they have been added by this strange and cruel ceremony.[1]

Nevertheless [says Swanton] the sun also had a council to advise him, and sometimes his authority was considerably curtailed by it, as well as by the more prominent and energetic village chiefs, a fact which comes

[1] *Ibid.*, 105–106, 104–105.

out clearly in the course of the last Natchez war. De la Vente seems to have the Natchez in mind when he speaks of a council composed of the principal warriors in which the more ancient always occupied the highest places. "They are listened to like oracles," he writes, "and the young people make it a point of honor to follow their opinions to the point of veneration." It appears that the great sun and the great war chief could also be controlled by them—a very important fact.[1]

In Polynesia the position of chiefs is to be viewed on the background of the conception of *mana* or divine power in persons or things, and the corresponding *tapu* concept of the sacredness of objects in which mana resides. What is particular in the Polynesian situation is that the divine and the human are not conceived as two separate universes with some contacts and interrelationships, but that they are for the most part in the same universe on earth, with peculiar distributions, and that their impingement the one upon the other may have and usually does have the most serious consequences.

It is known that since a thousand years or more chieftainship and kingship in Polynesia have been associated with the possession of mana. There were specialists in history, with Homeric memories, who traced the descent of rulers for many generations back. (Their memory feats are mentioned in Chap. XVIII.) Krämer records the genealogy of Samoan kings of the *tuimanu'a* line for thirty-two generations. That is, he begins with the fifteenth generation on the basis of information from a speaker chief and carries the line of descent down to the present.[2] The claim was always made that the line led back to divine ancestry, or that a god had conferred a title which carried with it the flavor of divinity.

Krämer says with reference to titles in the ruling families:

> Since their possessors claimed divine descent their adoration was unbounded. This depended above all on the fact that as title chiefs they were sanctified (*pa'ia*) and therefore everything with which they came into contact was sanctified (*tabu*).[3]

In addition there were *ao* titles conferred by gods on men, which were not hereditary. They could, however, be transferred by the possessor during his life or by his family after his death to another family and place, but only in certain families.[4] It was an application of the concept, considered elsewhere, that personality is inherent in names.

[1] *Ibid.*, 107.
[2] Krämer, A., *Die Samoa Inseln*, **1**: 378–380.
[3] *Ibid.*, 10.
[4] Bülow, W. von, "Matapoo, Savaii, Samoa," *Internat. Arch. für Ethnog.*, **13**: 63.

Political struggles were prominently connected with the possession of the ao titles, and the house which secured by inheritance, gift, or loan the majority of all the titles became the king of all Samoa. The manner of an election has been described by Ella:

Although for many generations past the whole group was governed by one head, *O le Tupu* (king), in whom the supreme authority was vested, the different districts were governed, to a great extent, by their own local authorities, chiefs, and heads of tribes, these being in many respects independent of each other; yet, at the same time, they acknowledged the supreme authority of the *Tupu*. This regal or highest title of all, *O le Tupu* (king), was acquired by the possession of the following titles (ao) in the gift of four districts, comprising the whole of the two principal islands, Upolu and Savai'i, *viz.*:—1, *O le Tui-Aana*, in the gift of Aana; 2, *O le Tui-Atua*, in the gift of Atua; 3, *O le Ngatoa' itele* and *O le Tamasoalii*, in the gift of Le Tuamasanga; and 4, *O le Pule-o-Salafai*, in the gift of Savai'i.

When these ao (or titles) were centered in one chief, his power was great, and extended over the whole group, since, although Tutuila and Manu'a gave no direct title to the king, they were represented by Lufilufi, the *laumua*, or leading settlement of Atua. Manono also, though apparently not having any direct title to give on this occasion, was always consulted as to the bestowment of them.

The ao (title) of Aana was usually bestowed first, and, upon this being acquired, the other districts followed suit, and sent deputies to confer their title and assist in proclaiming the king; and, when this was accomplished, it was said, *Ua tafa'i fa ua o'o i le Tupu* (four center in one, he has attained to the crown). Upon this the chief thus honored assumed the title of *Le Tupu o Samoa* (the King of Samoa), and shortly afterwards made a circuit of the islands that he might receive the homage and congratulations of the different districts. The announcement, *Ua afio mai le tupu* (the king is approaching), caused much excitement and stir in the several districts and settlements in the way of preparation for the visit.

Following the title of Tupu comes that of *O le Tui* (or lord), which is always prefixed to the name of the district conferring it; as, *O le Tui-Aana*, *O le Tui-Atua*, etc. This is a much valued title, but inferior to that of *O le Tupu*, or king.

Ali'i paia, or *Sacred Chiefs*. Some chiefs of high rank were termed *ali'i paia*, or sacred chiefs, to whom much deference was shown. There were twelve of these. . . .

The power of the tupu (king) was despotic, and was at times exercised in a most oppressive manner; but the *tulafale*, or the landowners, with whom the gift of the ao (title) lay, were a great check upon any despotic proceedings, and they did not fail to exercise it, even at times deposing the king.[1]

[1] Ella, S., "The Ancient Samoan Government," *Australasian Assn. for Advancement of Sci., Rep.*, 6: 600–602, quoting Rev. J. B. Stair.

The choice of the king was thus comparable with the election of the German "Roman emperors" by the nine Kurfürsten.[1]

In Samoa the powerful political personalities were, however, a class of "speaker chiefs" (*tulafale*) who from being advisers and intermediaries of the hereditary chiefs came into the real power. In some localities the ruling chief was not permitted to send an opinion to the *fono* (council meeting) contrary to that of the speaker chief. It is not plain whether the speaker chiefs were originally members of the ruling families they represented, but in some cases their genealogies go back in that line for several generations.

Under these conditions the "manipulation of the social structure" took a direction described by Margaret Mead:

> Titles are arranged in an ideal structure, based on the seating positions to which they entitle their holders in a great ideal council (*fono*) of all the Samoan Islands. This ideal structure is repeated on a smaller scale for each island, island division, and village. In each local replica of the great plan, fewer of the great titles appear and titles of smaller and smaller rank are inserted. . . . These titles belong to two main classes—chiefs (*ali'i*) and talking chiefs (*tulafale*). Within these two groups there are endless shades of rank and precedence, but the two main classes remain distinct; their relationship to each other is an elaborate system of reciprocal services. It is the duty of the talking chiefs to maintain the honor, prestige, and public high estate of the chiefs; to act as their ambassadors, spokesmen, grand viziers, bankers, and campaign managers. In their hands lie all the traditions, the regulation of etiquette and intervillage social intercourse, . . . and, more importantly, they possess great power. Theoretically the chief is a noble figurehead, of too high rank to make his own speeches in council or propose for his own wife. And the talking chief who obsequiously sings his praises also makes most of his decisions for him.
>
> A matai title is conferred upon a man by his family group, and carries with it a place in the social structure. Theoretically this place is fixed and invariable; actually, if the holder of the title is poor and unpopular, the position of the title may be radically altered by the powerful and disaffected talking chiefs who wish to exalt some other and wealthier individual instead. Such changes necessitate the manipulation of old myths, or the outright invention of new ones, to validate the claim of the *nouveau riche;* changes in the *fa'alupega* (the courtesy salutation formally recited by visitors); changes in the geography of the village and even in the dating system. It is customary to refer to events of the past hundred years as happening during the time that such and such a high chief held his title. When a high chief is quietly, insidiously relegated to an inferior position, the conversational habits of the village historians must

[1] Krämer, *op. cit.*, 10–11.

be revised so that their references are not to his forebears but to the undistinguished forebears of his successful rival. I have one case where this happened in the course of twenty-five years. . . . The relationship-group controls the title, and the talking chiefs have, with one exception (the *Tui Manu'a*), nothing to say about the choice of an incumbent. Not being able to choose the individual, they, instead, manipulate his formal status, greatly increasing the strange disassociation between the individual and the position which he holds. . . .

Every village seeks to have a different social structure from the neighboring village, and there is no standard of better or worse. The stress is all laid upon difference. If one village derives its prestige from having seventeen chiefs of such high rank that each one has to be mentioned in the introduction to every formal speech, the next village retaliates by exalting one chief so high that no one else's name can be mentioned with his. If one village has four *to'oto'os* the next village is unique; it has only one *to'oto'o*. If Fitiuta has the most systematic fono, in which each pillar seat is named not only after one matai but after others who are entitled to sit in his place during his absence, Ofu can boast of having three entirely different ways in which the fono can be arranged. Similarly with the courtesy language, a common word on one island may become the highest chief's word upon another; and the courtesy language also gives wonderful opportunities for the invention of new esoteric phrases known only to the locality and designed to puzzle visiting orators. A talking chief's prestige depends upon his knowledge of the minute details of the social organization not only of his own districts, but of other districts, for upon this knowledge, more even than upon rhetorical skill, depends the choice of orator for great occasions. And a village is proud of the reputation of being *faigata* (difficult) for the visiting orator. . . . The highest pitch of etiquette is reached not by observing the fixed procedure, but by pointedly reversing or rearranging it. One of the principal reasons for knowing who *should* receive the kava cup first is so that one may honor another by giving it to him instead. In this dexterous, graceful play with social forms the Samoans find their chief artistic expression. In the more serious manipulation of the social structure, for purposes of economic gain or political ambition, lies the most powerful dynamic force in Samoan society.[1]

Samoan chiefs were not infrequently banished by the tulafale and *faleupolu* [influential upper class] and in this case there was a ceremony depriving them of their mana and titles:

On such occasions the obnoxious chief was always taken to Tutuila, the recognized place of banishment, and committed to the charge of the authorities of that island. Intelligence of such an event being about to take place was always forwarded to the chiefs and people of Tutuila, who prepared for the arrival of the banished chieftain and his party. This

[1] Mead, M., "The Rôle of the Individual in Samoan Culture," *Jour. Anth. Inst.*, **58**: 491–494.

was usually a large one, as a great many of the chiefs and people of the district accompanied the exile, or exiles, as the case might be, to see that their sentence of deprivation, and also of punishment and degradation, was duly carried out. After the visiting party had met the Tutuila authorities, and duly informed them that they had brought their chief to commit to their keeping, the prisoner was landed from his canoe and made to run the gauntlet from the beach to the settlement; the inhabitants of the district forming two lines between which the captive ran, whilst he was pelted with stones, belabored with sticks, and subjected to other indignities, until he reached the settlement. It was a fortunate thing for him if he escaped with only bruises; since at times severe injuries were inflicted, and even life sacrificed. . . . [The ceremony of *lulu'u* or sprinkling] was always observed on the occasion of deposing a chief and depriving him of his ao, or titles, in which case the ceremony was performed by some of those who had either bestowed them, or had the power to do so. In the case of the death of the usurper, O le Tamafainga, who was killed in A'ana in 1829, his body was sprinkled with water, and his title, "*O le Tui A'ana,*" recalled from him before his body was hewn in pieces. The ceremony consisted in sprinkling the body with coconut water, and the officiating chief, or *tulafale,* saying, "Give us back our ao, or title," by which ceremony the title was recalled and the sacredness removed, so that it was rendered *ngafua,* or freed from its former sacredness.[1]

The Bakongo practice of consecrating a male and a female chief mentioned above is somewhat paralleled among the Maori of New Zealand, where the female sex was represented in social organization by the selection of certain girls to be trained as examples of conduct and for the cultivation of mana in the tribe. Such a girl was called a *puhi,* and Best has described the custom:

Among the Matatua tribes . . . this term is applied to a girl of good family who was elected or chosen as a person of consequence, and, in one sense of the word, made tapu, that is to say "prohibited." She was not allowed to become intimate with any man prior to her marriage, and her elders and the clan generally were careful to select a fit and proper person to be her husband. Such a girl was usually the eldest daughter of a chief of high rank, and as such was termed a *tapairu.* Such a woman often took part in religious ceremonial functions, especially the ritual by means of which tapu was removed from persons, places, and new houses and forts. Having been made a puhi for the aggrandizement of her family and the clan generally, she was provided with several female attendants, some of whom would be girls about her own age. She was not allowed to perform any heavy labor, such as fell to the lot of women generally, but might employ herself in light work, such as weaving the finer class of garments. She performed no menial tasks, such as cooking,

[1] Stair, J. B., "Early Samoa Voyages and Settlements," *Jour. Polynesian Sociol.,* **4**: 113, 127–128.

and, in some cases, a special house was assigned to her and her companions. Such young women were the patrician ladies of the clan, but there would be very few such in any tribe. They were highly respected and deferred to, and were sometimes long in marrying, so particular were the people about the selection of suitable husbands for them. When good-looking women they were much sought after, and young men, singly or in parties, came from distant parts in order to see them and endeavor to find favor in their eyes.

Should such a young woman fall from grace, the custom was to reduce her to the ranks, as it were, when she would no longer be a puhi, though retaining her rank as chieftainess and a participator in ritual observances.

It appears that when it was decided to rear a female child as a puhi, the curious ritual performance known as *tohi* was performed over her. An old native explained to the writer thus: "A puhi is a child over whom the tohi has been performed, in order that she may preserve the mana of the whole tribe, as also of the boundaries of the tribal lands. Hence the aphorism: 'The *totara* tree stands not alone in open country, but only in the forest.' In like manner a puhi, or chief, is ever surrounded and supported by the tribe. In this connection there is another such saying among our people: 'A house adorned with carvings standing by the cultivation fields is food for fire, but a carved house standing within a stockaded fort is a token of true chieftainship.' Now you see that a chief who is one with his people is a proper chief, but he who does not ever consider his people, he is but a poor type of fellow."

The explanation is that a person, male or female, occupying the high position of *ariki* or puhi, must be possessed of admired qualities in order to retain the respect and admiration of the people. Traditions are extant of some famous puhi who became renowned chieftainnesses in later life, and commanded the respect of their own and other tribes.[1]

The prevailing modes and motives of warfare and the more or less organized fighting will be found to reflect to some extent both the attitudes and values of the population and the condition and structure of the government.

In Australia where there are no wars for territory and chiefs and political government barely exist, the warfare appears as a succession of domestic brawls, intertribal fights, and avenging parties connected with injuries by magic and the violation of tabus:

Among the Murngin [says Warner] there are six distinct varieties of warfare. Each has a separate pattern of behavior and an individual name. In addition to these there is another form in which only the women participate. The names are *nirimaoi yolno*, a fight within the camp; *narrup* or *djawarlt*, a secret method of killing; *maringo* (death adder), a night attack in which the entire camp is surrounded; *milwer-*

[1] Best, E., *The Maori*, 1: 450–454 (Whitcombe and Tombs. By permission).

angel, a general open fight between at least two groups; *gaingar* (ghost spear), a pitched battle; and *makarata*, a ceremonial peace-making fight which is partly an ordeal. Each of the six forms will be described in detail.

Out of seventy-two engagements in which men were killed, twenty-nine were slain by a gaingar fight, thirty-five by maringo, twenty-seven by narrup, three by milwerangel, and two by nirimaoi yolno. Although the last is the most frequent type of fight, it seldom results in killings; gaingar, on the other hand, has only happened twice in the last twenty years, yet it has accounted for the deaths of twenty-nine men.

The wooden or stone-headed spear, the spear thrower, and the club, as well as the stone knife, are used in these engagements. The spear is the chief weapon, although in camp fights clubs play a prominent part. The stone ax, which is primarily utilized as an implement, also serves as a weapon. No shield is found here. The Murngin depend on the spear thrower to ward off spears, and also on their well-developed agility to avoid being hit. In all fights except the nirimaoi yolno and the narrup, the people paint themselves with a coating of white clay as war paint.

For the last twenty years, out of some seventy battles that were recorded for this paper in which members of the Murngin factions were killed, fifty were caused by the desire to avenge the killing of a relative, usually a clansman, by members of another clan (blood revenge). Of these, fifteen were killings that were done deliberately, against the tradition of what is fair cause for a war, because it was felt that their enemies had killed the wrong people when they retaliated for injuries done them. Ten killings were due to members of a clan stealing a woman, or obtaining a woman who belonged to another clan, by illegal means. Five men were killed because they had slain men by black magic. The clans of the men killed by magic slew the men who were supposed to be the magicians. Five men were slain because they looked at a totemic emblem under improper circumstances and by so doing insulted the members of the clan to whom it belonged as well as endangered the latter's spiritual strength.

The underlying idea back of the causes for most Murngin warfare is that the same injury should be inflicted upon the enemy group that one's own group has suffered. This having been done, a clan feels satisfied; if not, there is always a compelling urge within the group for vengeance, which causes a continuous restlessness among those who are out to "buy back" the killing of one of their clansmen. The stealing of a woman from an enemy is on the same basis, since the group feels itself injured if a woman is taken from it, and only the return of the woman and a ceremonial fight, or the stealing of another woman, will satisfy the hurt to its self-esteem, unless the clan has retaliated by killing or wounding one of the enemy clansmen. The same feeling surrounds a member of another clan viewing the group's totemic emblem. A totemic emblem is a central symbol around which most of the ceremony of the group is centered, and an improper treatment of this object is an insult and an injury to the

entire clan. Any of the above causes for war may be due to deliberation on the part of those who injure the feelings of a clan, or they may be done by accident, but in either case warfare is a certain consequence. If a young man accidentally comes upon an old man engaged in making a totemic emblem the former is killed, or if a man is accidentally killed in a fight by a member of a friendly group, the dead man's people retaliate. There is, nevertheless, a considerable feeling among them that an accidental act should not cause open hostilities, but such a feeling has small influence upon the public opinion of the people who believe they have been injured. There are a number of forms of ritualistic injury. If women look at a totemic emblem they are killed by their own group, with the help of any other group that has been offended by their actions. The clan to which they belong is not held responsible except in a minor way. Some years ago the Liagaomir clan was holding a totemic ceremony and using their carpet-snake totemic emblems (painted wooden trumpets). A woman belonging to the Birkili clan, and a second belonging to the Liagaomir, stole up to the ceremonial ground and watched the men blowing the wooden trumpet during the ceremony. They went back to the women's camp and told them what they had seen. When the men came back to camp and heard of their behavior, Yanindja, the leader, said: "When will we kill them?" Everyone replied, "Immediately." The two women were instantly put to death by members of their own clan with the help of the men from the other group. . . .

The use of obscenity and profanity against a man always results in a camp fight. Profanity usually reflects not only on the man, but on his clan, and carries an incestuous connotation. Occasionally quarrels result from an unfair division of the game killed in the hunt. Open warfare does not always happen from such a cause, since people who feel they had a right to the game are near relatives. Their solidarity would be too strong to allow fighting.

Adulteries may be the cause only for a husband giving his wife a thorough beating, but usually the lover is also held responsible and a fight is a consequence. The fights are ordinarily of the nirimaoi yolno type. If the lover attempts to steal her, the more serious narrup and maringo are used, because wife stealing is a much more serious offense.

There are a number of customs connected with the killing of a man that serve as causes for war. When the body of a man who has been killed in a fight or by magic is disinterred, the finger bones are given to the near relatives both of the victim's own clan and related groups, as relics to remind them of their duty of blood vengeance. The relic is wrapped with fiber string and covered with beeswax and parrot feathers. It is placed at the bottom of the man's personal basket. A piece of a spear that has been broken off and left in the body of the victim is also used as a relic. When a man has been wounded he sometimes soaks pieces of paper bark in his blood and presents them to his relatives to be used as reminders of their duty to compensate him for his injury by helping him kill or wound a member of the offending man's clan. When a man obtains one

of the relics it is an almost absolute demand on him to kill a member of the slayer's group. This is particularly true if it is given to a young man. The older men usually give their relics to the younger males.

The spirit of the dead is supposed to go with the relics, and the relic has a magical power. It can be thrown into an intended victim's fire and cause him to go to sleep, or the possessor can blow his breath against it and produce the same effect. It is often carried in the mouth during a battle to make an opponent tired and heavy-footed and to prevent him from dodging spears. Relics play a prominent part in all feuds.

Occasionally men are killed within the clan, but this is not a cause for war or retaliation by members of the clan or from near relatives from without the clan. A man may be such a notorious killer and cause so much trouble for his own clansmen that the entire group will kill him to stop further disturbances. At times men are slain by their own clan for breaking ceremonial tabus, such as divulging secrets of the old men to the women or uninitiated, and for viewing ceremonial objects before their initiation.

If a fight is on and a near relative is accidentally hit by a club or spear, the person responsible hits himself on the head while saying he is sorry. Here, too, the idea underlying this action is that of inflicting a similar injury on the person responsible for the one done to the injured party.

Military honor also contributes its share to the causes for war. A man will brave the spears of a whole clan to demonstrate his fearlessness. The writer has seen two brothers defy fifteen men in a spear fight. The Murngin people are a very brave and courageous group. Fear of death while in a fight is seldom seen. A man who shows an unwillingness to fight is called a woman, and held in extreme contempt by the tribe. . . .

Nirimaoi fights are very frequent and are usually the result of quarrels caused by adultery or a belief on the part of the husband that someone has been attempting to make him a cuckold. The injured man goes to the camp of the lover and accuses him. He carries a bundle of spears and possibly a club with him. Words follow, swearing starts, and indignation is felt on both sides. Relatives of each contestant help him if the quarrel is felt to be very serious. The women usually attempt to hold the arms of the men and thereby stop the fight from becoming too serious, meanwhile cursing the opponents of their brothers and husbands. At times, however, women pick up their digging sticks or a man's club and help their male relatives; very occasionally a woman is wounded and in certain very rare cases killed.

The nirimaoi yolno fight seldom results in anyone being killed. Friends of both parties always stand back of the men and hit the spear throwers or hold them when the fighters attempt to hurl their spears at each other. The contestants usually depend upon this, and talk much "harder" (*dal*) to each other than they would if they knew that they were going to be allowed to have free play at each other. They increase their own sense of importance through the interest of others in their actions, and possess a feeling that they are much braver warriors and filled with a

much more intense desire to kill than they would have if no one interfered. They are able, by remonstrating with their friends and struggling to get free from them, to vent their outraged emotions and prove to the community that no one can impinge upon their rights without a valiant effort being made to prevent this from happening. Obviously there is a certain amount of bluff in the conduct of the contestants on some occasions. The writer observed one nirimaoi yolno fight when, for some unaccountable reason, the contestants' friends did not attempt to hold them. They had counted on this happening when they rushed at each other while hurling threats of death and covering each other with obscenity and profanity. When they reached each other no clubs were wielded nor spears thrown; the men stood breast to breast, and obviously felt a bit ridiculous. The usual results of the nirimaoi yolno are a few bruises, much obscenity, and many threats, but few killings ever result.

It must be borne in mind that members of a camp are usually from several clans, or fighting would never take place. Although the clan is undoubtedly involved in this variety of battle, the fight is almost always an individual affair, with a few of the combatants' relatives joining the fray. The nirimaoi yolno is also used as a kind of debate where angry men may air their fancied or actual grievances and state their position in controversial matters. This latter function is very important, and is in most cases the primary basis of the nirimaoi yolno.

The narrup generally results in someone being killed or badly injured. It is one of the most deadly forms of Murngin warfare, for it occurs at night and by stealth. It is usually conducted by a few individuals who may be members of one clan or a party composed of members of one's own clan, the mother's clan, and the wife's group. . . .

The success of the narrup depends upon surprise. A man is usually attacked while he is sleeping.

Although the narrup may be an individual affair the entire clan is held responsible for the killing. The narrup is a favorite fighting method of young men, since they often conduct it without their elders' sanction (they usually attempt to gain the sanction of their elders for a maringo expedition). At times an old man may prefer to remain in the background and have a young man do his killings, so that he will not be held as the one primarily responsible for the death of one of his enemies, and due to his desire for secrecy the other old men of the clan would not be consulted. The "pusher" (pidgin English word describing the instigator) is a social personality most prominent in the narrup warfare. When young men kill, everyone speculates on who did the "pushing" for it is always assumed that an old man is really responsible. Although this is not always true, it is a rule of pragmatic value for a clan to follow when it is meting out vengeance. . . .

The maringo (death adder) obtains its name both because of the snakelike formation of the attackers that surround the camp of the enemy, and because of its deadliness. Killings or severe wounds always result from this type of warfare.

When a maringo expedition is decided upon to avenge the slaying of a clan's relative the following magical procedure is used before the warriors leave camp. Relics of the dead man are always carried by some of the relatives. The oldest man who holds one of the relics of the dead man goes out into the bush some little distance from the camp and makes a fire and hut for himself. He draws the likeness of a man on the earth or molds it on the ground with his hands. The name of the killer is given to the image.

He then instructs a young man to go into the main camp and tell the old men. They organize themselves and go out in a body. They stop some little distance from where the old man and the image are camped. The leader sends two young men ahead as spies. They pretend to look for the camp of the image, which represents their enemy's camp, and to discover if the "killer" is there.

Everyone in the group is as stealthily quiet as if he were on an actual expedition. The two young men sneak around the camp of the image. They return and announce that there is no one there and they could not find the "killer."

They sit down and say nothing. The others also remain quiet, unless expressions of regret are made by them that "he" has escaped and it is of no use to continue the expedition.

The two young men eat, and when they have finished they pick up some pieces of white clay or other paint material and throw them into the ring of men. Everyone knows then that the image, who is the killer in this magical ritual, is there. The two leaders of the expedition divide their men into two groups; one side goes to the left of the camp of the image and the other to the right. They form a circle of spearmen about the camp. When the advancing leaders have met, and the camp is completely surrounded, they ask if the "killer" is there, and use his name; and then, with shouts and cries, the expedition rushes in and throws its spears into the body of the image.

The above follows very closely the usual maringo fight of the blacks. If the expedition is successful the killer's body takes the place of the image, and possibly several of his relatives are also slain.

After the spears have been thrown into the image, the owner of the relic kneels on his two knees beside it. He puts a piece of fire that has been taken from the campfire into the image. He places his basket before his mouth; in the basket he has the relic, wrapped up in fiber string or paper bark, so that no profane eye can see it. He addresses the relic as follows: "Where is the killer?" There is no answer. He then starts naming the various possible places where the slayer could be found, and asks the relic, which has the spirit of the dead man, where the enemy is. The naming of places is continued until a kind of click is heard. This is supposed to come from the bone, and is an answer to the question.

The owner of the relic says, "Ah, that is the place." He once more addresses the relic: "You are not lying to me? You are telling me the truth?" The click is heard again. Next day the avenging expedition

sets out and goes to the place designated to kill the slayer of their relative. It is thought that such an expedition must be successful after this ritual has been performed. . . .

The milwerangel is a general fight between the members of several clans. The element of surprise is not used in it. The participants know that a certain location (usually an open plain with jungle growths bordering it) will be used for the purpose. The combat resembles a brawl after a few minutes of fighting. Spears and clubs are used, but the latter only play a very minor role in this type of fight. In the account of the feud which is described later in this paper will be found a description of a milwerangel. This gives an excellent concrete example of how this type of warfare is conducted. It is unnecessary to give a more generalized description, except to say the milwerangel is a recognized type of battle, and therefore has a specific name applied to it.

The gaingar is but rarely employed in Murngin warfare. It is so deadly and results in so many casualties that it is only under the most extreme provocation that it is used. There are only two recorded cases in the last twenty years. One occurred between the peoples of the Caledon Bay area and those of Buckingham Bay; the other was between the peoples west of the Goyder River and along the sea coast and those who lived east of the Goyder and in the interior. The gaingar represents a regional fight where a large number of clans are involved rather than the usual type of battle where only a few clans participate.

The writer recorded a list of fifteen men killed in the Caledon Bay fight, and fourteen deaths (with one man severely wounded) in the Goyder River combat. Such a casualty list shows clearly that the sparse population of the Murngin and the surrounding tribes cannot afford such a military luxury except at very rare intervals.

The fight is held between the members of several clans and is the result of regional antagonisms. It may be within the tribe or intertribal. It always follows a long protracted series of killings in which each side is stimulated to an almost hysterical emotional pitch. When one group of clans finally decides to invite its enemies for a gaingar, the people always say that this is a spear fight to end spear fights, so that from that time on there will be peace for all the clans and tribes. This is sincerely believed at the time, since it is an effort to stop clan feuds.

The ideal gaingar takes place in the following way: The challengers make two small spears of a special type. They are wrapped with ceremonial feathered string; two pendants made of this same material and tipped with feathers hang from each. One spear has short arms and the other possesses much longer ones. The first symbolizes the Dua moiety, the second the Yiritja. The arms are also symbolical of the dead men killed by each side before the challenge is sent. Dua men are put in a Dua spear, and the Yiritja are supposed to be placed in their moiety's weapon. Sometimes the arms may symbolize but one man, but more frequently a whole group of people who have been killed in a feud are symbolized by these objects.

After the spears are completed they are placed away in hiding until the following day. In the morning two young men take the spears and run up and down in front of the warriors, while the latter throw their spears at the ceremonial ones. Should one of the spears be hit, it is believed that the war party will be defeated and some of their own men killed. If they are not struck it is believed that no one of their side will be killed and that the expedition will be a success.

In the afternoon the two spears are placed in the ground at a throwing distance, and once more spears are thrown at them, but this time there is an effort made actually to strike them, since now they represent the enemies, whereas in the morning they represented the challenging clan. The spears are then sent by messenger to the enemy. They are a ceremonial invitation for battle. The enemy goes through the same ceremony if it decides to accept. The two parties then meet halfway from their own territories.

Short spears are used in the gaingar because they can be thrown from any position and are difficult to parry or avoid. The two lines of warriors stand about fifty feet apart. Leadership is almost completely absent after the fight starts. Trickery is used if possible. In the gaingar that was held in the Goyder River district, the sea people who challenged the men from the interior hid part of their forces on each side of the plain in a mangrove jungle.

They placed a small part down at the end of the plain for the advancing people to see. As the enemy advanced this small group retreated to the jungle growth at the far end. They thus enticed their antagonists into the avenue of hidden warriors. The sea people then surrounded those from the interior and killed a large number of the attackers.

The makarata is a ceremonial peace-making fight. It is a kind of general duel and partial ordeal which allows the aggrieved parties to vent their feelings by throwing spears at their enemies or seeing the latter's blood run in expiation of some deed of violence done against the clan or group of clans.

The ideal makarata will be first described here, but frequently it does not follow the correct form, and instead of providing a peace-making mechanism only produces another battle in the interminable blood feud of the Murngin clans.

When a clan has had a member hurt or killed, and when sufficient time has elapsed for their emotions to calm, the men send a message to their enemies saying they are ready for a makarata. The other side usually agrees to enter into this peace-making ceremony although there is always suspicion of treachery. The injured group always sends the invitation, and the other must wait for them to decide when they wish to have it. Very frequently makarata are held after some of the totemic ceremonies have taken place, since it is at that time most of the clans will be present. When the warriors of the injured clan or clans arrive on the dueling ground they are covered with white clay. They dance in, singing a song which is descriptive of the water of their totemic well. The other

side has also painted itself. The two sides stand a little more than spear throwing distance apart, and each is so situated that it has a mangrove jungle back of it for protection in case the makarata becomes a real fight, and it is necessary to take cover. The clan which considers itself injured performs the dance connected with its chief totem. It is of the *garma* variety, or nonsacred form. The Waruweri clan, for instance, would dance the *garawark* (mythological fish) totemic dance, or the Djirin clan would perform its shark dance. The challenging group dances over to the people who have inflicted an injury upon it and stops, and without further ceremony walks back to its own side. After the men have reformed their ranks, their opponents dance toward them, using the latter's totemic dance for this military ritual. They return to their own side and reform their line to make ready for the actual duel.

The men who are supposed to have "pushed" the killers then start running in a zigzag manner in the middle of the field, while they face their opponents. They are accompanied by two close relatives who are also near kin of the other side. The function of the latter runners is to prevent spears from being thrown with too deadly an intent from the aggrieved clan for fear of hitting their friends who are running with the foe and to help knock down spears which might hit the actual runners. When the "pushers" run they are made a target for spears whose stone heads have been removed. Every member of the clan or clans which feels itself injured throws at least once at the men who are running before them. When an individual's turn to throw arrives, he advances from the group and moves toward the runners. He continues throwing spears if he feels very strongly about the matter until he has chased the runners into the jungle. This is repeated by the more indignant members of the offended clan three or four times. Finally, when their emotions have subsided to a considerable extent, one of the older men of the group says that they have had enough and the spear throwing stops. While the spearmen are still active the injured clan curses the members of the other group; the offending group cannot reply, for this is supposed to add additional insult. They must run and say nothing.

After the "pushers" have been chased and thrown at the actual killers run. The spear head is not removed from the shaft; the throwers continue hurling their spears at them, at first as a group and finally as individuals, until they have exhausted their emotions. While all this is taking place the old men of both sides walk back and forth from one group to the other, telling the throwers to be careful and not kill or hurt anyone. The offending clan's old men ask the younger men to be quiet and not to become angry, and when they hear insults thrown at them not to reply or throw spears since they are in the wrong. When the old men of the injured clan feel that they have sated their anger as a group they call out to the young men to stop, and each man then throws singly at the killers. He may throw as long as he pleases.

When this has been completed the whole group dances up to the other, and one of the latter jabs a spear through the thighs of the killers. If

this happens it means that no further action will be taken and no further attempt will be made to avenge the killing of one of their members. The killers can feel free to go into the country of their enemies and not be injured. If only a slight wound is made they know that they are not forgiven and that this is only a temporary truce. Sometimes no wound is made at all. This acts as a direct statement of the intention of the offended clan to wreak vengeance on the other side.

After the wound has been made the two sides dance together as one group to prove their feeling of solidarity and to express ritually that they are not openly warring groups, but one people. They do the usual water dance.

The above description is the idealized form of the makarata. If all goes well this procedure continues until the end, and its purpose is fulfilled. The following things can happen to turn the makarata into a real fight: (1) The old men may not have enough power to keep their young men in control; (2) the offending side may start swearing or throwing spears, which immediately turns the whole performance into a fight; (3) one of the runners may be badly wounded, which is likely to stimulate his clan members to attack the other side; (4) treachery may be resorted to; (5) the accidental wounding of an outsider may sometimes result; and (6) a member of either side may deliberately throw a spear into the other group because he is anxious to start a general fight.[1]

As shown in the preceding chapter, the Indians of America made war ritualistically under spiritual guidance and, conspicuously among Plains tribes, the desire for personal distinction was so prominent as to exclude the possibility of an efficient fighting organization. In the following description by Grinnell of the practice of taking coup it will be seen that there is no strategical plan (involving, for example, the sacrifice of life for the sake of a victory) and that the behavior is as wasteful as possible from this standpoint:

When an enemy was killed, each of those nearest to him tried to be the first to reach him and touch him, usually by striking the body with something held in the hand, a gun, bow, whip, or stick. Those who followed raced up and struck the body—as many as might wish to do so. Anyone who wished to might scalp the dead. Neither the killing nor the scalping was regarded as an especially creditable act. The chief applause was won by the man who first could touch the fallen enemy. In Indian estimation the bravest act that could be performed was to count coup on —to touch or strike—a living unhurt man and to leave him alive, and this was frequently done. Cases are often told of where, when the lines of two opposing tribes faced each other in battle, some brave man rode out in front of his people, charged upon the enemy, ran through their

[1] Warner, W. L., "Murngin Warfare," *Oceania*, 1: 457–477.

line, struck one of them, and then, turning and riding back, returned to his own party. If, however, the man was knocked off his horse, or his horse was killed, all of his party made a headlong charge to rescue and bring him off. . . .

It was regarded as an evidence of bravery for a man to go into battle carrying no weapon that would do any harm at a distance. It was more creditable to carry a lance than a bow and arrows; more creditable to carry a hatchet or war club than a lance; and the bravest thing of all was to go into a fight with nothing more than a whip, or a long twig—sometimes called a coup stick. I have never heard a stone-headed war club called coup stick. . . .

The Cheyenne counted coup on an enemy three times; that is to say, three men might touch the body and receive credit, according to the order in which this was done. Subsequent coups received no credit. The Arapaho touched four times. In battle the members of a tribe touched the enemy without reference to what had been done by those of another allied tribe in the same fight. Thus in a fight where Cheyenne and Arapaho were engaged the same man might be touched seven times. In a fight on the Rio Grande del Norte, where Cheyenne, Arapaho, Comanche, Kiowa, and Apache defeated the Ute, the counting of the coups by the different tribes resulted in tremendous confusion.

When a Cheyenne touched an enemy the man who touched him cried "*Ah haih*" and said "I am the first." The second to touch the body cried "I am the second," and so the third.

It is evident that in the confusion of a large fight, such as often took place, many mistakes might occur, and certain men might believe themselves entitled to honors which others thought were theirs. After the fight was over, then, the victorious party got together in a circle and built a fire of buffalo chips. On the ground near the fire were placed a pipe and a gun. The different men interested approached this fire, and, first touching the pipe, called out their deeds, saying, "I am the first," "second," or "third," as the case might be. Some man might dispute another and say, "No, I struck him first," and so the point would be argued and the difference settled at the time.

Often these disputes were hot. I recall one among the Pawnee about which there was great feeling. A Sioux had been killed and Baptiste Bahele, a half-breed Skidi and subchief, and a young man of no special importance were racing for the fallen enemy to secure the honor of touching him first. Baptiste had the faster horse and reached the body first, but, just as he was leaning over to touch it, the animal shied and turned off, so that what he held in his hand did not actually touch the body, while the boy who was following him rode straight over the fallen man and struck him. Baptiste argued plausibly enough that he had reached the body first and was entitled to be credited with the coup, but acknowledged that he did not actually touch the body, though he would have done so had his horse not shied. There was no difference of opinion among the Indians, who unanimously gave the honor to the boy.

Once two young Cheyenne were racing to touch a fallen enemy. Their horses were running side by side, though one was slightly ahead of the other. The man in advance was armed with a saber, the other, almost even with him, was leaning forward to touch the enemy with his lance. A saber being shorter than a lance, the leading man was likely to get only the second coup, but he reached down, grasped his comrade's lance, and gave it a little push, and it touched the enemy as they passed over him. Although the owner of the lance still held it, yet because his hand was behind his fellow's on its shaft, he received credit only for the second coup. If a man struck an enemy with a lance, anyone who touched or struck the lance while it was still fixed in or touching the enemy's person, received credit for the next coup.

A man who believed he had accomplished something made a strong fight for his rights and was certain to be supported in his contention by all his friends, and above all by all his relatives. When disputes took place, there were formal ways of getting at the truth. Among the Cheyenne a strong affirmation, or oath, was to rub the hand over the pipe as the statement was made, or to point to the medicine arrows and say, "Arrows, you hear me; I did (or did not do) this thing." The Blackfeet usually passed the hand over the pipe stem, thus asseverating that the story was as straight as the hole through the stem. . . .

In a mixed fight where many people were engaged there were always disputes, and this oath was often—even usually—exacted. A large crowd of people, both men and women, assembled to witness the ceremony. The chiefs directed the crier to call up the men who claimed honors, in the order in which they declared that they had struck an enemy; the man who claimed the first coup first, he who claimed the second coup second, and so on. The man making the oath walked up to the sacred objects and stood over them, and stretching up his hands to heaven said, *Maiyun-astsniahtu*, "Spiritual powers, listen to me." Then, bending down, he placed his hands on the objects, and said, *Nanitshu*, "I touched him." After he had made his oath he added, "If I tell a lie, I hope that I may be shot far off."

He narrated in detail how he charged on the enemy and how he struck him. Then were called the men who counted the second and third coup on this same enemy and each told his story at length. Next the man who touched the second enemy was called, and he was followed by those who had counted the second and third coup on the same individual. In the same way all claimants told their stories.

If, under such circumstances, a man made a false statement, it was considered certain that before long he or some one of his family would die. The Cheyenne feared this oath, and, if a man was doubtful as to whether he had done what he claimed, he was very likely not to appear when his name was called. On the other hand, each of two men might honestly enough declare—owing to error—that he first touched an emeny. Or, a man might swear falsely. In the year 1862, a man disputing with another declared that he had first touched the enemy. The next year, while the

Cheyenne were making the medicine lodge on the Republican river, this man died, and everyone believed, and said, that he had lied about the coup of the year before.

When two men were striving to touch an enemy and others were watching them, and the thing was close, the spectators might say to one of the two, "We did not see plainly what you did, but of what he did we are certain." In this way they might bar out from the first honor the man concerning whose achievement they were doubtful. As already said, the relatives of each claimant were active partisans of their kinsmen. . . .

As an example of the odd things that have happened in connection with the practice of touching the enemy, according to Cheyenne rules, the curious case of Yellow-shirt may be mentioned. In the great battle that took place on Wolf creek in 1838, between the allied Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache on one hand, and the Cheyenne and Arapaho on the other, coup was counted on Yellow-shirt, a Kiowa, nine times. When the charge was made on the Kiowa camp, Yellow-shirt was fighting on foot and was touched three times, but not seriously injured. Later, he reached his village, mounted a horse, came out to fight and was touched three times on horseback. Almost immediately afterward his horse was killed and his leg broken, and he sat on the ground, still fighting by shooting arrows, and was again touched three times and killed. So in all nine coups were counted on this man, all of which were allowed. In another case coup was counted nine times on a Pawnee, who was not killed and finally got away.

If, through some oversight, the third coup had not been formally counted on an enemy, the act of taking off his moccasins as plunder has been decided to be the third coup, because the man who removed them touched the dead man's person. Coup, of course, might be counted on man, woman, or child. Anyone who was captured would first be touched. . . .

Among the [Blackfoot] . . . it was highly creditable to ride over an enemy on foot, and in the old-time dances of the different bands of the All-comrades, horses were frequently painted with the prints of a red hand on either side of the neck and certain paintings on the breast intended to represent the contact of the horse's body with the enemy.

Among the Cheyenne the capture of a horse or horses was such a brave deed, and, if the man who had touched an enemy took from him a shield or a gun, the capture of this implement was always mentioned. The drum would be sounded for touching the enemy, sounded again for the capture of the shield, again for the capture of the gun, and—if the man had scalped the dead—for the taking of the scalp.

I believe that the high esteem in which the act of touching the enemy is held is a survival of the old feeling that prevailed before the Indians had missiles and when—if they fought—they were obliged to do so hand to hand, with clubs and sharpened sticks. Under such conditions only those who actually came to grips, so to speak, with the enemy—who met him hand to hand—could inflict any injury and gain any glory. After

arrows came into use it may still have been thought a finer thing to meet the enemy hand to hand than to kill him with an arrow at a distance.

The general opinion that the act of scalping reflects credit on the warrior has no foundation. The belief perhaps arose from the fact that, when an enemy was killed or wounded, brave Indians rushed toward him. White observers have very likely inferred that those who were rushing upon an enemy were eager to take his scalp. As a matter of fact they cared little or nothing for the scalp but very much for the credit of touching the fallen man. Most people are untrustworthy observers and draw inferences from their preconceived notions, rather than from what actually takes place.

Among the Plains tribes a scalp was a mere trophy and was not highly valued. It was regarded as an emblem of victory and was a good thing to carry back to the village to rejoice and dance over. But any part of an enemy's body might serve for this, and it was not at all uncommon among the Blackfeet to take off a leg or an arm, or even a foot or hand, to carry back and rejoice over for weeks and months. Very commonly, a party returning from war would give one or more scalps to a group of old men and old women, who would paint their faces black and carry the scalp all about through the village dancing at intervals, singing the praises of the successful warriors, making speeches in their honor, and generally rejoicing. Scalps were sometimes sacrificed among all these tribes, perhaps burned, as by the Pawnee, or among Cheyenne and Blackfeet tied to a pole and left out on the prairie to be rained on and finally to disappear in the weather. Scalps were used to trim and fringe war clothing—shirts and leggings—and to tie to the horse's bridle in going to war. Usually the scalps taken were small, a little larger than a silver dollar, but like any other piece of fresh skin they stretched greatly.[1]

Powell refers to a war party of Sioux who surprised a squad of sleeping soldiers and killed them all at the first volley. "Their arms, blankets and other property were untouched because, the attacking party being large, it could not be determined by whose bullets the soldiers were killed."[2]

In Polynesia there was, in addition to the wars for territory, the necessity of securing victims for sacrifice to the gods, which led to continuous raids and retaliations among the populations. At the same time, the insult, through cursing, ridicule, or invidious comparison, had an extraordinary place in the Polynesian system, and the peculiar atrocities described by Handy in the following sketch of Marquesan warfare seem to reflect this attitude:

The Marquesas tribes were in a continual state of warfare. Du Petit-Thouars reports that in the year 1837 there were five or six wars on Hiva Oa alone. On Nuku Hiva during the first year of the occupancy

[1] Grinnell, G. B., "Coup and Scalp among the Plains Indians," *Amer. Anth.*, N.S., **12**: 297–304.
[2] Powell, J. W., Director's Report, *Bur. Amer. Ethnol., Ann. Rep.*, **3**: lvii.

of the Catholic Mission twenty human sacrifices were offered. These facts probably indicate many raids and retaliations. When two tribes were actually at war, there was little chance that peace would be declared until one or the other had been completely overthrown and driven from the land, since, after every less conclusive victory, there remained always the duty of retaliation and revenge. But by means of the rite of *hami oa* a state of peace could be brought about between the two tribes without the complete overthrow of either.

There were two basic causes of all wars. The first was the necessity of securing human sacrifices at certain times for offerings to the tribal god, such sacrifices being always obtained from an enemy tribe. The second cause was revenge, the occasion being frequently the killing or stealing of men, women, or children for sacrifices on the part of another tribe, or possibly the necessity or demand for revenge growing out of an insult to the tribe. If one tribe that went to visit another were received in an unfriendly and inhospitable spirit, the visiting tribe, thus insulted by not being offered the usual courtesies, would return home and prepare for war. War has even been made by one chief on another to avenge personal slights or insults.

When a member of a family had been killed, it was incumbent on every fighting member of the family to avenge the death by blood. The duty was particular with the immediate relatives of the man killed, but extended in general to the whole tribe. The sign of a debt of revenge unpaid was the shaving of the head on one side, leaving a long lock hanging down upon the chest on the other. The lock was held together toward the lower section by a little cylinder of bone (*puo*), a piece of bamboo (*puo kohe*), or a small tiki head carved out of human bone (puo), of the same form as the tiki used for holding together drum cords. According to Dordillon pearl shell was sometimes threaded in this lock of hair. At the great feast place of Pekia in Atu Ona, Hivo Oa, there is in the large platform before the one on which the chief's house stood, a pit into which was put the hair shaved from the heads of men that owed a duty of revenge. In Pekia the revenge victims were brought to this feast place.

The act of repaying a revenge debt was called *umu heana* (*uma*, oven; *heana*, human victims). If a man's brother were killed, he would either arouse the tribe himself or take the matter to the chief, who would send his warriors to seek a victim from the other tribe; or else the man might merely collect a group of friends and go raiding into the valley of the other tribe seeking any man, woman, or child who could be killed and brought home. Such revenge victims were always eaten, unless the heana were a child under three years of age. An infant victim was strangled, placed on the heads of old men, and carried to the sacred place (*me'ae*) to be presented to the priest (*tau'a*) for the tribal god. The only persons who could not partake of the victim were the parents of the deceased person for whose revenge the heana was taken. To them the first captive was tapu; all others after the first they could, however, eat.

Some informants say that women were not eaten, but this is contradicted by others and also by the manuscripts of the Catholic missionaries.

The eating of the revenge victim was based on the conception of the complete annihilation or absorption of his personality. *Tipi te'e* was a term applied to the following practice in connection with a victim seized to revenge the death of a fellow tribesman: a small bit of flesh of the victim was given to each member of the tribe and was eaten by the recipient. Such eating made the revenge complete.

War might be a definitely organized and planned campaign, or a series of attacks on the part of a tribe or group of allied tribes; or it might be on a simpler scale, merely raiding from one valley into another. *He toua* signified organized war. When there was trouble between tribes and a solution of the difficulty without war seemed desirable, chiefs would send ambassadors, men who for one reason or another would be given safe conduct, to talk over the matter with the chief and his people. If no agreement could be reached, war followed. These ambassadors, according to the information that I could obtain, appear always to have been men of some tribal importance, who, through relationships of marriage, adoption, or *e inoa* [naming], had some family bond in the enemy tribe that would give them protection.

Before a great war the chief of the aggressive tribe or the one that expected to be attacked sent one of his warriors to summon his allies. This messenger was called *pa'e vi'i* (*pa'e*, headdress; *vi'i*, to make a tour). Dordillon gives *pa'e vi'i toua*, with the meaning to announce war, to invite to war. This messenger wore on his back the leaf of a coconut tree shredded into small strips (*kahu koua'ehi*), a sign of tapu. Following his call, all the fighting men betook themselves to the precincts of the chief who was summoning them. The blowing of the chief's conch trumpet meant a summons to war. The trumpet was not carried into battle, however. When the fighters were all gathered together in the warrior's home, a chant called the *puko toua*, or *pa'e vi'i toua*, was intoned by the warriors. Formal declaration of war (*utu po*) consisted in going on the mountain tops in view of the enemy tribe and uttering war cries, or, in later times, of firing a few gunshots. . . .

While it is evident from the following description by Melville that there were individuals among the people who aroused the excitement of fighters before war by oratory, there were, so far as I know, no formal orators such as those in Tahiti. Melville says, describing a speaker:

"The effect he produced upon his audience was electric; one and all they stood regarding him with sparkling eyes and trembling limbs, as though they were listening to the inspired voice of a prophet."

War parties were dispatched to the scene of action by the chief and led by the *toa* [war leaders]. The place where the fighting took place was called *mata vai*. The scene of action was usually in the uplands between valleys, although sometimes large bodies of warriors would invade a valley from behind or from the side. Fighting was always by day. The wives of the warriors would follow them by some safe route

to a point where they could see the fighting, going dressed in all their finery as though for a feast. They supported their men with spells, crying: "Into the ground the shot! Into the ground the shot! In vain! In vain! To the land! To the land! It is the shot of the god! It is the gun of the god." If a husband were shot, his woman lamented, *e aue! e aue! e aue!* alas! alas! alas! Dordillon gives the word *toakaihau* as meaning the cry uttered by women during combat; and *tomoa*, a cry of encouragement by women. The inspirational priest sometimes went with the warriors and stood on a high point from which he could watch the combat, uttering a spell to cause the missiles of the enemy to go into the earth rather than into his people. It is said that the ceremonial priest remained at the temple chanting. Porter describes one method of showing derision of the enemy: "They scoffed at our men, and exposed their posteriors to them, and treated them with the utmost contempt and derision." Other methods of showing derision consisted in sticking out the tongue, and holding down the under margin of the right eye with the forefinger. Porter describes their manner of fighting as follows:

"Their general mode of fighting consists in constant skirmishing. The adverse parties assemble on the brows of opposite hills, having a plain between them. One or two, dressed out in all their finery, richly decorated with shells, tufts of hair, ear ornaments, etc., etc., advance, dancing up to the opposite party, amid a shower of spears and stones (which they avoid with great dexterity) and daring the other to single combat. They are soon pursued by a greater number, who are in turn driven back; and if in their retreat they should chance to be knocked over with a stone, they are instantly dispatched with spears and war clubs, and carried off in triumph. It was shocking to see the manner they treated such as were knocked over with a shot; they rushed on them with their war clubs, and soon dispatched them; then each seemed anxious to dip his spear into the blood, which nothing could induce them to wipe off—the spear, from that time, bore the name of the dead warrior, and its value, in consequence of that trophy, was greatly enhanced."

Porter also describes the raiding of enemy parties into valleys, destroying houses and plantations and killing breadfruit trees by girdling. As soon as a victim was obtained, the raiding party would retire from the field. In prolonged wars the warriors returned every evening to their sleeping and eating houses, resuming the combat next morning. It is impossible to tell how sustained and how bloody were wars in the ancient days. Hiva Oa informants insist that there was one great war in which all the eastern end of the island fought all the western end, all the warriors of the former being slain. It seems very doubtful whether there were any engagements of a very serious nature, since to the native fighting was entirely a matter of individual personal combat, quick assault, and quick flight or pursuit. There appears never to have been any genuine organization of fighting men.

The first victim slain in battle was always slung on a pole, like a pig, between two men and carried home to be offered to the tribal god. The

body was carried to the temple and presented to the priest, who placed it on the alter (*ka'au*) and left it there. . . .

Captives who were taken alive to the tribal feast place to be sacrificed were called *tinaka*. Those destined for the tribal god were taken into the temple, where they were killed and sacrificed with the reciting of the chant called *haihai heana;* the body was suspended in a coconut tree, left there for three days, then cut up and buried in the ground. The heads of all victims were presented to the tribal god, were consecrated in the temple, and were then returned to the captor, the eyes, however, being given to the chief. Those victims that were destined to be eaten were killed on the feast place and there cut up and distributed. *Hanoa* meant to attach a victim to a pole in order to carry him. *Ta ika* (*ta*, strike; *ika*, fish) was a term applied to those who went to search for human sacrifices, and the words *tau ta ika* meant to go in search of human victims. An enemy was called *ika*, fish. Naked captives and dead bodies were brought back slung on a pole between two men. *Hauiui* was the god who presided over the carrying of human victims on the shoulder pole (*amo*). Those who carried the body to the feast places were covered with coconut leaves shredded into small strips, indicating that they were tapu. Before carrying the body into the feast place, they went to the temple, and, taking a pig that had been fed by the attendants of the sacred precincts, they dismembered it alive and ate it while the flesh was raw and bloody. They had to eat standing.

Victims that were obtained definitely to revenge the death of a tribesman were treated with far greater cruelty than those who were merely war captives or sacrifices demanded by the gods. Such revenge victims were subjected to extreme torture, which appears to have been the expression of a frenzy of revengeful hate resulting from extreme concentration upon the thought of vengeance. Langsdorff describes the tearing open of a victim's skull on the field of battle and the eating of his brains on the spot. Krusenstern was told that warriors tore off the heads of their victims and sipped the blood.

The manuscript of Père Pierre gives a number of terms describing various modes of treatment of captives and victims for sacrifice and eating. *Heake tutu pohue una* meant to burn the victim alive; *kopu kiki* or *kopu epo tikao me te poo kenae*, was applied to the pulling out of the entrails of living victims by inserting in the orifice of the anus sticks of thorny *kenae* (flamboyant); *heaka hi* (*hi*, to fish with a line) is described as consisting in attaching a victim to a hook, throwing his body into the water, drawing it out, throwing it back in again, and so on, until the victim expired. In the rite called *vai titi* a live victim was attached to four posts by his limbs and roasted over a fire on the seashore. One of the most cruel of the tortures consisted in roasting a live victim by slow degrees, burying him in the sand on the shore and building fires around him. *Heaka tao* meant to roast a foe in an oven; *heaka te'i*, to dismember a victim; and *heaka makoke*, to parcel out his flesh. The body was cut up with a bamboo knife or a sharp stone. Taava and Taavi were the

patron gods of all these practices associated with human sacrifice. Victims were sometimes suspended alive on a hook attached to the chin, the lips, or the nostrils.

The bones and certain other parts of revenge victims not offered to the tribal gods were regarded as the prizes of the victim's captors. The warrior who brought home a victim for sacrifice or part of one was thereafter called by the name of his victim. The pudendum of a woman was sometimes attached to a lock of a victorious warrior's hair and was worn as a sign of his prowess. Fingers were saved and worn on the loincloth of the captor. Other long bones were used in making ornaments, fan handles, hair and drum-cord binders, and fishhooks. But the most important of the prizes was the head. The skull and the name of a foe went to the man who killed him. This and other relics such as hands, for example, were consecrated and dried by the priest in the temple by means of some rite of which I have no account, and were then returned to the victor. When warriors went into battle they wore these prizes on the loincloth, on the ankle, or hanging down on the back by a cord from the neck. Langsdorff describes such ornaments of the warrior as being decorated with hog's bristles, and having the underjaw fastened to it ingeniously with coconut fibers, and Marchand tells us that warriors sometimes wore three of these trophies at one time. In peace times these prizes were hung up in the houses or wrapped in cloth and secreted. . . . Dried hands were sometimes tied to the pendant tails of the loin cloth, or at the waist. A warrior would wear only pieces of skulls if he possessed many.

Kopeka ka'ahu ahi (*kopeka,* cross; *ka'ahu ahi,* charcoal) or *kaue heaka* was a rite that allowed the mother, sister, aunt, or wife of a man who had been taken as a revenge victim to go unmolested to the valley of his captors and curse them. A woman going on such an errand clothed herself in leaves and put a hibiscus flower in her hair. On Hiva Oa it was customary for her to oil her hair and body and cover them with red clay and ashes, but on Nuku Hiva to smear the forehead and cheeks instead with soot in the form of a cross. She carried to the house of the killer a little breadfruit paste and some *noni* fruits. These she threw down in the road before the house and said, "Here is your food; bring me your murderer." Then, it is said, there would appear to her like two ghosts the wraith of the murderer and that of his victim. The woman would then dance, striking her body with her hands. If she saw the ghost of the murderer precede that of his victim it was a sign that he would be taken in turn and offered for human sacrifice. The ghost of the victim being that of a dead man was to be recognized by the feebleness of his gait. This ceremony was considered as a form of mourning on the part of the female relative. A man attempting to perform this rite would be killed, but a woman so clothed and decorated was not touched.

A relative living in the valley in which a captive was to be sacrificed, could save his kinsman from being eaten by consecrating him to the tribal gold, for sacrifices to gods were not eaten. When a victim had been

captured and cooked, one of his relatives would attempt to get one of the stones of the oven in which the body was cooked, the stone was wrapped in a piece of sacred white cloth and worn as a neck pendant, and as a protection against the spirit of the murdered man.

A truce between two tribes at war was often called, in order to allow the celebration of one of the great harvest or funerary festivals. Sometimes such a truce was indicated by the planting of a coconut branch on the top of a mountain between the tribes at war. At the time of these great festivals all the people of all tribes, whether enemies or friends, came together, war being tapu. Those visiting in an unfriendly or enemy valley always came, however, armed against possible eventualities, and held themselves ready to depart suddenly, for such times were frequently chosen by the inspirational priest to quickly terminate the festival and announce that his god was demanding human sacrifices.[1]

Reference was made above to the systematic pillaging of neighbors by African chiefs, and among the Zulus, culminating between 1812 and 1828, the pillage pattern was pushed so far that the country was practically an armed camp. This movement was facilitated by the collection of important personages at the court of the chief; by taking advantage of the Bantu custom not permitting marriage before circumcision and delaying this pending a period of military service, and until, in fact, the practice passed out of use; by imitating the drill of white soldiers witnessed by temporarily exiled chiefs or heirs of chiefs; and by developing a ferocious attack based partly on the pattern, or containing the animation, of a native tribal dance. Military service was nominally not compulsory but it was advantageous and irresistible, and even boys between the ages of six and twelve were candidates and followed the campaigns. Ferguson has described the organization and the mode of warfare:

Chaka maintained a standing army of from 12,000 to 15,000 warriors. Each regiment was stationed in a military kraal, or *ekanda*. The regiment contained from 600 to 800 or 1,000 men; that at Dingaan's capital, Umkunginglov (Umkungindhlovu), for example, was about 900 strong. This regiment differed from others in that it was largely made up of "chiefs of smaller towns bearing the appellation of *indoona* or *umnumzana* ("head of a village)"; and "it is evidently with a political view of state surveillance," writes Gardiner, "that the most influential of these are formed into this description of bodyguard, and that all in rotation are obliged to appear and reside for some time in the capital, where they become not only hostages for the good conduct of those dependent upon them, but are thereby prevented from plotting any scheme for the subversion of the existing government." Whereas this regiment may have

[1] Handy, E. S. C., "The Native Culture in the Marquesas," *Bernice P. Bishop Mus., Bull.*, **9**: 123–141.

consisted of veterans alone, and whereas we know that there were others constituted entirely of young warriors, it appears that the typical Zulu regiment of the active army was made up of the two classes in conjunction. The young warriors, moreover, were of two kinds: those who, like the veterans, wore the characteristic Zulu headring, and the "boy," as those who lacked it were named in contradistinction to the "men" who had it. In addition there were associated with each regiment children who had not yet entered the army.

The veterans were distinguished from the young warriors by the color of their shields. The former had white shields with black spots down the center; the shields of the latter were black. The way in which the regiments were recruited will indicate most clearly how the classes came to be thus related to one another within the regiments. The following is the story as it was told to Bishop Colenso by two Zulu soldiers: "The boys when they think themselves big enough to enlist—say from sixteen to eighteen years old—collect at the military kraals, each going to that to which his father belongs, and there they stay, milking the cows into their mouths. This is a sign that they wish to be enlisted, and when the *izinnceku* (king's officers) of the military kraals see that a good many of such boys have collected, one of them reports the fact to the king, who then gives permission for the boys to be brought before him. There is no penalty for those who do not join, although, of course, they are not thought much of. Such men [as do not enlist] may marry whenever they please, and they put on the headring by permission of the head man of their kraal. . . . If, however, a man has once enlisted, and at some future time fails to appear when his regiment is called together for any purpose, it will then be inquired, 'What has become of him?' And if he cannot give a good reason for his absence he may perhaps be killed by his regiment, but not by the king. A man who has enlisted also may not marry until the king gives leave to his regiment."

On a general mobilization the regiments were formed into three army corps. In each army corps there were regiments of veterans and of young warriors, and, in addition, regiments of a third class of soldiers which we must consider next.

"The middle warriors," says Isaacs, "or those that have wives, form distinct regiments, and are called 'inferiors.'" They were distinguished by having red shields. It may be that their name was Umkundas, or more correctly, *amagundane*, which means "mice," and is a term of contempt. They constituted the reserves and were apparently, at least under Dingaan, as numerous as the veterans and young warriors combined. . . .

"From their youth," writes Isaacs, the warriors were "excluded from all intercourse with the common people," and "passed their days in celibacy." . . . When they were infants, and unable to do much more than toddle, the bigger lads who had already begun to serve with the regiment "molested and beat" the little boys wherever they found them until they also nearly all "joined these young tyrants." Once they had indicated their intention of becoming soldiers they became the recruiting

sergeants in turn. They watched the king's cattle, milked the cows, and carried baggage, while the regiment was in the ekanda. While at home they consorted, doubtless, with one another, and fagged their juniors. At puberty, or somewhat later, they were enrolled among the young warriors. Either then, or later when they had distinguished themselves in battle, they had their heads shaved at the king's orders and were required by the king to assume the "men's" crown-ring. As young warriors they spent months of every year in the ekanda, practicing war dances, and other months on the long weary marches that led across the wilderness to the country of enemies or subjects who had cattle. Many of them were, of course, killed, or died of hunger or thirst on these expeditions. Many of them were executed by the king's orders as cowards or conspirators. But those who survived drove on each return cow after cow into their cattle kraals—their share of the spoils of war. Every year, in December, they went up to the king's ekanda for the Feast of First Fruits, when a great round of dancing culminated in a review of all the soldiers—"a trial of skill," in which one regiment was pitted against another. Thus five, or ten, or twenty years passed. They had long since become veterans, and had taken part in turns at the capital in the king's bodyguard. White shields with black spots down the center have been given out to them from the royal arsenals instead of the black shields which they had borne as young warriors. They have not been allowed to marry. While in quarters in the civil villages they may have had sexual intercourse practically at pleasure with the unmarried girls and with wives who were nursing children; but they may not have had children of their own. A soldier must be a bachelor. He must not be enervated by matrimony and softened by family ties. At last came the time when as a reward for distinguished service in war rendered by the individual soldier or by his whole regiment, "the Great Elephant," as Chaka was called, announced at the Feast of First Fruits that a soldier, or his whole regiment, as the case might be, was to marry. The brides might be designated at the same time, and to disobey was to die. Or perhaps it was simply the advance of years which, while unfitting him for soldiering, won him permission to marry. "You are like an old woman now," said Chaka to a warrior who had dislocated his thigh, "I must find a husband for you." Thenceforth there were no more gatherings in the ekanda for him. His life was now lived in his own kraal with the women and little children. He took as many wives as he could afford and begot a numerous progeny, if the misfortune of sterility—a frequent concomitant of polygamy—did not befall him. In that case some young warrior would probably do the begetting for him. For he was now one of the class of inferiors, or "mice." He was, of course, liable for military service, but not in the first line. Still, at least under Chaka, the call to arms came with great frequency. . . .

The two most important Bantu practices underlying the military system we have been considering are, I believe, the folk dance and the puberty rites.

. . . The military exercises of the Zulus consisted of a charge *en masse*, which, by dividing and going to either side of a specified point, formed a semicircle; and a dance in this horseshoe formation, with individual soldiers performing mimic combats before the king in the center. Now this semicircle, used in the Zulu *guba* (or *imikuba*), or performance of war songs, the Zulu *gila*, or war dance, and the Zulu *mukhumbi* (or *umkumbi*), or battle line, was the invariable formation of the South African folk dance. By adapting to his needs the movements of the dance the Zulu drill master, whoever he was, found a way of being thorough without being unpopular; for dancing seems to have been the black man's highest art; and it was at once sufficiently individual and concerted to serve, with modifications, both for the muscular development of the soldier and for the acquisition of the line and company movements that lie at the root of all military evolutions. The origin in dancing accounts for the tempo of Zulu drill; there was nothing *adagio* about it. Without their passion for dancing it is incredible that any tribe of savages would have submitted to the laborious training of the Zulus.

[The deferring of puberty rites is frequently said to have been due to Chaka] but the fact that he himself was uncircumcised, that he was begotten by an uncircumcised father, and that the Fengoes, whom he drove from Natal and scattered south and east among the neighboring tribes, were also uncircumcised, leads us to conclude that the prohibition was earlier than Chaka's reign. And, in fact, H. F. Fynn, one of the first group of Europeans to travel in Zululand, who learned its language, and who interrogated Chaka about its past, tells us definitely that it was Chaka's predecessor, Dingiswayo, who "ordered the rite to be deferred until he should have brought under his dominion all [Kaffir nations] within his reach. Owing to this circumstance, circumcision fell into disuse among all the Eastern tribes, and the omission of the ceremony extended to all who acknowledged his authority." . . .

Of Dingiswagyo Fynn says further: "He assumed a despotic power hitherto unknown: he divided his followers into regiments, distinguishing each by name and by the color of their shields. He introduced war dresses of a most imposing appearance to be worn by his chief men and warriors. . . . He declared war on all the neighboring tribes, assigning as his reason that he wished to do away with the incessant quarrels that occurred amongst the tribes, because no supreme head was over them to say who was right or who was wrong; a state of things that could not have been the design of Umvela, the first of the human race." On the other hand, it is claimed by some writers that it was Chaka who instituted the regiments, whereas earlier they had "charged in a mass, and without observing any orderly arrangement." This, however, is apparently incorrect; for Sir Theophilus Shepstone, who carefully studied native traditions, agrees entirely with Fynn. Of Dingiswayo he says: "He learned [while in exile] the strength of standing armies, the value of discipline and training, as compared with the mobs, called armies, in his own country. He had heard of or seen bodies of civilized soldiers. He had ascertained that they were divided into regiments and companies,

with regularly appointed officers, and he thought that all soldiers were bachelors. . . . He formed all the young men into regiments, with commands in due subordination to each other, and very soon he had a formidable regular force at his command."

So much for Dingiswayo. The military innovations of Chaka were apparently two: first, the unification, in a single system, of the warriors and their ekandas belonging to various tribes, which had submitted, indeed, to Dingiswayo and imitated his institution of a trained standing army, but which ceased to be autonomous states and existed as military units of a central power only under Chaka; second, the substitution of a single spear for the stock of darts hitherto used. . . .

The object of [Chaka's] wars was first and foremost the subjugation of his immediate neighbors and the extirpation of the more remote; with the essential consequence that their cattle became his, their girls entered his *issigordlo*, their boys came to add to the population and number of his ekandas. The tribes nearest to the danger moved back out of reach of his arm and crowded and warred down their neighbors, so that the repercussion of his thrusts was felt as far north as Lakes Nyassa and Tanganyika, and as far south as Cape Town. Those that could not escape he plundered and harried unmercifully, so that eventually he surrounded his enlarged nation with a wide depopulated tract as a sort of protecting ringwall. In this work the assegai was the first instrument, famine the decisive one. It is estimated that a million souls perished in his reign from either the one or the other. Once the cattle were carried off and the crops destroyed, bands of cannibals formed in the wilderness and continued the work of destruction. . . .

Of course, like all Bantus, the Zulus had their war medicines which, if properly administered, deflected assegais from their course, or made "bullets flatten against the body." But Chaka believed, like the Prussians, that the fear of possible death on advancing could only be outweighed by the fear of certain death on flinching, and he forced his soldiers to strive to outdo each other by requiring that after every battle "cowards" should be executed. . . . The rigor of the whole regime—the rule that the warrior who returned without his spear must die; that after every battle the officers must designate for death "cowards" whether there were any or not; that no provisions for the return march should be taken when an expedition started; that troops who withdrew in face of an enemy forfeited their lives; that old men who could not fight should be put out of the way; that soldiers should endure the most acute pain, such as having their bare arms burned with a burning glass, without flinching; that they must execute every order, were it even to catch a lion unarmed, to cross the Tugela in flood time, or to put to death their own sons or brothers, without manifesting the slightest sign of hesitation—this atrocious code reveals the spirit of the masterful and relentless Chaka, rather than the comparatively gentle Dingiswayo.

Very few of the battles fought by the Zulus against native armies are known to us in any detail. Among these few we may put the unsuccessful attack of Chaka's army on Sotschangana near Inhambane in 1828;

the defeat of Umbulazi by his brother Cetshwayo at the Tugela in 1856; the struggle between Moselekatze and the Bamangwato in 1862; and—the earliest of the group, which we describe in the words of an eyewitness, Fynn—the defeat of Sikunyana, king of the Endwandwe, by Chaka in 1824. The campaign began, from Fynn's point of view at least, with a quick march of sixty miles to Nobamba, "the general rendezvous of the forces." There they rested two days. Then after dispatching spies, the whole army advanced "in separate divisions and by different routes." It consisted of about 50,000 persons, including the boys who drove the cattle on which the army lived while on the way, and some women who carried beer, corn, and milk, and who returned when these supplies were exhausted. For two days they marched, and again they rested for two days, and they repeated the march and the rest during the following four days. Then, on being rejoined by the spies, they proceeded to a great forest near which the enemy was awaiting their arrival, and on the next morning joined battle. "Being a stranger to their mode of attack," continues Fynn, "I determined to ascend the mountain and be a spectator of passing events. . . . On the upper part [of an immense mountain] there was a rocky eminence, near the summit of which the enemy had collected all his forces, surrounding their cattle; and above them the women and children of the nation in a body. They were sitting down awaiting the attack. Chaka's forces marched slowly and with much caution, in regiments, each regiment divided into companies, till within twenty yards of the enemy, when they made a halt. Although Chaka's troops had taken up a position so near, the enemy seemed disinclined to move, till Jacob had fired at them three times. The first and second shots seemed to make no impression on them, for they only hissed, and cried in reply 'That is a dog.' At the third shot, both parties, with a tumultous yell, clashed together, and continued stabbing each other for about three minutes, when both fell back a few paces. Seeing their losses about equal, both armies raised a cry, and this was followed by another rush, and they continued closely engaged about twice as long as in the first onset, when both parties again drew off. But the enemy's loss had now been the more severe. This urged the Zulus to a final charge. The shrieks now became terrific. The remnant of the enemy's army sought shelter in an adjoining wood, out of which they were soon driven. Then began a slaughter of the women and children. They were all put to death. The cattle, being taken by different regiments, were driven to the kraal lately occupied by Sikunyana. The battle, from the commencement to the close, did not last more than an hour and a half. The numbers of the hostile tribe, including women and children, could not have been less than 40,000. The number of cattle taken was estimated at 60,000. . . . Early next morning Chaka arrived, and each regiment previous to its inspection by him had picked out its 'cowards' and put them to death."[1]

[1] Ferguson, W. S., "The Zulus and the Spartans: A Comparison of Their Military Systems," *Harvard African Studies*, **2**: 198–227, *passim* (rearranged).

Chapter XV

PRIMITIVE LAW

A legal code is a formulation of the minimum and negative obligations of the members of the given society. Criminal law has been defined by an English jurist:

> If *A* is drowning, and if *B* is present, and if *B* by stretching out his hand could save *A*, and if *B* does not do this, and if *A* is drowned, then *B* has committed no offense.

All that is legally required of *B* is that he shall not push *A* into the water.

In the following approach to primitive legal systems, however, the response of the individual to public opinion (which may be defined as "morality") and to spiritual opinion (which may be defined as "religion") will be represented also.

In Chap. III the character of tribal habit systems was examined and a general tendency to conformity with and persistence in the traditional behavior patterns was illustrated. At the same time it was noted that this conformity and unanimity are also characteristic of civilized groups, for example, European peasant groups, which live in kinship and neighborly relations. In these cases the individual has recognition and status and rises and falls to a certain extent with his family and group as a whole, and there is consequently a strong feeling of collective responsibility.

On this basis a certain equilibrium of existence is reached through a group habit system. It is plain that there must be a body of accepted definitions of situations if social life is to go on at all, and the social habit systems represent the accepted and stereotyped behavior reactions in given situations. The habits are the regulated way of life, and law in its widest sense represents the measures for the preservation of the group habits. From this standpoint we may examine what are the forms of behavior felt as disturbances of the group habit system, and what steps are taken to conform or punish individuals, or portions of the group, who transgress the patterns.

The foundation of conformity with behavior codes is always spoken and gesture language. Specifically, gossip is one of the critical aspects of public opinion. "Gossip," derived from *sib*,

"kin," is a function of the community, as compared with law, which is a function of the state. While it tends to be malicious it is at the same time a constant and assiduous reaffirmation of the social habit system through criticism of its specific violations.

In this connection one aspect of the punishment of transgressors is the direction of unfavorable public opinion toward them. Speck says of the Indians of Labrador:

The fur-bearing animals that are caught in traps set and tended by the individual are considered his own property, both the fur and flesh, in a very strict sense. Accordingly, for one trapper to take the game from another's traps that he may chance to discover is a serious misdeed. For this, however, there is no stated punishment. The victim of such theft usually takes his own means of attempting to identify the thief, and when his mind is made up he is apt to talk freely about the robbery. The discovery soon reaches the ears of the offender and the consequences thenceforth remain a matter of individual concern. There may be only suppressed ill-feeling or perhaps threats by the offended party. This is generally sufficient to check further poaching, as I have had opportunity to learn in several instances where I knew both parties. . . . [Far] The Ste. Marguerite Band of Montagnais-Naskapi, whose summer trading rendezvous is at Seven Island post . . . my notes mention in the total of ten heads of families . . . two who are commonly accused of being unscrupulous as concerns the traps of others. The offenders are frequently mentioned and pointed out without reserve. I gather that this is a form of punishment in the eyes of society.

In every band there are met those whose status among their associates is that of the undesirable. The visitor, like myself, is warned against reposing trust in them. Their relatives are often ashamed of them. Being avoided, they forfeit the satisfaction of friendship; hence this becomes their punishment. As mild as all this appears to us, it is serious enough in these lonesome societies. And should resentment lead the ostracized to further deeds intensifying his unpopularity, he may develop into being an offender of greater magnitude—ultimately to become a social outcast. This is a more serious situation. If he becomes morose, it is worse for him, and he may take steps to get even with his associates; to take vengeance on society and finally be murdered.[1]

Similarly, among the Orokaiva of New Guinea

reprobation [says Williams] certainly does much to keep offenders in check, and that quite independently of any power of concrete punishment. The native is proverbially susceptible to the opinions of others. . . . Certain it is that the disapproval of his fellows—whether it take the form of anger, disgust, or ridicule—makes him extremely uncomfortable. Without insisting on the emotional instability which is probably a charac-

[1] Speck, F. G., "Ethical Attributes of the Labrador Indians," *Amer. Anth.*, N.S., **35**: 578–579, 565–566.

ter of primitive minds, we may say with confidence of the Orokaiva that when his ego is exalted he is happy and contented; and that when it is thrust down he is miserable and certainly penitent. One may occasionally hear the evening harangues, in which some grievance is aired and recriminations are poured upon the wrongdoer. Since among primitives there are usually two sides (in the sense of mere numbers) to every question, it is usual to hear excited answers from more than one individual; but at other times the culprit must endure in shame-faced silence. There are times, I am assured, when the perpetrator of some wrong remains undiscovered and the victims do not know upon whom to vent their indignation. Then the proper object of it may hide his guilt and even add his voice to the uproar, saying, "What scoundrel could have stolen your taro?" But it is perhaps more usual for him to own up and reinstate himself in public favor by a gift in conciliation. There are other ways of expressing public disapproval or of punishing the offender by holding him up to ridicule. When a man finds his coconuts stolen he may tie a fragment of husk to a stick and set it up on the track near his palms: then everyone will see that a theft has been committed, and the thief, even though his identity remain unknown, will feel a pang of shame whenever he passes the spot. Similarly, the owner of a ravaged garden will affix a taro leaf to a coconut palm in the midst of the village for all to see and for the special discomfort of the culprit. These devices . . . are a means of advertising a wrong and thereby of striking shame into the heart of the man who has committed it.[1]

Kennedy notes a striking employment of gesture language among the Ibans, or Sea Dyaks, of Borneo:

Infringements of customary law occur remarkably seldom in Iban society, because of the dread every person has of being cursed by someone he has injured. This fear operates particularly in cases of theft, which is consequently very infrequent. A liar is punished during his life and after death by an ingenious method called *tugong bula*. Soon after his dishonesty is discovered, the people begin to pile twigs and branches near the place where the offense occurred, and always thereafter all passers-by throw their contributions of sticks on the heap. Some of these "liars' heaps" are very old, but the name of the offender is not forgotten, living on in perpetual disgrace as the name of his monument of shame.[2]

Among the Carib of South America, as reported by Gillin,

occasionally a member of a group acquires a reputation among his fellows as an undesirable character. He may repeatedly pilfer from others' fields; he may trouble the women, be lazy, show himself ungenerous, constantly pick quarrels, or make himself obnoxious in other ways. The men of the settlement will talk to him but, if he does not improve his

[1] Williams, F. E., *Orokaiva Society*, 329–330 (Oxford University Press. By permission).
[2] Kennedy, R., *The Ethnology of the Greater Sunda Islands*, 463–464 (manuscript).

position in their eyes, he will be advised to leave on pain of having life made very unpleasant for him.

If he persists in remaining he will find that he and his family are social outcasts: they are not invited to drinking parties; he will be unable to borrow anything; he will get no help in hunting, fishing, field cutting, canoe building, or activities in which men assist one another, nor will his wife receive aid in her occupations; his household will be excluded from the water hole and bathing place. In short, he will lose all the advantages of group life. In aggravated cases the other men may beat him or even kill him if he fails to take the hint. Ostracism within the group and violence are, however, seldom necessary. Such a man with a vestige of common sense leaves the settlement while he can comfortably do so. I know of one man on the Barama who has been ejected from six settlements in this way, so that he has become a permanent outcast.[1]

Hahn says of the Hottentots:

If chiefs have become unpopular by some whimsical or despotic orders, very soon the tongue of the women—of whom a Khoikhoi proverb says that "they cannot be as long quiet as it takes sweet milk to get sour"—will lecture him in a sarcastic reed song. Once I saw a chief sitting by, when the young girls sung into his face, telling him that he was a hungry hyena and a roguish jackal; that he was the brown vulture who is not only satisfied with tearing the flesh from the bones, but also feasts on the intestines. On another occasion, a very old man had married a very young girl, and her friends sung:

"The *geiris* (first wife) is dismissed, his only great thought is the *!aris* (second wife); or, as we should say, "Age does not prevent a man making a fool of himself."[2]

In Polynesia abject apology and extreme humiliation of the offender and his group may be accepted as a substitute for even the death penalty:

The death sentence [in Samoa] is pronounced in a form which declares the offender an outlaw and his death at the hands of anyone will be a public service. The penalty is, however, often modified to the form of binding hands and feet together ("like a pig prepared for slaughter") and the culprit, thus suspended on a pole, is carried by his family through the whole village and laid before the house of the injured person and his family. This punishment is called *ifoga*. The offender is morally destroyed because he is handled as a pig. . . .

The Samoans were formerly cannibals and have preserved a custom from that period. But instead of cooking the man they substitute a pig. When a Samoan is angry he may say, "Just wait, I will eat you," or, "I will cook you." In the ifoga custom the evildoer brings himself and his

[1] Gillin, J., "Crime and Punishment among the Barama River Carib of British Guiana," *Amer. Anth.*, N.S., **36**: 343.

[2] Hahn, T., *Tsuni-||goam*, 28–29 (K. Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co. By permission).

relatives to the insulted or injured person. He comes with dry coconut palm leaves . . . "to kindle the fire" (firewood) . . . ; stones (formerly men, now pigs, were roasted between stones); leaves of the *oa* tree . . . (used to stuff the abdominal cavity of a pig), and with green banana leaves (to cover the offering), and sits before the house of the insulted or injured person. If pardon is granted he is called into the house and courtesies are exchanged. If the apology is rejected he must expect punishment.[1]

Face-to-face ridicule is particularly developed in some American tribes, and Radin has described its general aspect for the Winnebago:

Stated broadly, we may say that every mistake, every deviation from accepted opinion, every individual and purely personal interpretation, every peculiarity and eccentricity, may call forth ridicule. It is ridicule and not indignation and horror that assails a man who attempts to change a detail in a ceremony, to tell a story in some new and original manner, or who acts counter to some definitely accepted belief and custom, and it is the same fundamentally ill-natured laughter that greets him when he becomes unwittingly the victim of some untoward accident. To avoid it a man will go to any length. He may even commit suicide in consequence of it. "If you travel in the road of good people," say the Winnebago, "it will be good and others will not consider your life a source of amusement." Even the deities are not exempt from this horror of ridicule. Among the Winnebago there exists a delightful story of a man who dared to state that he disbelieved in the powers of the most terrifying and holiest of the Winnebago deities, and who in public expressed his contempt for him. A short time later, the deity in question appeared to the skeptic and pointed his finger at him, an action that was supposed to bring immediate death. The man stood his ground and did not budge and the deity—Disease-giver was his name—begged the man to die lest people make fun of him![2]

Not infrequently a group rids itself of an undesirable member by killing him informally. This action may be due to the fear of witchcraft or the fear of blood feud, but it may also be from impatience with incorrigible behavior. Among the Eskimo

people who have made themselves obnoxious are disposed of by common consent. An *angakok* [medicine man] discovered that another angakok had wished a great many of the Eskimo to die. This matter was talked over, and it was decided that the hostile angakok should be disposed of. One day, when he had made a hole in the ice of a pond, and was reaching

[1] Bülow, W. von, "Die Verwaltung der Landgemeinden in Deutsch-Samoa," *Globus*, **83**: 377.
[2] Radin, P., *Primitive Man as Philosopher*, 50–51 (D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc. By permission).

down to clean out the broken pieces of ice, he was stabbed in the back by an old man, who received the thanks of the others for his feat.[1]

Bogoras' account of the same repudiation of kinship among the Siberian Chukchee is more circumstantial:

In the beginning of my acquaintance with the Chukchee I was astonished to find that all murders are divided into two categories, those committed within the family group and those committed outside of it. Only those of the second category are liable to blood revenge. Those in the first category were exempt from it, or indeed from any punishment at all. In explanation of such a state of things the Chukchee would even quote something like a formula of customary law, "as one of their own he was treated," . . . "as a kinsman he was treated." . . . This is meant to express that each family or group knows their own circumstances best, and is able to decide about them. The Chukchee would add, "Is he destined to live on? All the same he would be killed by a stranger." . . .This implies that only bad men are murdered within the limits of the family group. In reality I know this to be true in some cases. For instance, in the country of the Oloi River, a couple of years before my visit there, a man by the name of Leivitehin was killed by his own kinsmen. He was a man of spiteful temper. He ill-treated his housemates, and was even cruel to his own driving reindeer. The Reindeer Chukchee consider the driving reindeer as first among things "dear to the heart." . . . One day Leivitehin, while on some journey, happened to kill one of his reindeer by a misdirected blow. After that his kinsmen resolved to take his life. They said, "Otherwise he will be killed by someone else and we shall have a feud on our hands." So his own brother came to his camp and at a favorable moment stabbed him in the back with a knife. The act was approved by the common consent of all neighbors, because "he was a bad one, a source of torment to others."[2]

Hobley reports from Africa that among the Akamba a mob action against the sib offender includes the destruction of his property:

It occasionally happens that a clan of the Akamba will come to the conclusion that a certain man is a thoroughly bad character and deserves public punishment, and it is then decided to punish him as follows: During the night his village is surrounded by a party of men, all of his clan, and a guard is placed on the door of his hut, while others seize one of his oxen and slay it. If the offense is very serious even a cow or more than one may be killed. If there are no cattle the party will kill a number of sheep and goats. The culprit is then dragged forth from his hut and beaten with fists, clubs, and anything handy and thrown down and

[1] Boas, F., "The Eskimo of Baffin Land and Hudson Bay," *Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., Bull.*, **15**: 117–118.

[2] Bogoras, W., "The Chukchee," *Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., Mem.*, **11**: 663.

trampled on. His wives will also be brought out and slapped and scratched. The children are not harmed.[1]

The Omaha are said to have ridded themselves of an obnoxious person as inconspicuously as possible:

Within the Tent Sacred to War was kept a staff of ironwood, one end of which was rough, as if broken. On this splinted end poison was put when the staff was to be used officially for punishment. In the pack kept in this tent was found a bladder, within which were four rattlesnake heads, and with them in a separate bundle the poison fangs. . . . These were probably used to compound the poison put on the staff. As men's bodies were usually naked, it was not difficult when near a person in a crowd to prod him with the staff, making a wound and introducing the deadly poison, which is said always to have resulted in death. This form of punishment was applied to a man who made light of the authority of the chiefs or of the *wainwaxube*, the packs which could authorize a war party, such a person being a disturber of the peace and order of the tribe. The punishment was decided on by the Council of Seven Chiefs, which designated a trustworthy man to apply the staff to the offender. Sometimes the man was given a chance for his life by having his horses struck and poisoned. If, however, he did not take this warning, he paid the forfeit of his life, for he would be struck by the poisoned staff end and killed.[2]

Incest and witchcraft are usually the offenses within the group exciting the greatest indignation, but the violation of other tabus may be punished by death. In some Bantu tribes, for example, it is believed that a child begotten by an uncircumcised youth will not be complete and will not reincarnate an ancestor, and this offense was formerly punished with death:

The Wapare and Wataveta observe a ceremony called *ngashu ya mashitu*. The details are many and curious, but the gist of it is to give the participating youths and girls the qualification for begetting children. Any child born of a person not so initiated used to be put to death, and in the event of the uninitiated mother dying in childbirth the seducer had to pay full blood money. . . . The most heinous crime known to the Wachagga is sexual intercourse by an uncircumcised boy with a female of any age. Formerly the guilty couple were taken to a place above or below the inhabited lands, and being laid one upon the other, stakes were driven through their bodies and limbs.[3]

The form of execution of undesirable persons is in itself a problem. The kindred of the culprit are usually reluctant to take

[1] Hobley, C. W., *Ethnology of the Akamba and Other East African Tribes*, 80 (Cambridge University Press. By permission).
[2] Fletcher, A. C., and F. la Flesche, "The Omaha Tribe," *Bur. Amer. Ethnol., Ann. Rep.*, **27**: 213.
[3] Dundas, C., "Native Laws of Some Bantu Tribes of East Africa," *Jour. Anth. Inst.*, **51**: 247.

his life and other sibs undertaking it may thus provoke a blood feud. In this situation Australian tribes may hand over members suspected of incest or witchcraft to other tribes to be executed. Spencer and Gillen describe a meeting between the Arunta and the Iliaura tribes over Arunta land grievances and a suspicion that Iliaura men had killed Arunta men by magic:

In the Iliaura community were two old men, and with them matters were discussed by the elder men amongst the Arunta at a spot some little distance from the camp of the latter. After a long talk extending over two days, during which the strangers set forth their grievances and gave the Illiaura men very clearly to understand that they were determined to exact vengeance, the two old men said, in effect, "Go no further. Our people do not wish to quarrel with your people; there are three bad men in our camp whom we Iliaura do not like, they must be killed. Two are *iturka* (that is, men who have married within the forbidden degrees of relationship); the other is very quarrelsome and strong in magic and has boasted of killing your people by means of *kurdaitcha* and other magic. Kill these men, but do not injure any others in our camp, and we will help you." . . .

This killing of iturka men by strange blacks belonging to other tribes has been a common practice amongst them. When a case of this kind arises, the old men of the group to which the offender belongs hold a meeting to discuss the matter, and if all of them are in favor of the death of a man or woman, a neighboring group is asked to come and carry out the sentence.[1]

Or when wrongs are arbitrated between neighboring Australian groups it may be customary to require the offender's own group to execute him, thus forestalling blood vengeance:

In the Narrinyeri tribe offenders were brought before the *tendi* (council of old men) for trial. For instance, if a member of one clan had been in time of peace killed by one of another clan, the clansmen of the latter would send to the friends of the murderer, and invite them to bring him for trial before the united tendis. If, after trial, he were found guilty of committing the crime, he would be punished according to his guilt; if it were murder, he would be handed over to his clansmen to be put to death by spearing.[2]

In New Guinea a local group might be paid by neighbors for the privilege of executing one of its offending members:

The food thief was mercilessly handed over to another of the hamlets, where he or she was executed and his head counted as a trophy to validate

[1] Spencer, B., and F. J. Gillen, *The Arunta*, **2**: 444, 446 (The Macmillan Company. By permission).

[2] Howitt, A. W., *The Native Tribes of South-east Australia*, 341 (The Macmillan Company. By permission).

the ceremonial house of that group, and a price was paid to the hamlet to which the thief belonged.[1]

A form of punishment termed *kingolle* in Ukamba and *mwinge* in Kikuyu (both Bantu tribes) was exercised by the elders on repeated offenders; and the nearest relative was called upon to consent or participate in case of execution:

The term *kingolle* includes almost every form of force used by competent authority, and therefore it is nowadays often applied to imprisonment and forcible measures adopted by the present government. In its milder forms, in Ukamba, an offender's village was destroyed, and he was expelled from the district. If this was done in consequence of a wrongful withholding of property, it was taken by force, but in no case was violence to the man himself permitted, and he could claim for injuries done to him. Such measures were often adopted in cases of a man refusing his brothers their rightful share of inheritance; it was usual to warn the man by sending him a fire stick. It was only on persons who repeatedly offended that kingolle was inflicted, and when it amounted to a sentence of death this implied that the offender had become so incorrigible that he was regarded as a danger to the public. If such was the case the elders would assemble and consult as to what should be done. If they found it was necessary to kill the offender, elders from remoter parts were called, and the case was explained to them. Everyone who made charges against the man had to declare these on the oath of *kithito;* the fact that the offender's death would exclude the possibility of false declarations being amended later, would, of course, debar them from venturing frivolous charges. This done, the elders called to aid consulted in secret, and if they decided that the man must be killed, his nearest relative was called and asked if he would give his consent. If he refused it, the sentence could not be carried out, but the relative was required to swear by kithito that if the man repeated his offenses he would not withhold his consent to the sentence. If such consent was obtained everyone armed himself, the offender was hunted down, and when found, the relative who gave his consent commenced the attack by throwing earth at him. This gave the pursuers the right to attack the victim, and to despatch him with arrows or any other weapons. He was, however, entitled to defend himself as he could, and no claims for blood money or hurt could be made on either side. Thenceforth the matter was never spoken of, and no one could ask who had killed the man. In Kikuyu the procedure was identical with that in Ukamba, excepting that the consenting relative had actually to kill the man by strangulation.

In Theraka there was no such death sentence, but under the same circumstances a man was publicly beaten. The beating would, of course, be very severe, and could go to any extent short of causing death. A man so punished was thought to be able to bring a terrible curse on

[1] Mead, M., *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies*, 242 (William Morrow & Company, Inc. By permission).

people if he spoke, and, therefore, if he made any efforts to speak he was immediately gagged.

The procedure in the death sentence is of great importance, as any omission would deprive it of its essential grounds for justification. I have only known of one case of kingolle in which a witch was killed, and although her own son took the principal part in the execution, the perpetrators admitted later that the omission to call in elders from remoter parts invalidated the plea that it was a legal sentence of death under native law.[1]

Dundas states, however, that in general the rule prevailed among Bantu tribes that a man's life could not be forfeited by his acts. The chief would execute for treason and there were killings of a mob character (throwing the culprit into the flames when caught in the act of arson, exterminating robber bands, etc.) which were afterward sanctioned by the chief. Some tribes, however, execute for murder, and the Olemba, a division of the Batetala, "force the guilty man to hang himself publicly."[2] But witchcraft of the bad variety, as described below, is everywhere punished with death:

I myself have [says Dundas] experienced such a case in Ukamba. An old woman was reported to be a habitual witch and to have killed a number of children. She was summoned to a place where all the people had assembled in the bush, and her own son placed a noose round her neck, while the rest strangled her by hauling at the rope over a bough. It is my impression that this is regarded as a crime committed of necessity by the people as a whole, and sanctioned by the only one who could take vengeance or claim compensation, namely, the nearest relative. Whether or not the same custom obtains among other tribes I cannot say, but I note that among the Sumbwa a family may secure itself against blood revenge by disowning a member who has committed repeated murder or witchcraft: in Upare an incorrigible homicide was beaten and surrendered by his relatives (rupture of brotherhood).[3]

Among the Bavenda an impersonal aspect may be given to an execution by releasing the condemned and causing him to be killed secretly:

When an offender is sentenced to death he is released and then secretly followed to the bush and there killed or thrown over a cliff by the chief's executioners, whose identity is kept a close secret; his body is left to be devoured by wild beasts, and his death is not announced to his family until all is over.[4]

[1] Dundas, *op. cit.*, 258–259.
[2] Torday, E., "Culture and Environment: Cultural Differences among the Various Branches of the Batetela," *Jour. Anth. Inst.*, **51**: 373.
[3] Dundas, *op. cit.*, 234.
[4] Stayt, H. A., *The Bavenda*, 234 (Oxford University Press. By permission).

In Australia the most general pattern for composing differences and restoring equilibrium, short of death, is a combat or ordeal in which blood of the offender is shed. Howitt states that accused persons get notice to appear before a meeting of the tribes and be tried, on pain of being outlawed and killed:

When a man has been charged with an offense, he goes to the meeting armed with two war spears, a flat light shield, and a boomerang. If he is found guilty of a private wrong, he is painted white, and his brother, or near male relative, stands beside him as his second. The latter has a heavy shield, a *liangle*, and a boomerang, and the offender is placed opposite to the injured person and his friends, who sometimes number twenty warriors. These range themselves at a distance of fifty yards from him, and each individual throws four or five spears and two boomerangs at him simultaneously "like a shower." If he succeeds in warding them off his second hands him his heavy shield, and he is attacked singly by his enemies, who deliver each one a blow with a liangle. As blood must be spilt to satisfy the injured party, the trial ends when he is hit. . . .

The following account of one of these ordeals in expiation was given to me by Berak, who was present at it. So far as I am able to fix the time, it must have been about the year 1840, and the locality was the Merri Creek near Melbourne. It arose out of a belief by the Bunurong, who lived at Western Port, that a man from Echuca, on the Murray River, had found a piece of bone of an opossum which one of their tribe had been eating, and then thrown away. They were told that he, taking up this bone between two pieces of wood, had placed it aside until, having procured the leg bone of a kangaroo, he put the piece of opossum bone into its hollow and roasted it before his fire. He and others then sang the name of the Western Port man for a long time over it, until the spear thrower fell down into the fire and the magic was complete. This news was brought down to the Bunurong, and some time after the man died. His friends did not say anything but waited till a young man of the Echuca tribe came into the Western Port District, when they killed him. News of this was passed from one to the other till it reached his tribe, who sent down a messenger to the Bunurong tribe, saying that they would have to meet them near Melbourne. This was arranged, and the old men said to the man, "Now, don't you run away; you must go and stand out, and we will see that they do not use you unfairly." This message had been given in the first instance by the Meymet to the Nirabaluk, who sent it on by the Wurunjerri to the Bunurong. It was sent in the winter to give plenty of time for the meeting, which took place on the Melbourne side of the Merri Creek. The people present were the Meymet, whose headman had not come with them, the Bunurong with their headman Benbu, the Mt. Macedon men with their headman Ningulabul, the Werribee people with the headman of the Bunurong; finally there were the Wurunjerri with their headman Billi-billeri.

All these people except the Meymet and the Bunurong were onlookers, and each party camped on the side of the meeting ground nearest to their own country, and all the camps faced the morning sun.

When the meeting took place, the women were left in the camps, and the men went a little way off. The Bunurong man stood out in front of his people armed with a shield. Facing him were the kindred of the dead Meymet man, some nine or ten in number, who threw so many spears and boomerangs at him that you could not count them. At last a reed spear went through his side. Just then a headman of the Butherabuluk, who had heard what was to take place, and had followed the Meymet down from the Goulburn River, came running up, and went in between the two parties, shouting, "Enough!" and turning to the Meymet said, "You should now go back to your own country." This stopped the spear throwing; they had had blood, and all were again friends. A great corroboree was held that night.[1]

Elopements are frequent in Australia because of the appropriation of girls by the older men but the eloping couples usually return and submit to punishment. The man is punished by the throwing of spears, or both man and woman may be cut about the body with knives. Spencer and Gillen describe such a meeting among the Arunta:

A man belonging to a group about forty-five miles away to the west of Alice Springs persuaded a woman belonging to a man of the latter group to run away with him from her husband, and the latter, though he gave chase, could not capture the runaway wife. The elopers went away to the south and lived for a year in a distant group, returning finally to Alice Springs, accompanied by some of the man's friends. On arrival at the latter place the man went to the *ungunja*, or men's camp, and the woman to the *lukwurra*, or women's camp. At the ungunja a long discussion took place, during which the pros and cons of the case were discussed, the two men most interested remaining silent. After some time the man who had taken the woman got up, and taking with him some spears and a shield, walked out to a clear space some little distance away from the camp and shouted to the aggrieved man, who remained sitting, . . . "I took your woman, come and growl." Thereupon the man got up, and standing some distance off, threw spears and bommerangs at the first man, who skillfully guarded himself with his shield, but made no attempt to retaliate. When all had been thrown he rushed in to close quarters with his enemy and began attempting to cut the thighs of the latter and his back also with a large stone knife, the attacked man doing his best to guard himself, but again not attempting to retaliate. After a time the onlookers thought that enough had been done, and calling out loudly, *Kulla impara*, which means enough, leave him, dragged the two apart. All the women meanwhile had assembled; and the aggrieved

[1] Howitt, *op. cit.*, 336–340 (The Macmillan Company. By permission).

man, walking over to where his erstwhile wife was standing, caught hold of her and cut her about the legs and body, avoiding, however, any vital part. Then, leaving her, he waved his knife in the air and started off for the camp, shouting, . . . "You keep altogether, I throw away, I throw away." After having renounced her in this way she became the property of the man with whom she had eloped.[1]

These forms of punishment, stopping short of killing, have the appearance of being not simply corporal punishment but an interrupted killing derived from the mode of killing employed by Australian avenging parties, as described by Mathews:

When a man is killed by open violence by any of the people of a hostile tribe, the relatives and fellow tribesmen of the deceased hold a council . . . at which all the old headmen and warriors assemble, painted with pipe clay on the forehead, breast, and shoulders. Two of the eldest men then sing one of their tribal dirges. . . . When this song has been droned for some time, the warriors get small portions of hair which have been cut from the head of the deceased. Each man takes one of the fragments of hair and plaits opossum fur around it, making a small parcel about the thickness of a pencil, and a few inches in length, called *murur*, and puts it away in a little bag, called *guraga*, which he uses for storing similar charms. . . . Two or more strong, active men, who are also supposed to be clever sorcerers, are then sent forward as spies to report upon the precise place where the tribe they are in quest of is located. They hold up the murur in their hand as they travel stealthily along, because it is supposed to possess the magic power of guiding them to the quarter of the camp occupied by the slayer. . . .

They have timed the approach of the dawn so well that they have not long to wait. The first bird which hails the morning is the signal for the assailants to surround the hostile camp, some men branching off in single file round one side and some going round in the opposite direction, until they meet on the other side of the camp. While marching round, they tramp heavily on the ground with their feet. Let us assume that a magpie begins to sing. All the men at once commence to imitate the call as they start away. This will startle other large birds, whose calls are also imitated. Little birds will chirp, dogs will bark, and they are likewise mocked. This and the heavy trampling of the men gives the enemies the impression that a numerous host is surrounding them, as they cannot in their excitement distinguish between the calls of the animals and those of the men. The assailants also shout out the names of some of the principal stars which may appear in the orient at the time. The planet Venus, if then a morning star, is mentioned.

The ringleader or headman of the *pirrimbir* party now calls out to the headman of the people in the camp, and asks for the surrender of the man they wish to punish. He uses the secret name only, so that the women

[1] Spencer and Gillen, *op. cit.*, 468–469 (The Macmillan Company. By permission).

and children will not know who is doomed. The headman addressed then also invokes some of the eastern stars, to wait a little, while he shouts out the secret or *kuringal* name of the man who has been asked for, and tells him to be ready to defend himself.

The doomed man then catches his best shield and stands out to parry the spears which are thrown at him by the kinsmen of the deceased. All the spears intended for this purpose have been charmed and anointed with human fat, to render their course unerring and increase their power. The spears must all be thrown from one direction, namely, the front of the victim. Perhaps the man wards off a considerable number of the missiles with little or no injury, until one spear, which is therefore believed to have been more specially greased than the rest, catches him in a vital part, and he falls to the ground. Two or three of the assailants then rush upon him and despatch him, and the members of the surrounding cordon thereupon shout, *Wirrh! Wirrh!* . . .

It should be mentioned that when an early morning attack, such as that particularized in the foregoing pages, is made upon an individual, none of his fellow tribesmen interfere, because they are probably all acquainted with the facts of his having shed the blood of some man in another neighboring camp, and retributive justice must take its course. When they hear the shouting of the pirrimbir party, they sit up at their campfires, or perhaps spring to their feet, and take particular notice of the man who strikes the fatal blow, because they know that, sooner or later his blood, or that of a tribal brother, will also be required by the relatives of his present victim.[1]

It is an interesting trait of Australian kinship behavior that when a life is surrendered by a sib to an injured group the actual offender is not always selected but his elder brother or even his father may automatically take his place. The older kinsmen are felt and feel themselves responsible for the behavior of the younger:

The *neyi* (elder brother) is the protector of the his *ngatata* (younger brother). For instance, if there is some trouble in the "fighting place" with a man, his elder brother hastens to it, and calls on the adversary to deal with him. Similarly when a *pinya* [avenging party] has judicially condemned some native to death, the penalty of death does not fall upon the offender, but on his eldest brother at that place. In the case referred to, a man with several companions came to a camp near Lake Hope. A man had lately died at Perigundi, from whence they came, and in order that they might be received by the people at Lake Hope, they halted twenty yards from the camp and there gathered the spears and boomerangs that were thrown at them ceremonially by one of the Lake Hope men, they being as usual easily warded off. Then going nearer, they again halted and warded off the weapons thrown, and again moved on,

[1] Mathews, R. H., "Ethnological Notes on the Aboriginal Inhabitants of New South Wales and Victoria," *Jour. Roy. Soc. of New So. Wales*, **38**: 239–250, *passim*.

until, being close together, the man from Perigundi and the man from Lake Hope should have taken hold of each other, and sat down together. But the former, not taking heed of the position of the sun and being dazzled by its rays, was unable to ward off the spear thrown at him, which entered his breast, and he died in the night. His companions fled to Perigundi and there formed a pinya of a number of men, and returned to Lake Hope. The leader of this was a man called Mudla-kupa, who suddenly appearing one evening placed himself before him who had killed the Perigundi man, and seizing his hand announced his sentence of death. An elder brother of this man drew Mudla-kupa to one side, saying, "Don't seize my ngatata, nor even me, for see, there sits our neyi; seize him." At the same time he threw a clod of earth in the direction in which the man was. Mudla-kupa now turned to him, seized him by the hand, and spoke the death sentence over him, which he received with stoical composure. Mudla-kupa led him to one side, when the second man of the pinya came up, and as Mudla-kupa held the man out to him as the accused, he struck him with a *maru-wiri* [two-handed boomerang-shaped club] and split his head open. The whole pinya then fell upon him with spears and boomerangs. In order that they should not hear how he was being killed, the other men, women, and children in the camp made a great rustling with boughs and broken-off bushes.[1]

In America mediation of various kinds is characteristically developed. Powell has mentioned some of the expressions of this:

When controversy arises in relation to ownership the property is usually destroyed by the clan or tribal authorities. Thus if two men dispute in bartering their horses a third steps in and kills both animals. It seems probable that the destruction of property the ownership of which is in dispute is common to all tribes.

A second method of ending controversy is by the arbitration of personal conflict. For example, if two persons disagree and come to blows (unless the conflict end in the maiming or killing of one of the parties), it is considered a final settlement and they cannot thereafter appeal to their clans for justice. By conflict a controversy is barred. This law seems to be universal. The third method of terminating controversy is by the enactment of some day of festival—sometimes once a month, but usually once a year—beyond which crimes do not pass. The day of jubilee is a day of forgiveness. The working of this principle might be illustrated in many ways.[2]

In the Omaha tribe the honorary chiefs mentioned elsewhere intervened with the relatives of a murdered man and sentenced the murderer to a period of boycott and penitence:

The term *wanonkathe* was used in reference to murder, or to any act which caused personal injury to another, even if it was unpremeditated.

[1] Howitt, *op. cit.*, 327–328. (The Macmillan Company. By permission).
[2] Powell, J. W., Director's Report, *Bur. Amer. Ethnol., Ann. Rep.*, **3**: lviii–lvix.

In the latter case the act would be condoned by gifts made to the injured party or his relatives. Deliberate murder was punished by banishment. When the knowledge of such a deed was brought to the notice of the chiefs, banishment was ordered, the offender was told of the decision, and he obeyed. Banishment was four years, unless the man was sooner forgiven by the relatives of the murdered man. During this period the man had to camp outside the village and could hold no communication with anyone except his nearest kindred, who were permitted to see him. He was obliged to wear night and day a close-fitting garment of skin, covering his body and legs, and was not allowed to remove this covering during his punishment. His wife could carry him food but he was obliged to live apart from his family and to be entirely alone during the period of his exile.[1]

The role of the chief as intercessor for a murderer among the Winnebago has been described by Radin:

The chief of the village is a peacemaker, and if two members of the tribe ever get into difficulties (*i.e.*, quarrel) he is supposed to intercede. If in a quarrel a person should be killed, the chief would go to the murderer and tell the latter to permit himself to be tied up—*i.e.*, to give himself up to the relatives of the murdered man. If the murderer consents to do so, then his arms are tied behind him and the chief walks in front of him carrying his sacred pipe. Thus they would go to the lodge of the murdered man's relatives. When they got there the chief would extend the stem of the pipe toward them. They might refuse to accept the pipe thus extended, but if any member of the family, even if it be a small child, were to take a puff from it, then the murderer would be forgiven and turned free.[2]

According to another native informant skewers were passed through the back of the chief and he was led in this way to the lodge of the relatives:

When the Thunderbird chief wishes to save a murderer they take one of their own chiefs, one who is well beloved, paint his back blue, and put skewers in his back, to which they tie cords. Thus he is taken to the lodge of the murdered person's relatives. The chief, when he gets there, holds his pipe of tobacco in both hands. Should the relations not wish to accept the peace offering they close the door in his face. Then he returns.[3]

Among the Iroquois there was an effort to extend the kinship concept to cases of murder, and Morgan has described the delicate balance between the revenge motive and the reconciliation concept:

[1] Fletcher and La Flesche, *op. cit.*, 215.
[2] Radin, P., "The Winnebago Tribe," *Bur. Amer. Ethnol., Ann. Rep.*, **37**: 210.
[3] *Ibid.*, 210.

A present of white wampum, sent on the part of the murderer to the family of his victim, when accepted, forever obliterated and wiped out the memory of the transaction. Immediately on the commission of a murder, the affair was taken up by the tribes to which the parties belonged, and strenuous efforts were made to effect a reconciliation, lest private retaliation should lead to disastrous consequences. If the criminal belonged to one of the first four tribes, and the deceased to one of the second four, these tribes assembled in separate councils, to inquire into all the facts of the case. The question of the guilt or innocence of the accused was generally an easy matter to determine, when the consequences of guilt were open to condonation. The first council then ascertained whether the offender was willing to confess his crime, and to make atonement. If he was, the council immediately sent a belt of white wampum, in his name, to the other council, which contained a message to that effect. The latter then endeavored to pacify the family of the deceased, to quiet their excitement, and to induce them to accept the wampum in condonation. If this was not sent in due time, or the family resisted all persuasions to receive it, then their revenge was allowed to take its course. Had it chanced that both parties belonged to one of the four brother tribes, a council of this division alone would convene, to attempt an adjustment among themselves. If, however, the family continued implacable, the further interference of mutual friends was given over, leaving the question to be settled between the murderer and the kindred of his victim, according to the ancient usage. If the belt of wampum was received before the avenger had been appointed, and had left the lodge on his mission, it was usually accepted as a condonation, but if he had gone forth, the time for reparation had passed. The family then either took upon themselves jointly the obligation of taking what they deemed a just retribution, or appointed an avenger, who resolved never to rest until life had answered for life. In such cases, the murderer usually fled. As all quarrels were generally reconciled by the relatives of the parties, long-cherished animosities, and consequently homicides, were unfrequent in ancient times. The present of white wampum was not in the nature of a compensation for the life of the deceased, but of a regretful confession of the crime, with a petition for forgiveness. It was a peace offering, the acceptance of which was pressed by mutual friends, and under such influences that a reconciliation was usually effected, except, perhaps, in aggravated cases of premeditated murder.[1]

A remarkable record of an Indian murder trial has been recorded by Hickey, a missionary, who was an eyewitness. The organized direction of social influence upon stubborn souls resembles the episodes in American religious revivals, where the resistance of sinners was broken:

I now give you the unwritten law, as I learned it while five years among them as missionary—told me by chiefs and interpreters. When

[1] Morgan, L. H., *League of the Hodenosaunee, or Iroquois*, 331–333.

murder is committed among them in times of peace, the murderer, as soon as he has committed the deed, flees at once to the chief and band of Indians that is nearest kinsman to himself, and stays there with that chief until that chief secures a chief's court or council for the trial of the murderer. In the meantime the murderer must not go away from that chief's wigwam until the court meets, unless the chief goes with him.

The chief to whom this murderer fled lived fifty or sixty miles northeast of the place where the murder was committed, at the village of Shingwahkoosking, alias, "The-village-of-little-pine-trees," located on the Pine River, thirty-five miles from Saginaw (where St. Louis, Gratiot county, now is). The name of the old chief who lived at this Indian village was Pamahsegah, alias, "The-sun-shines-among-the-clouds." To him this murderer fled. He was a chief of much dignity and influence among the chiefs of the Saginaw and Grand River Indians, and was blood relation to this murderer. He took a deep interest in securing the council or court for the trial of this criminal, and the feasts attending such a court, which I will here explain. The place where the court is to be held is the Indian village nearest to the place where the murder was committed. This village was on the Maple River two or three miles above Maple Rapids. The parties composing such a court or council are: first, the family of the murdered man; second, all his relatives and his wife's relatives; third, the Indian chiefs who are related to both parties; fourth, the murderer himself; fifth, the medicine man or the great spirit's mediator, who acts officially: first, as a friend of the murdered; second, as the friend of both parties; third, as the agent who presents the gifts to the bereaved family; fourth, who particularly reveals what the mind of the great good spirit is in settling the question whether the murderer's life is to be spared, or whether he is in open court to be tomahawked. There are also three speakers on each side to conduct the arguments. The chief, who is the nearest kinsman to the murderer, calls the court in conjunction with the medicine man and fixes the time of holding it. The court or council is held in a new wigwam built of poles and covered with bark, for that especial occasion, in which no one has ever slept, eaten, or lived. The wigwam on this occasion was built down in the cornfield, with capacity to hold one hundred and fifty or two hundred persons. When the time is fixed for holding the court, secret notices are sent to all the relatives and friends on both sides, who at once begin to make preparations for the feasts which are to occur in the forenoon in the village where the court is held. The things prepared and brought by the friends are dried berries, meats, maple sugar, flour, etc. It is really two feasts, the chiefs and relatives of the murdered man meet at one wigwam and eat together, and the medicine man, chiefs, and relatives of the murderer meet with him at another wigwam and feast or eat together. This party have prepared and brought the presents to buy off the life of the murderer, which are to be given by the medicine man, during the trial in open council, to the family of the murdered chief.

I will here say, I have met many missionaries, Indian traders, and others, who had been at many gatherings of Indians, but I never yet conversed with a white man who had been present at an Indian court for the trial of a murderer; and what I here write is what I heard, saw, and had explained to me by my interpreter and the chiefs who were here present at this trial. After the feasts are over, then the plaintiff, *i.e.*, the family, chiefs, and relatives of the murdered man, march slowly, in single file, to the new wigwam . . . and they enter as though they are going to a funeral. . . . The most distant relative walked in first—walked along on the north side to the east end and halfway across the wigwam, and sat down on the ground with his back against the wigwam, and thus were his party all seated. The wife and children of the murdered chief sat next to the door. The eldest son, a lad sixteen years old, sat first at the entrance. Wahbegakake, the chief of this village, was a relative of this party, and by his urbanity I and my interpreter were invited to witness the council.

The ranking chief of the other party was Pashasega. They came down the hill, and with a slow, firm step made a semicircle in front of the tent, and entered very quietly, and coolly shook hands with each of the other party, and saying in a low, subdued tone of voice, *Bushoo*, *i.e.*, "How do you do," were seated on the ground on the opposite side of the wigwam. The murderer was a very sullen, morose, forlorn picture of human depravity. He followed the medicine man, and they were the last to enter the court. The criminal's face was blackened with charcoal to show his sorrow, with his blanket and leggings torn full of holes to excite the sympathy of his opponents. The medicine man took his seat in the center of the wigwam with the criminal on one side of him, and the presents or gifts on the other, to be given at the proper time to the bereaved family. In front of the wigwam were gathered one hundred or more Indians who had come to witness the trial. They formed a semicircle, and were mostly seated on the ground, so they could all look in the wide door of the wigwam. All was quiet as the chamber of death. Perhaps five minutes elapsed after all were seated, in silent reflection before any action occurred. Then one of the speakers on the side of the criminal arose and opened the case, by stating the facts of the murder, and making a full confession of the crime, as follows: "My brothers, we are met here in this new wigwam to sit in council on this great trouble that is in all our hearts. This foolish young man killed one night down near the mouth of Fish Creek, in the woods by the side of the trail, your second chief, who was a strong-minded, good man. When we his relatives heard this bad news we all felt very sorry in our hearts, and we do today; and we are met here now to show you our sorrow, and to try and buy of you the life of this foolish young man that killed your chief. That chief was a good counselor, a good hunter, and we feel sorrow deep down in our hearts, on account of this trouble." This speech was short. The speaker, as he closed, had the endorsement of all on his side of the case by the Indian assent—*Ah!* The medicine man now arose and carried

across the wigwam some new Indian Mackinaw blankets, and laid them down in front of the bereaved family, which consisted of the widow, one son sixteen years old, and four smaller children. The family sat perfectly still and kept cool. I think there were two blankets apiece for each member of the family. The medicine man returned to his seat. Following this act an Indian speaker arose and spoke on the other side of the case, setting forth in his remarks the excellent characteristics of the murdered chief. "He was a good hunter, and provided food for his own family; he was a good husband and father, and as such always cared for his own wigwam. Now, he being dead, this boy sixteen years old has to hunt and get food for his mother, and these other children alone; and his place in the Indian council is vacant; and this makes us all feel very sorrowful; (pointing over to the family) our brother is not there; his body is in the *chebawahgemugh* (*i.e.*, in the graveyard), and his spirit has gone to the great hunting grounds beyond the setting sun; and we all mourn. These presents you bring his family do not bring back our brother." At the conclusion of this speech all the relatives of the bereaved family responded and endorsed the speaker by the Indian, *Ah!*

Then followed another speaker from the side of the criminal, who was very eloquent in his address. He said: "My brothers, you are like the eagle who from the top of the tall tree over the ledge of rocks on the bank of the lake, with his sharp eagle eye, sees way down on the bank of the lake a small living animal; quick as he sees the animal he wants it for food, and suddenly from his high peak, darts as an arrow shot from the bow, and before the animal can hide, or get away, the eagle takes it up in one of his claws, and with ease flies up, up, up, towards the sun. The little animal struggles and struggles to get away, but the eagle continues to fly upward. The eagle now has a great white heart of pity, or compassion, and he looks as he flies more slowly, down at this poor little animal struggling to get away, and thinks that it wants to live. Then the eagle in his great white heart says, 'I will let you live'; and immediately turns its flight slowly and gently downward with his extended wings on the air, to the place from where he took the animal up and lets it go, saying to the animal, 'This world is large enough for us both to live in.' So you, my brothers, like the eagle, you have this man in your power, and you have a great white heart, and you can live and let this young man live, too. As that little animal in the eagle's claw, as the eagle flew up towards the sun, felt dizzy, so does this young man feel dizzy in this council and in your power, and you can lower him down easy to the place among you where he was before he killed our brother, and I hope you will do it and let him live." All on his side responded *Ah!* and the speaker sat down.

The medicine man took some pieces of blue broadcloth and walked across the court and laid them on the pile of blankets, for the widow and children. Another speaker spoke especially in behalf of the children of the murdered chief with much pathos, and was endorsed by the *Ah!!* from his side of the council.

The third speaker for the criminal made a very strong plea for pity and forgiveness to be bestowed on the prisoner, on the ground that all the criminal's relatives had joined in purchasing these presents and bringing them into this council for the medicine man to present to his bereaved family, and buy off the life of this foolish young man. "Now, if we did not forgive him, and want you to forgive him and let him live, we should not have bought these gifts, and brought them here; but this shows to you our sorrow for the death of the chief, and our love for the life of this our brother who killed him, and we want you to forgive this bad deed of this young man."

This speech brought out the unanimous vote of all on his side, expressed by the same *Ah!* The speaker sat down amidst deep, suppressed thoughts on the part of the whole council, though there was no demonstration of emotion by anyone. The medicine man arose and took more presents of broadcloths, wampum, beads, and tobacco, and coolly carried them over and laid them with the other gifts. This last speech produced profound respect for the speaker upon the whole court, and especially upon the witnesses outside of the wigwam. The speaker seemed to have electrical eloquence for the occasion; and while he was speaking I felt my hair rise on my head, his voice was so full of native pathos. And the effect was such that, before the sixth and last speaker commenced, there was a silent pause for five or eight minutes. The sixth speaker addressed the council from the side of the bereaved family. He was the finest looking Indian of the six speakers, and made the most eloquent speech in the trial. He said: "Brothers, the great good spirit created us all to be brothers and to live in peace, and always to be friends and not enemies; and when we do differently it always brings trouble. Now this trouble that has brought us together from our different villages along the rivers, even over as far as the Saginaw River, and taken our time getting ready to come to this council, and the time we are here holding this court, and the time it will take us to go home, is all because this young man killed our brother and chief. Look at this family—this woman and children. Husband dead; father in the grave. This young son has now to use the gun to get meat for his mother and brothers and sister, and we, his relatives, have deep sorrow in our hearts. When we visit his wigwam it is lonesome because he is not there, and every fall when our great father at Washington sends us presents and money at the Indian payments, his wigwam will then be lonesome, and his name on the paper or pay roll will not be there, but 'dead' will be written opposite his name, all because this young man killed him that night when they were sleeping together in the woods with only one blanket. This sorrow we all feel will go with us when we travel on the trail with our ponies, when we are alone hunting in the woods. Whenever we think of our dead brother, or of this young man, we will find this deep sorrow in our hearts. These blankets, broadcloths, wampum, and all these presents to buy off the life of this young man, do not give back to us the life of our chief; and if he was living he could hunt and trap, and get furs and buy these

things that you bring to this council to buy off the life of this murderer. If the chief was living his family could have his company, his care, and his life to defend them. We all feel this deep sorrow in our hearts, and we shall never see him again in our councils on this earth, nor until we go to the great spirit's hunting grounds beyond the setting sun." As this speaker closed, all on his side of the court responded *Ah!*

The prisoner remained silent and motionless during these speeches, except his breathing. He never looked up at all, but kept his seat near the mediator, in the center of the council. Now the medicine man arose deliberately, and took other presents, such as wampum, beads, tobacco, and a jug of "fire water," or whisky, and carried them over and laid them in front of the widow and children with the other presents, and with becoming official dignity, returned to his seat beside the criminal.

All eyes now in the court, and of those standing outside, were turned towards this medicine man, who deliberately prepared and did his official part in the trial, which seemed to be the hinge on which the result of the trial hung. He took from his fawn-skin tobacco pouch a plug of Cavendish tobacco, and with his knife from his belt cut off small pieces of tobacco and filled his large redstone Mississippi pipe, and attached the long, artistically carved stem to the bowl of the red council pipe. He took a flint and a piece of punk and steel from his pouch, with which to strike fire to light the pipe. Now being ready, he rose very deliberately and addressed the court as follows: "Brothers, we have met here before the great spirit, who sees us all, who knows why we are met, who sees right down into our hearts, who knows what your tongues have talked, and what your hearts have thought, and he knows what these presents are that I have carried over and given to this family, to make peace for this trouble. Now, if you are all true to each other, and intend to settle this trouble, and let this young man that has brought this trouble in our wigwams and hearts live, then I will have to strike this flint once only, with this steel, to light this pipe of peace; but if some of you have kept back in your hearts, thoughts and feelings contrary to peace, as you on both sides have talked, then I will have to strike this flint more than once to bring the fire to light this pipe of peace"; and they all on both sides of the court, responded *Ah!* This is the first time they *all* in the council said *ah* together.

A pause for a minute and every eye in the council, and of the witnesses outside, was turned upon the *muskahkenenene*, or the medicine man, or mediator, and now, for the first time since the council commenced, the murderer lifted his eyes from the ground and fixed them on the right arm of the medicine man, as he deliberately lifted it up at full length for the blow. Now, as with electric might fell the steel click against the flint, tightly grasped in the left hand of the medicine man, the punk closely held contiguous to the flint. All eyes are now on the punk—a second more, and the murderer's eyes fell to the ground again. The next moment smoke from the ignited punk rises, and with the burning punk the pipe of peace is lighted. The medicine man takes a few whiffs from

the pipe, and then quietly walks across the tent and brings it down and presents it to the son of the murdered chief. Once, but he took it not; twice, in due deliberate form was the pipe offered him, but not a motion or a muscle does he move. A third time it is presented, and when the medicine man was about to take it away from him, his mother quietly touched his arm, and with a look of earnestness, prompted him to smoke. He took the pipe and gave one whiff, and returned it. The widow next was presented with the pipe. Up to this stage in the proceedings no emotions have been exhibited by anyone on either side. All the proceedings have been conducted with the most profound propriety; but now, as this widow takes hold of that pipe and takes but one whiff of smoke, she gives vent to the pent up feelings of a broken, grief-stricken spirit in a wail of sorrow, as mother and widow, while tears gush down her cheeks as evidence of her deep loneliness and mourning for her murdered husband; at the same time, by this act of smoking, she said to one and all present, "I forgive this murderer."

The medicine man goes on from one to one, and each takes a whiff. There are sitting two young men midway around the circle of the court, who are cousins to the murdered chief. They had intimated that they could not forgive the criminal. The unwritten law on that point, as told me by their senior chief, is, "If any relative of the murdered chief cannot forgive the murderer, then in open council, in the presence of all the parties, when the pipe of peace is presented, the relative who cannot smoke the pipe, may rise up, and in the presence of all, kill the murderer with his tomahawk." Now, when the medicine man stood in front of these two cousins and presented the pipe to the first one, there evidently was much suppressed anxiety among the chiefs and friends on the side of the murderer, as this young man sat coolly, when the pipe was presented to him once, twice, and even thrice. The medicine man evidently took in the whole situation, for he presented the pipe now more deliberately to this young Indian, than he had to anyone in the court. This Indian showed he was in a profound study; what should he do; take the pipe and forgive, or rise now with his tomahawk and kill the murderer? The third time the pipe is presented, and when lifted up and away from him just the length of his arm, he reached and took it, and took one whiff of smoke; his brother by his side did the same, and the deep, silent suspense was over. The pipe then was presented to each one in the court, except the murderer, and all smoked but him; he was not allowed. The court is now closed; one by one the chiefs and friends of the murderer arose and shook hands with the other side, and went out as they came in, and the trial is over.[1]

The marked development of adoption or artificial kinship has been noticed (Chap. VI), and a similar attitude is sometimes expressed in the replacement of the murdered person by the murderer. Tanner, for example, who was captured as the substitute

[1] Hickey, M., "A Missionary among the Indians," *Michigan Pioneer Collections*, **4**: 550–556 (1847).

for the dead son of an Indian mother, relates that during his captivity a mother proposed to adopt a young Indian who had murdered her son in a drunken brawl.[1]

Distinction seeking of an extravagant character among the Indian tribes of the northwest coast was described in Chap. XIII, and their exaggerated concept of ranking is expressed also in their legal patterning, as shown from Oberg's study of crime among the Tlingit:

In the matter of crime and punishment, the relation of the individual and the clan comes out clearly. Theoretically, crime against an individual did not exist. The loss of an individual by murder, the loss of property by theft, or shame brought to a member of a clan were clan losses and the clan demanded an equivalent in revenge. That is to say, if a man of low rank killed a man of high rank in another clan, the murderer often went free while one of his more important kinsmen suffered death in his stead. Slight differences in status could be overcome by payments of property, but the general demand in case of murder was the life of a man of equal rank. In some instances the offending clan was of lower status and therefore none of its members could compensate for a crime committed against an important clan. It was therefore necessary to select a clan of the offender's phratry that could show some relationship to the offending clan; but in this case war usually followed, as this procedure was not legally established. In general, it made no difference whether the opposing clans were in the same phratry or in opposite phratries. Some of the bitterest feuds were between the Ganaktedi and Tluknakadi, both of the same phratry.

Thus a clan appears to be the group of greatest unity, solidarity, and integration. There was no penalty within the clan for murder, adultery, or theft. A clan punished its members by death only when shame was brought to its honor. Crimes of this nature were incest, witchcraft, marriage with a slave, and prostitution.

Murder among the Tlingit was punishable by death when committed outside the clan. The number of murders, however, was not excessive until the advent of liquor. In the old days rivalry over women and disputes about individual privileges during potlatches sometimes led to murder. Murder was generally committed in the heat of argument, and if clansmen of both sides were present, a general fight was prevented by a chief of high rank stepping between the angry clansmen with an important crest in his hand. It was considered a desecration of the emblem or crest if fighting occurred under these circumstances.

Immediately after a murder was committed spokesmen from both clans met to decide who was to die in compensation for the murder. If the murdered man happened to be of low rank and of poor reputation, a payment of goods could satisfy the injured clan. But if the murdered man was of high rank, a man of equal standing was demanded from the

[1] Tanner, J., *Narrative of the Captivity and Adventures of John Tanner*, 243.

murderer's clan. There was generally much haggling over the rank of the murdered man and the rank of the one who was to die in compensation. These disputes always appeared in the peace dance which followed the complete settlement of the crime. The man selected as compensation prepared to die willingly. He was given much time to prepare himself through fasting and praying. The execution took place before his house.

On the day set for the execution, the man put on all his ceremonial robes and displayed all his crests and emblems. He came out of his house, stood at the doorway, and related his history, stressing the deeds that he and his ancestors had performed. All the villagers were gathered around for this solemn occasion. He then looked across to the clan whom his death was to satisfy to observe the man who had been selected to kill him. If this man was great and honorable he would step forth gladly; but if the man was of low rank he would return to the house and wait until a man of his own rank or higher was selected to kill him. When this was done he stepped forth boldly with his spear in his hand, singing a girl's puberty song. He feigned attack but permitted himself to be killed. To die thus for the honor of one's clan was considered an act of great bravery and the body was laid out in state as that of a great warrior. His soul went to Kiwa-Kawaw, "highest heaven."

The actual murderer, if a man of great rank and wealth, often went free, but if the man was of low rank and came from a poor house he went as a slave to that house in his clan which had given up a man in compensation for the murder. If property was passed as partial payment to the murdered man's clan, the actual murderer could be handed over as a slave. Even if the murderer was not forced into slavery, his position was an uncomfortable one. There was a feeling of very close unity among clansmen and when one had brought shame to his own clan, he felt the matter keenly and for a time led a miserable life. . . .

Like murder, adultery was not punishable within the clan . . . [but] when it occurred between a woman and a man who was not of the husband's clan, was punishable by death, both guilty persons being killed by the husband. If he were fond of his wife, he might forgive her; but in this case the wife's kinsmen must pay him property to clear his honor. If the adulterer escaped, there was no way of bringing him to task except by pursuit by the husband. In case the adulterer was a man of very high rank, the husband's own clansmen paid him goods to pacify him, for demanding the life of a very high man was a serious matter. When property was given to the husband by both his wife's clan and his own clan the transaction was known as *tuwatukayawaci*, "they wipe the shame from my face." Before reparation was paid, the husband remained indoors and came out only after a gathering had taken place at his house in which the property was transferred to him.

If a man of low rank had illicit connections with a woman of high rank the matter was very serious. First, the wife's clansmen killed two of the man's clansmen having rank between that of the man and the woman. This was to show that the wife's clan was highly insulted and incensed,

and would not let the matter drop. The man's clan was then expected to offer for slaying one of its men of rank equal to that of the woman. If they would not do this, a feud might arise between the two clans which might last for a long time and might involve other clans, as in the quarrel between the Sitka and Wrangell people over a woman. In case the man's clan now offered a man, equal in rank to the woman, the woman's clan would be satisfied and would compensate the man's clan with property for the killing of the first two men. The adulterer was often handed over to the woman's side as a slave in partial payment or he became a slave to his own clan in order to compensate for the loss he brought about. During all these activities the husband remained indoors and came out only after a full settlement had been made.

If a woman of high rank became lax in her conduct and ran around with numerous men, her uncle might ask one of her brothers to kill her, which he was obliged to do. If a man of low rank had illicit connections with a girl of high rank, the father of the girl demanded either the man slain or a great deal of property. If the man was of as high a rank as the girl, her father could force them to marry. But if the girl was already promised to another man, the father was given a number of blankets.

Theoretically, stealing did not exist within the clan. Natural resources were held in common and food was but loosely guarded by the various house groups within the clan. If a man took a tool or a weapon that belonged to a member of his own clan, he was forced to return it. If a man of low rank was caught stealing from another clan, the injured clan could kill him. If he was of high rank, his own clan would make reparation by a payment of goods. If, by some chance, a man of very high rank was caught stealing, he was said to be bewitched. Then a shamanistic performance was held over him to discover the sorcerer who had forced him to steal in order to injure his social position. The sorcerer when discovered was killed and the crime thus compensated.

If anyone beside the clansmen or those invited were caught taking fish from clan territories, or if they were caught hunting there, they could be killed. This was also true if anyone trespassed on clan domain or used their trade routes. Sometimes when a powerful party came to fish on another clan's territory, the owning clan would invite the transgressors to a feast, treat them well, and give them presents. This they did to shame the aggressors, who generally withdrew after such treatment. If a man was hungry he could shoot an animal in someone else's territory, but he was forced to give the hide or pelt to the owning clan.

Adopting the crest of another clan was considered stealing, but the aggressor always claimed the right to the crest through some event in the past. Conflict over the use of crests led to war between the clans or was settled by the opinion of the phratry or the transfer of property.

The penalty for assault was payment in goods. A high-ranking Tlingit was very sensitive about his appearance and if in a dispute someone struck him so as to cause marks on his face, he would remain indoors until the marks were healed and until a public payment had been made

to him by the clan of his assailant. If a man of high status injured his face by falling in the street of his village, he would remain indoors until the marks had healed; then he would give a small feast to his own clan. This was to compensate his clan for the shame brought to it by his disfigurement.

If a man was injured or accidentally killed while out hunting with the members of another clan, this clan would have to compensate the dead or injured man's clan by a payment of goods. If the man killed was of very high rank and his death could be shown to be due to the carelessness of his hosts, then the dead man's clan could demand that a man of the hosts' clan be killed.

If a person was injured by a dog belonging to another clan, the owner of the dog would compensate for the injury by a payment of goods to the injured man. Harm coming to pass through another clan's property had very wide ramifications and was always settled by a payment of goods. Falling twice before a man's house would entitle the one who fell to ask for a payment of goods. Catching a chill in another man's house, injuring one's self with another man's tools, or becoming angry or irritable due to contact with others, would give a right to a small payment of goods, provided these injuries were caused by members of another clan.

Another example of this appears in the case of suicide. If it could be shown that a man had committed suicide because his wife had treated him badly, then a man of his wife's clan could be selected and killed. Therefore a Tlingit woman was very careful how she treated her husband. This punishment was also meted out to others who caused a man to commit suicide.

Many articles, such as canoes, tools, traps, weapons, and such lesser ceremonial gear as masks and dancing shirts, were owned by individuals. Other individuals, either within the clan or outside, could borrow these, provided they brought them back or replaced them at some later date. If the borrower failed to return the article within a reasonable time, the lender could disseminate stories of ridicule about him. These stories were somewhat in the nature of the paddle songs of the Tsimshian, but not so highly stylized, and like the paddle songs they heaped ridicule upon the debtor until he came to terms. These stories were used only when it was well known that the debtor was able to pay but refused for selfish reasons. If these stories did not have the desired effect, the creditor could discuss the matter with members of his own clan. If the debtor belonged to the same clan and was in a position to pay, the social pressure of the clan was sufficient to bring him to terms. If, however, he was unable to pay and there was little likelihood of his ever being able to pay, the clan would permit the creditor to take the debtor as a debt slave.

The debt slave, when a clansman, was not treated exactly like a chattel slave. True enough, he lost his freedom and status, but it was understood that when he had worked long enough to repay the debt, he would be freed and would regain his former status. A debt slave was

not sold or given away at a potlatch unless he belonged to another clan.

If the debtor belonged to another clan, a different procedure took place after ridicule ceased to have effect. The creditor would have a crest of the debtor's clan made which he placed on the front of his own house or on a totem pole. Among the Tlingit clan crests were jealously guarded, and the fact that another clan had taken one brought great shame to the clan to which it belonged. All the people in the village would at once notice it and the story come out. The debtor's clan was now dishonored and would make considerable efforts to pay the debt. Usually a wealthy house group paid the debt and took the debtor as a debt slave, thus saving the honor of the clan.

The taking of an important clan crest was always resorted to in the case of a prestige potlatch. If a clan refused to give a return potlatch to another clan of the opposite phratry, the creditor clan could take a crest and keep it until payment was made. . . .

From this summary certain social characteristics stand out prominently. The first of these is the importance of a clan as a sovereign group. The second is the importance of individual status. How crime is to be punished depends largely upon the rank of the criminal. Men of high rank could often escape death through a payment of goods. Every man and woman had a valuation in terms of goods. As the status of a clan was judged largely by the amount of goods it gave away at its last prestige potlatch, so was the status of an individual determined by the amount of goods he gave for his wife. The bride price evaluated both the husband and the wife. The bride price formed the basis for settlement made in terms of goods. There were no fixed fines, since the bride prices varied with the wealth of the community and the status of the individuals. There has been no attempt made here to describe actual punishment in terms of such and such a quantity of goods, but rather the social forces governing the amount of goods given in reparation for the crime.

Closely allied with the criminal act was the shameful act. The fundamental differentiation seems to be determined by the type of social prohibition. Criminal acts were politically or legally prohibited; shameful acts were connected either with etiquette, morals, religion, and economy, or all combined. For the purpose of this paper it is also important to differentiate the criminal act from the shameful act on the basis of the nature of the punishment. While crime was punishable by measures taken against the life and property of the individuals of a clan, the shameful act was punished by ridicule. But so effective was ridicule, that the performer of a shameful act, as in the case of blunders at ceremonials, often died as a result of social disapproval.

We must here distinguish between acts that brought shame to the performer and acts that were performed to shame someone else. One could shame an important chief by seating him in a corner or by calling him by his boyhood rather than by his honorable name. But these were crimes and might lead to serious difficulties between the clans of the

respective men. Any crime, of course, brought shame to the injured clan. It is the act shameful to the performer that is under consideration here. Among the Tlingit propriety was of the utmost importance. The *anyeti* or nobility thought of themselves as being eminent because they and their ancestors had never performed shameful acts. An important man could permanently lower himself by repeated shameful acts. Quite often men destined for chieftainship were ignored because they had in some way shamed themselves.

A member of the anyeti would shame himself if he fell down in public, or otherwise bruised or injured his person. He would shame himself if he were caught doing menial labor, such as cleaning fish or carrying wood or water. He would be shamed if he were caught in an altercation with a slave or a man of low rank, or if he were caught seated in a sprawling position, or if he went to an important meeting without the proper clothes. In every case ridicule could be heaped upon him but the important man prevented this by giving a feast, inviting all the individuals who had seen him. This saved his honor, for it was a great shame to ridicule one's host.

Among the Tlingit one could enjoy the hospitality of a member of his own phratry for an unlimited length of time, but it was considered a great shame to abuse this hospitality. It was shameful to publicly dispute the word of a man older than yourself. It was shameful to have sex relations in your own clan with a woman of inferior rank, but not necessarily so if the woman was of your own rank. It was shameful to be seen near your mother-in-law. Individuals of high rank were shamed if people of low rank saw them nude. It was shameful to be seen defecating or urinating, but it was not shameful to talk about these things in public, nor was it shameful to talk about sexual matters. It was also shameful to break the customary ways of hunting, fishing, and eating.

A shameful act was generally sufficient reason for preventing people performing it. But among the Tlingit, as among other people, there were certain individuals who dared shame in order to gain their ends. It was these who were brought to terms by ridicule. Ridicule had many forms. The most effective consisted in making the offender of the proprieties the laughing stock of the village by disseminating songs and stories about him. Such songs and stories were often composed by paid song makers. Another form was the making of ludicrous wooden likenesses of the offender and placing them in prominent locations. Sometimes elaborate totem poles were carved with this motive in mind. Mimicry was also resorted to in bringing an offender to terms, or he might be called a white man, which every Tlingit considered the height of public censure.

Another point worth stressing is the fact that the criminal was permitted to be at large pending the settlement of the crime, while the injured party always remained indoors until his honor was cleared.[1]

[1] Oberg, K., "Crime and Punishment in Tlingit Society," *Amer. Anth.*, N.S., **36**: 146–154.

Among the Eskimo of Greenland the control through ridicule mentioned by Oberg among the Tlingit takes on a poetical form in the so-called juridical drum songs. These songs are dialectic and have conventionalized meanings not altogether intelligible but their character is well represented by Thalbitzer:

> The genuine juridical drum songs belong to the domain of the Greenland vendettas. Two men, or sometimes two women, having become enemies would once a year have a settlement with each other in a drum fight where, in turn, they would give vent to their anger in a poetical form, one drumming and singing against the other. These two were called *akiaret*, "opponents." Their songs were often composed long before, carefully considered and rehearsed. The charging song is called a *piseq*, his *pisia*, and the opponent's retortion his *akisa*. Both endeavor to shape their songs in accordance with the songs transmitted, in the same style, and it is a general custom, though not always followed, that the singer borrows the introduction of his song from some old, well-known song that has been handed down from his ancestors, whereafter—as after a prelude on the strings of the past—he spins on the thread in his own individual manner. . . . Every man chooses his own forms of melodies and refrains, possibly inherited from his forefathers or characteristic of his family. When the natives had heard the first strains of a drum song they nearly always recognized the man or woman who "owned" it. This shows that everyone stuck to his particular refrains and melodies.
>
> The sense of the song is found in the short text lines that alternate with the longer and regularly repeated refrains. These text lines, the burden of the poem, are full of weighty accusations and sneering references to the opponent; but they are not less replete with lamenting over the singer's own difficult position, or over his failing power to sing drum songs, or over his own mean and sorry self. This is often confessed with astonishing honesty, agreeing well with the self-irony that is so significant of the Eskimo national character. But no doubt it also covers the singer's wish to appear at his best to the audience, and to seem unconcerned vis-a-vis the opponent, thereby reducing his accusations to the least possible.
>
> The songs were constantly renewed, as the hostility between the two opponents only in rare instances resulted in homicide (never during the drum fight itself), but only in a continuation of the fight at the next meeting, the following summer or winter. The old songs were improved or replaced by new. The favorite drum songs passed into the popular tradition, being repeated for amusement either in the open air or in winter within the hut. At the winter meetings it often happened that two men would stand forth on the floor and for amusement repeat a drum fight in a passionate rendering. The more insignificant songs were probably consigned to oblivion.

The drum fight songs, however, like the kaiak songs, belong mostly in the open air under the summer sun. In their texts, melodies, and refrains the Ammassalik Eskimo evince all their musical and prosodic ability. . . . [As an example the following song of attack on Pitsaniarmaat and his retort may be taken:]

Attiartertoq explained to me that this piseq, or song of attack, concerned an event which occurred far to the north in the now uninhabited bay of Kialeeq (Kialinek on the maps), in 67° N. lat. Here at the time, lived his uncle, the author of the song, a proud, well-to-do sealer who would not tolerate offensive allusions to his having maltreated his wife, even if this were the case. But the expression of Pitsaniarmaat, his opponent, really hid more than an insult: it roused the singer's suspicion that he was his wife's accomplice. The singer had chastised his wife because a hole or gash had shown itself in his kaiak skin, which she had sewn, so that there was a risk of its filling when first he rowed out, and of his drowning. His song intimates that he entertains a suspicion that it is Pitsaniarmaat who has occasioned the spoiling of the cover. The form of the song is mild and ironical, but the encysted accusation is hard. Its introduction (1–5) is possibly borrowed from an older poem.

1. Ah, how doubtful I feel about it!
2. How I feel doubt at having to sing.
3. In my soul, which is not strong!
4. However could it occur to me to make a song of charge against him.
5. How stupid that now I really have to trouble on his account! [?]
6. When we were in the north up there.
7. When we were up at Kialineq.
8. It happened as usual that she made me angry.
9. That I as usual gave my wife a trouncing.
10. I was not angry without cause.
11. I did not trounce her without cause.
12. I was as usual displeased with her work;
13. Because my kaiak cover (sewn by her) was torn,
14. It had got an opening.
15. When I, a moment, went outside, they say,
16. You appear to have made a remark about
17. That I am always accustomed to behave so devilishly considerately,
18. That I on every occasion act so extraordinarily leniently.
19. How stupid I was then not to give him the same treatment,
20. That I did not also give him a stab with the knife.
21. What a pity that I acted so leniently towards you,
22. What a pity that I showed myself so considerate towards you,
23. You scoundrel, who thoughtlessly irritated my anger.

Notes: 1–2. "Lacks courage, is despondent." 17–18. Kuannia characterized these ironical remarks as synonymous with a reprimand,

as if Pitsaniarmaat had said: "He has been raw enough to stab his wife with the knife."

Pitsaniarmaat's Song of Retort

This song was called an answering song. . . . The introduction (1:1–4) almost coincides with that in no. 186, and must therefore, in at least one of the songs, have been borrowed.

1. I am accustomed to be irresolute,
2. How shall this fall out for me.
3. I have fallen by mischance into a drum duel!
4. This is also a reason for being inconstant
5. That though it was only the autumn,
6. My provisions were almost on the decline.
7. Because I was on the point of starving to death
8. I met with much compassion from the housefellows (?)
9. [And] from the neighbors on the south side
10. The dwellers at Sawaranaq—
11. Also, to be sure, was I much indebted to them.
12. Because in their words (what they said of me)
13. I got nothing (no comment) to hear about it.
14. That poor being!
15. Might his nose also be turned upwards!
16. That gets me to think of
17. My own great, long nose,
18. A mighty, great knife,
19. Please cut his nose in shape
20. And make it a knife with a notch
21. For use when he stabs his wife.
22. I was witness to your misdeed,
23. When your good little wife,
24. When your nice little "young-sister wife,"
25. When you scoundrel began to stab her again and again,
26. And you were not content with stabbing her,
27. No, you bored into her, inwards, incessantly,
28. Without preventing a swelling up like a sealing bladder[?]
29. Inwards, you bored too long!
30. It was only a very great fortune
31. That your nice little wife
32. That your nice little "young sister"
33. Sank your knife in the sea—
34. Your knife, now sunk fortunately [?].

Notes: 14. Here the singer at last addresses his opponent. 15. "Curves upwards, is broken upwards," like the end of a kaiak; also about a pug nose. 18. "Having a saw, or serrated knife" was known to Sufia as a common jocular expression of long-nosed men. 20. "Dagger-like knife with a notch . . . in the handle." 24. "The youngest of

brothers or sisters." 28. Sufia translated thus: "You pricked a hole in her swelling." 34. Perhaps "deservedly."[1]

Related to organization under chiefs, to the emphasis on property and marriage arrangements from the property standpoint, to the conception of the participation of dead ancestors in sib affairs, to the widespread practice and fear of witchcraft, to the principle of sib unity and joint responsibility, to the native or acquired disposition to elaborate speaking and sustained argumentation, the administration of justice in parts of Africa is quite as complicated and legalistic as in white societies. Stayt has described the administration of justice in one of the Bantu tribes as follows:

Every Muvenda is *ipso facto* an advocate: all possess amazing powers of rhetoric and oratory and can speak for any length of time on any and all subjects, declaiming with forceful eloquence and convincing argument and appropriate gesticulations. From the time that they are quite young children they begin to acquire the necessary skill in debate, accepting victory or defeat in argument with equal impassivity of countenance; all give evidence when required, without a trace of embarrassment or self-consciousness. The judge generally adapts his verdict to the consensus of public opinion, knowing that in enforcing it he can always rely on the assistance of the majority of the people. Some men, such as Takalani, Tshivhase's most important petty chief, achieve a high reputation for the order and equity of their court, and disputants may come from great distances, sometimes even from alien tribes, knowing that they will receive a fair hearing and honest judgment.

There is a sharp distinction made between criminal offenses which are noncompoundable and severely punished, in most cases by death, and civil cases which are compoundable by payment. In the latter category a large percentage of the cases arise out of questions in connection with *lobola* [marriage gifts] and are very complicated.

There is a highly centralized legal system, consisting of a hierarchy of courts, corresponding to the hierarchy of headmen. First there is a family gathering, in which an attempt is made to reach an amicable settlement before referring the matter to the *khoro* [courtyard] of the local headman. If, after the grievances have been aired in this court, satisfactory agreement cannot be arranged, the headman refers the complaints to the district petty chief. Here the case is considered in detail, both plaintiff and defendant being given a patient hearing; witnesses are brought and the matter thrashed out and often satisfactorily concluded. In cases where the judgment in the petty chief's court is not acceptable to both parties, the case may be taken to the chief's khoro. Here the *khotsimunene* has the full right of the chief and can act as judge. In order to bring a case before this supreme court a fee of three pounds or one ox must be paid to the chief, and any fine imposed by a lower

[1] Thalbitzer, W., "The Ammassalik Eskimo," *Meddelelser om Grønland*, **40**: 166–168; 318–321.

court, whose judgment is upheld here, is always greatly increased after the findings of the supreme court. Certain cases, particularly non-compoundable crimes, are taken directly to the chief.

The procedure in these court cases is extremely interesting and instructive and throws a considerable light on the character and social life of the Bavenda. The most outstanding feature of the court is the orderliness of the procedure, combined with the untiring patience of the judge who listens, sometimes for hours on end, to impassioned eloquence, of which half the subject matter appears entirely unnecessary and irrelevant.

The case commences with the arrival of the disputants, accompanied by their witnesses and various other supporters, as well as members of their respective families. The parties are greeted at the khoro by the chief's *mukhoma*. .Most of the elders of the kraal gather together around the chief, who seats himself on a stone, usually under the shade of a tree in the middle of the khoro; the other people sit about him on the ground in no particular order. The plaintiff is asked to state his case, which he promptly proceeds to do with a great display of rhetoric, scarcely pausing to breathe until he has completed his evidence, when he suddenly stops as abruptly and unexpectedly as he started, saluting the judge and suffixing his oration with the word "*Ndau!*" (lion). During his speech nobody utters a word, except one important councilor, who keeps order. This man squats near the judge and interpolates the word "*Mutavhatsinde!*" or "*Ndau!*" in a high-pitched voice whenever the orator pauses for the fraction of a second. The word *mutavhatsinde* seems to be used in trials of commoners only, *ndau* being substituted for members of the royal family. As long as the speaker's words are accompanied by these interpolations he has the attention of the court, and may not be interrupted by anyone. After the plaintiff has stated his case, the defendant addresses the court, and after his statement the witnesses are called to give their evidence. Any man may then ask questions, although most of such questioning is done by the old men living at the kraal, as they are experienced and have great social prestige. If the plaintiff and defendant wish to argue privately over any matter, the mutavhatsinde or ndau is omitted, automatically suspending the official nature of the discussion, until the argument is concluded and the attention of the court again solicited.

When the whole case has been thrashed out the chief or judge sums up with extreme efficiency, and it is unusual for the smallest detail of the proceedings to escape his vigilance. He declares the customary law and may administer sharp rebukes to offenders who have contravened this law too patently. Judgment is given, unless the case is postponed for further evidence, and the disputants depart to make way for the next case.

Sometimes, when the evidence is unsatisfactory, the defendant may, with the permission of the judge, challenge the plaintiff to consult a diviner as to whether he is guilty of the charge brought against him. The plaintiff dare not refuse, as his refusal would be taken by everybody as proof of the false nature of his charge. The plaintiff and defendant

are then sent to consult a diviner, accompanied by an impartial messenger provided by the chief. The defendant pays the diviner a fee for opening his bag of magic dice and another fee for the consultation; if the divination upholds the charge against him the judge orders the defendant to pay the customary fine to the plaintiff; the defendant is also in danger of being branded a witch. On the other hand, if the defendant is pronounced innocent, the plaintiff must pay him an ox for defamation of character. In most cases where a charge fails the plaintiff is obliged to pay this fine for wrongful accusation; this acts as a check on unfair charges, as the price of discovery is too great. A charge is therefore seldom brought up to the court for judgment without good reason and a certain amount of convincing evidence.

All antisocial actions pollute the offender, and until he has been actually cleansed he is a danger to the society in which he lives and may bring the anger of the spirit world upon it. Certain crimes are so grave in their reaction on the group that the only method of purification is in the death or banishment of the offender; in this way only can the danger of contamination be removed and the normal equilibrium of the society restored. Other crimes have a less dangerous effect, and the offender may be cleansed by medicine and sacrifice or by compensating the injured party and then sharing in a ritual meal, in which one of the animals of the fine imposed upon him is eaten publicly in the khoro by all the people; the sharing in this meal is a symbol that the crime is expiated and that the criminal is readmitted into society.

All such offenses as assault, adultery, seduction, theft, damage to property, etc., are compoundable. The amount of the fine is only fixed in a few cases and generally varies according to the position of the offender, the enormity of the offense, and the culprit's previous record and ability to pay.

Assault. The fine for assault is a sheep, a goat, or an ox. An assault in the chief's capital is considered a serious offense and is more severely punished than if it had been committed on the veldt. In the same way an assault on any of the royal family, or on one of the chief's officials, is treated as being only a degree less serious than an assault on the chief himself. Respect for the old men and superiors is so deeply rooted in the minds of the Bavenda that it is very unusual, and only in the face of great provocation, that an assault would be made upon a social superior or a person of authority. In all cases of assault one animal of the fine imposed is killed and eaten in the khoro.

Adultery. Adultery is compoundable by the payment of two head of cattle to the husband of the guilty woman; any child of the adulterous union is his property. Adultery committed with women living in the chief's capital is compounded by three head of cattle. One animal of the fine is always killed and eaten in the khoro; the remainder, which the injured party receives, are killed and eaten by himself and his relations as soon as he returns home. There is a danger that the guilty woman might at a future date elope with the adulterer, and, if the increase of the

fine had reached the number of animals that were in the original lobola paid by her husband, he would not be able to claim the return of his lobola from the adulterer; to avoid the possibility of this complication the animal or animals of the fine are eaten.

Damage to Property. This is usually caused by cattle straying into the lands and destroying crops. If this occurs in the daytime the herd boy is thrashed, and if at night the injured party is awarded one or more head of cattle according to the damage done. All injuries to animals are compoundable in the same way.

Arson. Deliberate arson is punished by a heavy fine; in the old days it was never less than ten head of cattle and ten goats. If the offender is poor his wife is returned to her parents and the lobola paid for her is given to the injured party. In the event of the offender having nothing he may be taken by the chief to be his slave. One animal of the fine for this offense is killed and eaten in the khoro.

Theft. For the theft of cattle the thief is liable for any claim the plaintiff likes to make. It is considered a very grave offense and, though the court may modify the plaintiff's claim, the offender is generally heavily fined. The theft of goats, dogs, etc., is similarly compounded. For all other petty thefts, such as foodstuffs and cooking utensils, the fine is heavy, out of all proportion to the crime, as such petty thieving is considered entirely unnecessary and would never occur without an ulterior motive. A portion of the fine is given to the chief.

Theft of Weapons. For the theft of a spear or an ax the fine is an ox and a goat for the first offense and more for a subsequent one. The ox is paid to the injured party and the goat is killed and eaten in the khoro. It is believed that a man stealing the weapons of another is, in thus depriving him of his arms, endeavoring to bring about his death. . . .

The compoundable fines are usually paid at once, but in the rare cases where payment is delayed the headman sends a messenger to the home of the defaulter to remonstrate with him and explain that if he does not intend to fulfill the orders of the court he must go and live elsewhere. The defaulter pays the messenger a goat for his trouble, and if, after this warning, he still persists in ignoring the findings of the court, the chief may order some of his councilors to confiscate the necessary fine and remove any cattle or other property that he thinks fit as a punishment for contempt of court. In the past such an offender would be banished or his home would be burnt down, and he would stand a good chance of being killed by the angry elders.

A certain number of more serious crimes are uncompoundable. These include witchcraft, murder, homicide, incest, and abnormal sexual aberrations, all of which are considered to be crimes against society rather than against the individual and to necessitate the ritual cleansing of the society.

Witchcraft. Persons convicted of witchcraft, or believed to achieve nefarious ends by its practice, are driven out of the country, and their wives and children are confiscated by the chief. Sometimes the women's relatives, objecting to their womenfolk being taken over by the chief in

this arbitrary way, will offer him their equivalent in cattle; or sometimes a man may contrive to keep his wives and children by persuading one of his friends, with whom he has secretly left cattle, to lobole for them and then return them to him. Formerly witches and wizards were always killed, with all their family, by being thrown over a cliff.

Murder. Murder is punishable by death or banishment. The family of a murderer is taken by the chief and all his property confiscated as in the case of a man convicted of witchcraft. Occasionally a murderer who has no wives or property may be enslaved by the chief, who is thereafter responsible for him. If a young man without property, living at his father's kraal, commits murder and escapes capture, the cattle and possessions of his father are confiscated by the chief, as the father is responsible for his son's actions. Matricide, parricide, and fratricide are all considered as ordinary murder. In cases of infanticide, the murderer sometimes makes his peace with the chief by handing over to him one of his other children. In no case of murder is the family of the murdered man compensated, although occasionally one of his family may bring the murderer to summary justice by killing him outright.

Homicide. Little distinction is made between homicide and murder. If two or three influential persons swear to the dead man as having been the aggressor and to the absolutely accidental character of the crime, the culprit may be released with a fine.

Incest. Incest is a serious crime; the offender is considered to be a dog and is the subject of horror and scorn. He is tried in the chief's court and is punished by death or banishment. Perverse sexual aberrations are similarly punished.

Planning or Conniving the Death of the Chief, if discovered, is always punished by death.

In cases punishable by the death sentence, if the offender tries to escape from justice, he may be followed into the bush by any man detailed by the chief for the purpose and there clubbed to death without a trial.[1]

In the African culture complexes a number of legal definitions are developed, which seem strange but which are nevertheless quite logical when taken in their cultural context. For example:

Among the Lugbwara of Northwest Uganda and the Congo a man receives back on divorce the marriage dowry paid by him less a specified fine for each child born to him, although he has no rights in the children, who accompany their mother and remain with the mother's family. . . . In this instance what appears to be illogical proves on examination to be the reverse. The essence of marriage is the payment of a dowry by the husband to the bride's family. Without the dowry there is no legal marriage and any children born to such a union are illegitimate, and for each child so born the father has to pay specified damages to the woman's family. On divorce the husband's dowry, consisting of livestock, is returned to him with their increase, and the woman returns to her family

[1] Stayt, *op. cit.*, 218–224 (Oxford University Press. By permission).

with her children. As, therefore, there is now no dowry and consequently no marriage the status of the children is that of illegitimacy—though this carries no stigma—and the man has to pay the indemnity prescribed for illegitimacy, which results from the nullity of the marriage.[1]

In Chap. V a fiction was mentioned whereby a widow or daughter of a man dying without an heir "marries" a girl, who bears an heir to him. Other legalistic points of view, illustrated below, are that if a man has been compensated for a minor injury during life the amount is deducted from the compensation in case he is later killed; that a man giving information about the adultery of a woman must pay a fine equal to that paid by the adulterer; that by a legalistic evasion a man may marry his classificatory mother-in-law; that the behavior of a chief may be controlled by doing him an injury:

From the lists of compensation for hurts, it appears that the loss of a leg, for instance, is reckoned at about one-third of full blood money. Now if a man has received such compensation it is deducted from the blood money due if he is subsequently killed. This rule is, however, only applicable in cases of very serious injuries, and in Kikuyu there is a difference of opinion as to whether it holds good if the death is caused by some person other than the one who inflicted the hurt. Such cases are perhaps too rare to have established a general rule, but the underlying idea seems to be that more than the value of a man's life must never be paid for his person. No deduction is made if the person killed was crippled or deformed from birth.[2]

A peculiar custom of the Wachagga suggests the view taken by the native: here a man who betrays the adultery of a woman to her husband must himself pay as much as the adulterer pays. It is argued that it was not his business to watch another man's wife, and that by so doing he usurps the rights of a husband, which in point of fact is the essence of the offense of adultery.[3]

I knew a case in which a man married his mother-in-law by marriage. The woman was not his wife's mother, but his wife's father's wife, and as such was his mother-in-law. I had seen him avoid her many times, and it was evident from this that all the wives of the wife's father are regarded as joint mothers of the children, and hence mothers-in-law. The man's wife's father died, and the man wanted to have one of the wives (*i.e.*, one of his mothers-in-law) as his own wife, so he arranged with a friend to pay the marriage money and take her as his wife, then she by that marriage being no longer his mother-in-law, he was able to take her as his own wife. He paid the money for her and took her to his house.[4]

[1] Driberg, J. H., "Primitive Law in Eastern Africa," *Africa*, **1**: 63.

[2] Dundas, C., "The Organization and Laws of Some Bantu Tribes in East Africa," *Jour. Anth. Inst.*, **45**: 267.

[3] Dundas, "Native Laws of . . . East Africa," 245.

[4] Weeks, J. H., "Anthropological Notes on the Bangala of the Upper Congo River," *Jour. Anth. Inst.*, **39**: 438.

In a district there was generally a chief who was appointed by the towns of the district to act as judge in all important matters—at palavers between town and town, and family and family. At the time of his appointment the heads of all the families living in the district who wished to come under his jurisdiction cut down his plantains and banana trees. This action gave him a *casus belli* against all the towns that acknowledged him as judge. By the cutting down of his plantains he became the offended party, and as such had the right of aggressive action against the offenders. Now it was the custom that the offending town must not go to fight the offended town, but must wait for the offended ones to attack them—the offenders. No subsequent quarrel could be taken up until the first was settled. Hence the above chief appointed as judge might enrage a town by his decisions, and might call on the other towns to help him enforce his verdict, yet the said town could not attack the chief judge's town because of the old-standing palaver of cutting down his plantains and bananas. This ensured the chief judge's immunity from quarrels with people who did not like his decisions, and as there was no fear of such quarrels there was a guarantee of a certain amount of justice and impartiality in the decisions given. He was paid to act as judge by those who needed his services, and this pay refunded his temporary loss from his destroyed plantains and bananas.[1]

Another direction of logical legalistic interpretation is that a person violating a certain oath and dying in consequence is judged as a suicide:

A case of adultery occurred in Kikuyu in which a man, having seduced a woman afterwards induced her to take the oath of *muma* that she would not tell her husband. After a time she disclosed this to her husband, and shortly after she died. The husband then sued for blood money, but the elders refused his demand on the ground that if the woman had held her tongue the muma would not have killed her. The husband then demanded that the man should jump over the corpse seven times; this he refused to do and the elders would not insist, as they held that the woman had in fact committed suicide.[2]

Kinship behavior has extensive expressions in African customary law. Among the Bavenda, as reported by Gottschling, legal proceedings may be initiated for the payment of a debt by taking an equivalent piece of property from anyone living in the same kraal as the debtor:

If a debtor does not pay his creditor the latter will take anything of the same value as the debt, say a cow, from anybody who is living in the same kraal as the debtor. The owner of the cow misses it, and searching, finds his cow at the cattle kraal of a stranger. He goes and asks the

[1] *Ibid.*, 430.
[2] Hobley, C. W., *Bantu Beliefs and Magic*, 243 (H. F. and G. Witherby. By permission).

reason why his cow has been brought there. The creditor tells him the name of his debtor, and informs the owner of the cow, who is only an inhabitant of the debtor's kraal, that the cow will be kept impounded by him until the debtor has paid his account. The owner of the cow is bound by Bawenda law to leave it in the hands of the stranger until the debt has been paid. Consequently, if he wishes to have his cow back, the only way for him to get it is to force the debtor to pay his creditor. This is called by the Bawenda *molaeo oa o farela*—the law of "tit for tat."[1]

Among the Giriama of East Africa

if the murderer refuses to pay up he is killed in the same manner that he killed his victim. If a wife commits a murder and her husband refuses to pay up he is killed; the woman is not punished. If a man escapes after committing murder and gets away altogether, his nearest male relation will be called upon to pay up the fine; if he refuses he is killed. If a murderer has no male relations his clan will be called upon to pay the fine; if they refuse one of their male members is killed by the clan of the deceased.[2]

In case of blood vengeance, the legalistic point of view is reflected among the Bageshu in the selection of a victim strictly equivalent to the murdered person:

If a man kills one of another clan, the members of the clan seek out either the murderer, or, failing him, some one of his clan about the same age as the person killed, and put him to death. If they are able they get a son of the murderer and they will sometimes wait a number of years until a child grows up in order to kill him when he reaches the age of the man who was murdered.[3]

Another logical-legal attitude prevailing generally in Bantu tribes is that a man pays less compensation for injuries to members of his own clan than to outsiders, because as clan member he is entitled to a share in all compensations, just as he is bound to contribute to all compensations paid by the clan in other cases:

It must appear as curious that relationship and clanship tend to reduce the amount of compensation due, but this is largely because blood money, being intended to replace by goods a life, and the slayer having an interest or share in that life, the amount is reduced accordingly as his share is greater or less. Thus a husband has sole share in his wife's person, and therefore he can compensate no one. From these facts we must, however, the more clearly perceive that compensation is not to be confounded with punishment, for it is least where the relationship is closest, and

[1] Gottschling, E., "The Bawenda: a Sketch of Their History and Customs," *Jour. Anth. Inst.*, **35**: 378.

[2] Barrett, W. E. H., "Notes on the Customs and Beliefs of the Wa-Giriama, etc., of British East Africa," *Jour. Anth. Inst.*, **41**: 34.

[3] Roscoe, J., "Notes on the Bageshu," *Jour. Anth. Inst.*, **39**: 195.

among people with whom the family bond is so remarkably close we cannot assume that the slaying of a father or son is regarded as a minor offense. Indeed it is said that a parricide is doomed to die himself. An incident related to me as absolutely authentic, told of a man who, having speared his father, was cursed by the dying parent, and forbidden ever to drink water or eat food excepting from remote localities. For some time the unhappy man lived on sugar-cane juice, but one day, forgetting the curse, he drank water from the river, and being unable to swallow it, died of suffocation. Leprosy is believed to be one of the results of parricide. Compensation, it must be remembered, wipes out the offense, but where nothing is paid the crime remains, and we can imagine the resentment shown to a man who deprives his own family of a member, yet cannot replace him in any way. In Kikuyu if the one who kills his father survives, his family deprives him of his inheritance, and in Ukamba if he refuses to pay, his brothers will kill him. A man who kills his mother is said never to find a woman who will marry him.[1]

Among the Chagga a man cannot be buried until his debts are settled. The person who buries him takes over his debts. If the relatives are unable to pay, the chief will settle with the creditors and take the land and children, and the children of the widow's levirate marriage.[2]

Among Bantu there is a further application of kinship responsibility in the inclusion of dead kindred in the responsible circle. Torday and Joyce describe the course of a lawsuit among the Mbala (Western Bantu), where much of the argument turns on the criminal record of the ancestors of the litigants:

The administration of justice among the Ba-Mbala may be summed up in the single word *milonga* (palaver); round this system their whole life centers, and all disputes, whether between two Ba-Mbala or a Mo-Mbala and a member of a neighboring tribe, are settled by this institution. In explanation of the proceedings a typical case, such as occurs every day in this country, may be given. *A*, of the village *X*, steals a goat belonging to *B*, of the village *Y*. Under pledge of the greatest secrecy, he boasts to some friend of his feat, and the result is that before the end of the day *B* knows who the thief is. *B* then sends a messenger to *A* asking for *kama-kumi*, that is, a few *djimbu*, (shell money) a little salt, a fowl, or in fact anything of little value. If *A* refuses, and this is rarely the case, war is made on his village; if, as usual, he consents, it means that he admits the crime and is willing to accept responsibility for the act. *B*'s next act is to send an arrow to *A*'s chief, marked with a number of incisions indicating the number of days in which the milonga will be held. When the day arrives, not only the whole population of

[1] Dundas, "The Organization and Laws of . . . East Africa," 266.

[2] Gutmann, B., *Das Recht der Dschagga*, 483–485 (C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung. By permission).

the villages of *A* and *B*, but of all the neighborhood, flock to *B*'s village, all armed with bows and arrows (in this respect custom differs from the proceedings on the Lower Congo), to take part in the trial. There is no judge, but the decision is left to the crowd. Men of noted eloquence speak on behalf of each party, and the discussion begins. *A* admits that he has stolen the goat, but did not *B*'s grandfather seduce his, *A*'s, grandfather's wife? *B* allows this, but asserts that his father had a fowl stolen by *A*'s grandfather. *A* does not deny the offense, but recalls the fact that a pig was stolen from his uncle by a slave of *B*'s grandfather's brother-in-law. And so the case, proceeds, the assembly declaring after each charge and countercharge that the matter is compensated. Eventually he who can bring the greater number of charges against his adversary is declared the winner, and claims compensation.[1]

The South African colonists took advantage of the native feeling of collective responsibility and introduced the practice of handing over the spoor from one community to another in case of theft:

The custom of handing the spoor over to the first kraal, and expecting them to pass it on to the next, etc., is also an innovation introduced by the colonists, but which appears to be absolutely necessary, otherwise colonial property would never be recovered as no kraal, or clan, would ever give information respecting, or assist in recovering, the "white man's" property, were they not obliged to do so; and it is only carrying out their own principle of "collective responsibility." Among themselves, the owners of the stolen property have to follow the spoor whithersoever it goes; and the only assistance they can demand from others is, that when it approaches within a short distance of a kraal, say five or six hundred yards, they inform the people of the said kraal of the spoor, and they are bound to assist in passing it on beyond their kraal, to about the same distance as above mentioned, when they return, and the owners proceed on alone. If the people of a kraal refuse to assist in tracing the spoor past their kraal in the manner described, and the owners cannot succeed in tracing it any farther, they are then considered as the guilty party, and the charge of the theft is at once laid against them. Making the kraal nearest to which the spoor has been obliterated pay for the theft, without any other proof of their guilt, is another necessary innovation of ours, arising out of the before mentioned disinclination of the Kafir to give information against the stealer of colonial property. Among themselves, in order to establish a case against a kraal, the spoor must be traced to within its precincts at least; and even then every exertion must be made by the owners of the stolen property, in conjunction with the people of the said kraal, to pass it on. . . . It is not necessary to identify

[1] Torday, E., and T. A. Joyce, "Notes on the Ethnography of the Ba-Mbala," *Jour. Anth Inst.*, **35**: 414–415.

the thief, nor is it necessary that he should be produced, even if known. It is sufficient if a case has been clearly established against a kraal.[1]

In the primitive mind a formal distinction is frequently not made between intention and accident, but in fact the treatment of the accidental offender is usually milder. In some of the legally minded African tribes, however, no distinction is made in practice. An old Bantu remarked to Dundas, "If we pardon one man who kills by accident there will be nothing but accidents."[2] Driberg has given examples of the application of this standpoint among the Lango:

> It is the duty of elders to arbitrate in disputes according to precedent, on which this code is based, deciding questions of fact and assessing the compensation. Intention is not considered. Disputes as to marriage and other contracts are also referred to them and they arbitrate on matters of debt. Prostitution is unknown, and accordingly does not come within the scope of the code.
>
> It should be noted that owners and employers are liable for the misdemeanors of their property and employees and for accidents to the latter. We have already seen that a man is responsible for mischief done by his livestock; similarly, should his small child when playing with another small child accidentally push the latter into a hole and break his neck, the father is responsible for the full homicide compensation. Again, *A*, a guest of *B*, commits adultery with the wife of *C*. *B* has to compensate *C* and recover afterwards (if he can) from *A*. *B* assists *A* in cultivation, and at the end of the day *A* gives him so much beer that *B* becomes drunk, and on his way home, inspired by drunken folly, sets a light to *C*'s house. *A* is doubly liable, as not only is he *B*'s employer, but he also supplied *B* with drink. Had *B*, while drunk, tried to enter *C*'s house instead of burning it and been killed by *C* with a spear in misapprehension of theft, *A* would have been liable to *B*'s family for manslaughter. *B* lopping off a bough for *A* has his leg broken by the falling bough through his own carelessness, yet *A* must compensate. *B* hearing a noise in the grass, and thinking that it is a serval, borrows and throws *A*'s spear, killing what turns out to be *C*'s child. *A* and *B* are jointly responsible.[3]

In the preceding chapter on government it was shown that with the development of political rule the local population nevertheless is active in maintaining the traditional kinship habits as far as possible, and this was illustrated from a traditional address of Chagga elders to young kings on their accession. In the same tribe lawsuits go to the chief's court only as a last resort, and both the

[1] Maclean, J., *A Compendium of Kafir Laws and Customs*, 68–69.
[2] Dundas, "Native Laws of . . . East Africa," 240.
[3] Driberg, J. H., *The Lango; A Nilotic Tribe of Uganda*, 213 (Ernest Benn. By permission). *Cf.* Dundas, "History of Kitui," *Jour. Anth. Inst.*, **43**: 516.

tribal tendency to self-determination and the advantages of appeal to the chief are described by Gutmann:

It was a violation of approved custom to bring a civil suit directly before the chief. First the plaintiff summoned his opponent to the district meadow, where the citizens of the district under the leadership of their *mtsili* [district leader] had the matter brought before them. With the function of a court of arbitration they pronounce the first sentence. To this day these "meadow courts" remove many legal difficulties and thus prevent a reduction of the individual's wealth by saving him the court costs. Whoever admits the judgment of the citizens of his district will not be as resentful toward his opponent before the court as when one party does not give in except before the authority of the chief. The desire for retaliation, as brought into existence by a bitterly fought lawsuit, is especially feared among neighbors.

No fee is to be paid to the meadow court. But the skillful leader who knows how to negotiate and adjust wisely will recognize from voluntary gifts that the parties appreciate his services. Many invite their neighbors to a round of beer and place the matter before them. From there they betake themselves to the assembly meadow and summon the defendant to put in his appearance there. . . .

The chief disregarded the meadow courts, as it were. There were no committals from the chief's court to them. No questions were asked concerning a trial before the meadow court when a complaint was brought to the chief's abode. Nevertheless, the chief was informed concerning almost all meadow-court deliberations, whether directly through the district leader or through the conversations in the guard huts of his warriors. Thus he was prepared, in most instances, when someone brought a complaint before him. Furthermore, to this extent there was an organic link between the two instances in that the court-meadow assembly constituted a part of the legal assembly, whose duty it was to pass final judgment.

Whoever was not satisfied with the decision of the meadow court, but instead showed himself indignant was warned, "Do you think, perhaps, that the Yard of the Ax is suitable for jesting?"

"The Yard of the Ax" is the courtyard of the chief, when used as gathering place for the legal assembly. The chief's authority gives the sentence weight and he also sees to it that it is carried out. The figure of the ax represents not only the chief, but also his function as the powerful collector of damages or other fines and stipulator of fees to be paid before the suit is begun. . . .

He who wished to carry his complaint before the chief came at first no farther than to the *menge*. This is the assembly place before the chief's dwelling. Here the exercises of the warriors are carried on, here also decisions are made affecting the welfare both of the individual and the country as a whole. In this connection the menge is the chief's field as contrasted to the *pata*, the district field. On the chief's field the

plaintiff is received by the warriors on guard. They listen to his story and one of them leads the cow or goat which he has brought as preliminary fee to the chief. If he arrives without this tribute, he gets nowhere with his suit. Instead he is told to go and fetch the animal. With this in mind the field guards say of themselves, "We close the field of the chief."

The guard who brings the animal to the chief also lays the complaint of the donor before him. Thus he becomes the plaintiff's counsel who stands by him to the end of the suit. The plaintiff himself never comes before the chief. The intermediary is called *mbele, i.e.*, the forerunner (representative).

A second guard is sent to the defendant with the request that he, too, furnish a correspondingly large preliminary fee and appear on the chief's field "to have his eyes opened." This summoner becomes the mbele and counsel for the defendant. . . .

After both parties, assisted by their counsel, have appeared on the menge, the actual lawsuit is set in motion by a mtsili. This man is either the regular leader of the district from which the contestants hail, or he has been specially appointed Speaker for the occasion. Ordinarily the chief himself was not present during the court procedure. Instead he awaited the report from the spokesmen concerning the outcome at his residence. . . .

The direct intervention of the chief during a lawsuit became necessary when one party had placed the other under mental duress during the trial. The embarrassment before a distinguished and influential opponent was apt to affect a person to such an extent that he admitted that which he never had done. One of the peculiarities of their forensic rhetoric was this: While the facts of the case, as known to both parties, are being unraveled, the opponent is challenged after each sentence with "*Hamba e*—say 'yes' (*i.e.*, 'admit it')." This direct participation in the line of thoughts of the other party ceases immediately, however, as soon as the contested points are touched. But, under the special circumstances referred to above, this device of the dialogue leads to mental compulsion. The party addressed agrees on points which have been distorted by the opponent until he admits a guilt of which he knows himself in fact to be innocent. They call this "losing a suit through bashfulness." In other words, to confess something because of fear or timidity which one has not done at all.

Not only may the opponent be intimidated, but also the *watsindi*, that is, the representatives of the legal assembly who are doing duty on that day. They too may be unable to do anything with one of the parties, whose power in the community may be so great as to make them fear a decision unfavorable to him, or they may simply be unable to secure freedom for the other party. Such blocking of just procedure is termed *itsindikya:* to press or dictate something by force.

The court of arbitration has only one recourse in all these emergencies, if it wishes to follow its normal legal instincts: to stop functioning, suspend itself. Then the watsindi do not follow the procedings at all; they

pull part of their clothing in front of their mouths and remain silent. This forces the *wambele* to go to the chief with the message: "The legal procedure has gone astray." The speaker on the court meadow receives the chief with the report: "*Lohingahinga:* we are hanging, *i.e.*, we have, to be sure, cut into the suit (that is what *hingahinga* literally means), but we cannot cut through it." In response to a question by the speaker, the other watsindi confirm his statement with: "Who could settle this matter except the chief himself!"

The watsindi now address themselves to the wronged party: "Grasp hold of the upper arm of the chief!" The legal assembly finally solicits the help of the chief in a demonstrative speech: "Your ancestors protected this country (their names are repeated). They insisted upon justice and protected our council ground. One chief always ruled over us, just as there is only one moon. He held the scepter and separated those engaged in strife. When two rams are breaking each other's horns, the shepherd separates them. You are the shepherd, here are the contestants. We do not dare to separate them. Untangle the lawsuit yourself."

In the presence of the chief, the negotiations are taken up anew. It happens, however, that the chief himself reopens the whole case. This is done when the legal assembly reports that the action has taken its normal course, but the chief has been secretly informed by a third party that one contestant has been treated unjustly, perhaps because of biased watsindi. If this is the case, he scolds them instead of making their sentence known. He says, for example: "The suit concerned a trifle; you have puffed it up with your mouths." But when the chief proceeds in this manner, it is an open question, whether the chiding is really deserved, for the chief will do the same thing when the guilty party has secretly asked him, by giving him a head of cattle, to reduce the penalty.

More dangerous than the corrupter of the law is the person who defies it. He simply refuses to obey the sentence and pay the opponent the fine or damages awarded him. Such a person they call *ngolohora.* In case of defiance, the chief could commission the mbele of the loser to proceed with the watsindi to the dwelling of the stubborn one and take an adequate number of cattle by force. (The wambele are mediators and guarantee the execution of the provisions set forth in the judgment.)

It may be, however, that a rich man is involved who is protected by a strong kin group acting together. They threaten to emigrate if anything is taken from their kinsman by force, and the chief must find another way to safeguard endangered justice. He summons before him the recalcitrant, his kin group, and all the district leaders and their assistants. With their aid he tries to persuade the ngolohora to pay what he justly owes voluntarily. Here, too, the power of religious sentiment is used; with it the chief attempts to soften the defiant soul and—what is more important—his kinship group (*imbirisa:* to make him tender). They are faced, he says, with great danger, since the rightful victor in the lawsuit may decide to curse the ground of their sib and their

posterity will perish. Or the chief may threaten: "If you defy me thus in my own country, I will strike my forehead tomorrow morning," *i.e.*, the chief will condemn him to death by striking his (the chief's) own forehead while mentioning the name of the man in question. Or they picture to him, what great danger he brings down upon his own son by his procrastination. The son will have to pay out not only the number of cattle now stipulated, but also their whole issue. They say to him: "Do not entangle the whole lawsuit. If you do, the people will wait until you die and then they will say: 'That ruffian is dead. Now we will go and take out the whole claim on his son!'"

Under the influence of such arguments and the determined way in which they are advanced by the leaders of the country, the kinsmen of the stubborn man become thoughtful. When they now talk it over with him, he finally gives up his resistance. It was not meant [he says] to be taken so seriously, but was only a gesture to close the quarrel in an honorable way; for one can give in to the plea of the chief without losing respect.

According to circumstances, the chief can also subject the defiant man to an ordeal, by causing him, for example, to drink the blood from a severed ear of the cow in question. This is really possible only when the person who has been sentenced still believes that he has the law on his side.

Some refuse to submit to the sentence on the ground that they will have the case retried. The chief will probably assure them on his oath that they will never succeed in this while he is alive.

In many cases the resistance to the judgment of the court is prompted by the feeling: If I stand my ground no other person will dare to sue me. For this reason also a man may seek to gain the silence of the chief. The loss of cattle does not hurt him as much as the loss of prestige. He secretly has a fine cow taken to the chief and pleads with him: "Chief, step aside and let me have my way. I will give that poor wretch (the opponent) a small calf; everything else will remain as before." If he can gain this protection, he can watch trouble come his way with composure.[1]

From the West African Ewe tribe the procedure in a village court in connection with a domestic quarrel has been reported by Spieth. It will be noticed that by a custom of courtesy, related to the avoidance of direct naming, the testimony of the witnesses is conveyed to the principals and the court indirectly, through third parties:

[The defendant K had urged his wife A to remove with him from Ahliha to another village, in consequence of the death of his brother there. On her refusal K said:] "If anyone in Ahliha has anything to do with you I will kill you. When the *hos* [council of elders] delivered judgment in

[1] Gutmann, *op. cit.*, 590–599 (C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung. By permission).

the matter between you and your former husband and gave you to me for wife, it would have been better, had they given you back to your husband and sentenced me to pay three or four bags of money cowrie."

The wife told this to her parents who felt they had been insulted by the statement. They asked whether they had committed a sin in giving him their daughter for a wife. When K heard that the parents knew of the matter and were angered by it, he bought two bottles of brandy with which to appease and reconcile the father-in-law and uncles-in-law. Y and his brothers did not accept the brandy, however, and said that they were offended by what he had said about them. Was the good they had done him an injustice? They refused to take the peace offering. But that did not prevent K from continuing to visit his wife in Ahliha.

One day K heard that A in Ahliha had been together with K's wife. For this K demanded that a fine be imposed. The matter had not yet been investigated. One day the men of Ahliha had gone out with their women and children to work in the fields. Only a few men remained behind to do roofing. In the course of the forenoon a messenger suddenly came to M in the field. He said that K, in a very intoxicated state and carrying a knife, had come to kill M's sister A. At this moment they were quarreling at the house. M said he wouldn't go; he had warned his sister often enough, but she hadn't listened to him; if K wanted to kill her, let him go ahead. The elder Kdz disapproved strongly of this attitude and said to M: "Return right away; you can't take such a message lightly. I will follow you immediately." When M got back he saw that they were quarreling and that K had a knife. M took his sister to his own house at once. He said to her: "Haven't I told you every day to stay away from K? And you have refused! It might have been the cause of your death." Hereupon K went after her with the knife; M however scolded him and said: "I will never permit you to come into my house to kill my sister." He pushed K outside with the words: "Go home, you have no business coming around A any more!" Three times he pushed him back to keep him from coming in. K remained, however, and insisted on coming into the house. M to K: "You reprobate, if you enter my house it will be the cause of a great lawsuit." K didn't listen. Now Kdz arrived, too, and took the knife away from him. As K produced a second knife they also got this out of his hand. They told him to go home; he remained. Then M called the other people of the village and said: "Seize this drunkard for me!" whereupon they tied him up. When his brothers in Ahoe heard that K had been captured and held in Ahliha because of his wife, nobody went to help him. Only Am [brother of K] upbraided the chiefs and the inhabitants of Ahliha. Some people wanted to beat him [Am], but the elders prevented them. K wept and howled in his fetters. Kdz pleaded with M in K's favor. When they had extracted the promise from K that he would return home quietly, they untied him and he went home. Before he went, however, he said that this was not the end of the matter, there would still be a lawsuit.

When the people of Ahliha returned home from the fields that evening and heard what had happened they were much angered. They sent their speaker (representative) YK to AY and B to tell them what had taken place between K and his wife. He also requested them to appear with K and his brothers in Ahliha early next morning. AY answered: "K is my nephew and if there is any complaint against him, I am the judge. God willing that we arise in good health tomorrow morning we will come." [KY also summoned the chief and representatives of the Ahliha district and] it was published in the village of Ahliha that nobody should go to the fields the next morning, since they had to assemble in court because of the trouble between K and his wife. . . .

First of all they gave K an opportunity to speak. He said, however, that he had been drunk, they should ask his wife. As a result they gave her the floor. She said: "Greetings! The speaker is to listen to me and pass my words to my father and the chiefs. About four years have now passed since my (first) husband left me. I became sick and dependent on my father. The missionaries took care of me, so that I got well again. K then entered into relations with me and I was agreed that we live together. We left his town, Ahoe, and went to my place in Ahliha. I worked and cooked for him, took care of everything for him, and went in the fields with him. My former husband became irritated over this and said that he would take me away from K. I refused, however, since I had no other intention than to remain with K. Because of this quarrel you, *hos*, gave me to K for a wife and I am now his woman. The whole blame in the matter fell on my former husband. I lived together with K. Then his older brother G in Ahoe died, whereupon my husband demanded that I leave Ahliha and move to him in Ahoe, where he wanted to bury his brother. I refused, however, and said that I could not be with him in Ahoe since I owned a little house of my own here in Ahliha. But in spite of that he still came to see me. When he had been drinking he always started to quarrel with me and said that since I did not want to move with him to Ahoe he would kill anyone who touched me. One day he was very drunk and insulted me, my father, and my mother. He said, if he had paid a fine of four or five bags of money cowrie[1] at the time when the judges gave me to him for wife, that would have been better. When he took away the hoe and ax he had given me, I did not cook for him any more. Then when he noticed that everyone had gone to the fields, he got drunk, came with a knife, and wanted to kill me in the room. I held the knife and cried for help until my brother M came and took me to his house. K pursued me over there, too, in order to kill me in M's house. My older brother came to my aid and tied K. That's the reason why I don't want to remain with him any longer. I am sorry that I still have yams on his field." The elders had these words of the woman repeated to K and then gave the latter a chance to explain.

K greeted those present and spoke: "A is my wife. I love her very much and never had any intention of killing her, which she herself knows

[1] As punishment for forbidden relations with *A* while she still was with her first husband.

very well. If I had been minded to kill her, I could have done that while the two of us were together in the fields, couldn't I? If A says that I had a big knife in my hand to be used against her, that is not so. I didn't have the knife because of her. I only had the knife of my brother G in my hand, the one with which he makes palm wine. That's what I came with. To be sure, I began to quarrel, but never intended at all to kill her. I was drunk and therefore do not know anything at all about her statements. Drunk, that's what I was, and I surrender to you with the promise never to do it again. Give me back my wife and let her stay with me."

Hereupon M [brother of A] got up and said: "Listen and tell the elders!" He then asked KD to listen and repeat it to K. "If K claims that he did not intend to use the knife against A, he lies; certainly he used the knife against her. The Ahliha people were all in the fields, only Kdz and a few others had remained home. Suddenly B came hurrying and said to me: 'K is causing trouble for your sister and wants to kill her.' I pondered the matter a little and answered that I was not going to look after her. This was because I had so often told her not to stay with K any longer, since he was a bad fellow. But A paid no attention. My older brother now called out to me and said such a dangerous message was not to be taken so lightly; that I should leave for home right away and he would follow at once. I hurried to the spot and saw that K had a knife. I pushed him off and took A to my house. K pursued her, however, and tried to get into my house. I didn't allow this and said that if he dared to come into my house, I would become as bad a person as he was because of him. But K refused to listen to reason and said he would get into the house and attack A with the knife. Suddenly my brother Kdz came with a few other men and took the knife away from K; when he pulled out a second one they took that away too. He was drunk; if he hadn't been, we couldn't have got the knife away from him and he would certainly have killed my sister. I begged K to go home, but it was all in vain. That is why I asked some of our people to tie him up, as was done. Then his brother Am came from Ahoe and upbraided us. We wanted to give him a beating, but the elders prevented us. You may consider B, who came and called me, a lunatic, but I know that he has sense. If he hadn't called me, my sister would no longer be alive. If my sister has refused to live with K any more, I am in complete agreement. K ought to go home and *A* is to stay here."

Now GK, brother of K on the father's side, began to speak. He greeted those present and said they should listen to him, so that the elders also could hear and then pass on his opinions to M and his brother. "What K has done is very bad; he was drunk when he did it. This grieves us, his brothers on the father's side, very much. But we implore A's father and mother, not to take his wife away from him. We shall also keep a sharp eye on him from now on, so that he does not attempt to hurt his wife again while he is drinking. This we earnestly request of you."

Kdz, M's older brother, now got up, greeted the listeners and said: "The speaker will listen and repeat my words to the elders, to K Dz and to his brothers. I beg your pardon, (but) although K had already insulted us when the hos gave him A for a wife, he just hated us and did not see that we had done him a kindness thereby. Hasn't KY's wife, the sister-in-law of K who left KY, moved to Gbi and is still running around with a man there? Or did KY make a gift of his daughter to K? She cooks for him, fetches his water, and works in the fields with him. I and my brothers got no palm wine from K when he became engaged to A; whether he bought any for her father, I don't know. He who comes to the father of a girl with brandy under his cloak can't marry in our part of the Ewe country. Palm wine is the engagement gift in the interior of the land of Ewe. And if anybody comes along with a jug full of palm wine on his head and is asked about it, he answers that it is palm wine for an engagement which he is carrying to the house of this or that person. Nobody has drunk of K's engagement wine. K didn't let his marriage cost him anything. That's the reason, too, why he pulled a knife on her with the intention of killing her. A murder committed as the result of a quarrel is very bad. And since A now refuses to be with K any more we agree with her. With knife or sword in hand one goes into the forest, but not into the house of one's father-in-law or mother-in-law."

Now KY, father of A, rose up, greeted those present and said: "K Dz is to listen and repeat it to his brothers on the father's side. K is my nephew, but he did not get A from me for a wife. Certainly I am provoked at K. That's why I forbade my daughter to continue with K. But my daughter did not obey me; I spoke with her often, until I finally got tired of telling her. I stopped warning her and from that time on I only tried to see how they were living together. Esteemed fathers, I ask your pardon; do not feel hurt by what I am saying! It is you, hos, who gave my child A to K for a wife. Esteemed fathers, I did not disregard your decree, but left A at your disposal so that she became the wife of K. I have drunk none of K's engagement wine, he has never worked in my fields. I know that between man and wife there is no end of small quarrels. K and his wife had a quarrel with one another and on that occasion reviled me and my brothers. He said to his wife, if he had been found guilty that time and had had to pay four or six bags[1] of money cowrie, and if further they had taken away A from him instead of giving her to him, it would have been better. This statement irritated me greatly. Only a few days later K brought me two bottles of brandy and asked my forgiveness; he was very drunk when he spoke those words. I refused to accept the brandy and he took it away with him again. Shortly thereafter he tried to kill my child. Listen! He who enters the territory of murderers never returns, but he who goes to the land of those that do not kill people, he comes home again. The child of a man in Ziavi came from the field. Somebody meeting the little one pointed a gun at it. The gun did not go off, however. The child ran home to its father and

[1] 1 bag = 10 *hotu* = 10 marks.

said to him: 'I was just at that fence when a man tried to shoot me with his gun, but the gun didn't go off.' The father asked the child to precede him and show him the man. When they came to the fence of the man in question there was a report and the child lay on the ground and died in the presence of its father. They buried the child, it was lost to its father and mother and the murderer was sold, but he is alive to this day and still eats his salt. If you please, you hos, K is my nephew, to be sure, but if he had killed A, my child, I would have advanced on him and done him some violence. If my daughter does not wish to stay with K any longer, I am agreed; if she wishes to stay, all right, I am agreed to that, too. You are my fathers, and I do not refuse to abide by your decree."

Now chief AY got up, greeted those present, and stated that he had only a couple of words to say before they retired to discuss the verdict. They would listen to him and repeat his statement to the father and mother of the child: "So that is the reason for your gathering here today? All right. K is my nephew. I know that in the towns of Ahoe and Heve he is considered quite bad. Let M take notice! When they had bound K, did anyone come either from Ahoe or Heve to help him? It is said that nobody but D Am came to his assistance. Well, he, too, is a bad one. That you tied him when he wanted to commit an evil deed, for that we can only thank you; you saved his life. We cannot blame you in any way. You, the inhabitants of Ahoe, Heve and the royal town, if you see anyone about to carry out a bad deed, put fetters on him! Nobody will come to the aid of such a criminal. When he came to his brethren with evil in mind, you saved him. For this we thank you! You have done no evil, only good. Nobody came to help him, therefore nobody has a right to upbraid you. If any inhabitant of Ahoe had mixed himself in this matter and begun to squabble because of it, we should know what to do with him. I sympathize with you!" YK now reported that the elders had arisen and would retire for the secret council meeting. Those remaining behind were to remain quiet.

The judges retired for their secret discussion and returned after about two hours. . . . Now the speaker AD stood up in the circle of elders, took white clay, and marked KY's arm with it saying: "The elders uphold you; justice is on your side; you have our sympathy." Thereupon AD turned to KD and asked him to tell K as follows: "The old woman [the court] says that you are entirely in the wrong. No one goes into the land of murderers and comes back alive. If you K had killed your wife, could you awaken her again, could you breathe new life into her? This is the last time! The chiefs make known that you must pay a large goat, twenty-four *hotu*, and twelve bottles of brandy. If you have anything to say against the judgment, they will listen to it." KY and his brothers on the father's side thanked the judges and said: "You have spoken." K and his brothers on the father's side retired somewhat to discuss the matter. When they came back they asked the chiefs to reduce the fine somewhat. They agreed and now asked only twelve hotu,

a goat, and six bottles of brandy. They also demanded two bottles of brandy from KY. The chiefs slaughtered the goat immediately, divided the meat, and drank the brandy. Then they gathered once more and said to KY that he should listen carefully: "We hos came together once before and gave A to K for a wife. For this reason all remains as before and she will continue to be his wife." The brothers of A both on the father's and mother's side objected to this and demanded that she be the wife of K no longer. But the hos said: "It will be as we have told you!" A, however, cried and assured them that she would not stay with K and would go where she pleased. But five days later she went back to her husband.[1]

In Samoa there were organized assemblies (*fono*) whose judgments were executed by a form of mob action, either by the destruction of the property of the offender and his family or by the injury, death, or banishment of the individual offender:

In the judicial proceedings of the *fono*, the punishments may be classed under two heads, *o le sala*, and *o le tua;* the former consisting of the destruction of houses, livestock, and plantations, with, at times, the seizure of personal property and banishment; the latter consisting of personal punishment.

The severe punishment of o le sala was usually inflicted by the whole available force of the district awarding it. Sometimes it was tamely submitted to, but at other times resistance was offered, if the culprits felt themselves strong enough to do so, when desperate encounters followed; and these at times gave rise to general wars. The *sala* was also at times inflicted by one family upon another, if the aggrieved party was strong enough. This, although irregular, was connived at by the leading members of the community; but if the punishment was considered excessive, they would then interfere. One great evil attending this mode of punishment was that at times the whole family, or even district, suffered for the offense of one of its members, so that not only did all suffer from the loss of property, but, when, as was sometimes the case, banishment, *fa'ateva*, was added to destruction of property and dwellings, many suffered from the punishment.

Upon a fono deciding upon this punishment, it was usual to carry it into effect immediately. In that case, the leading men of the settlement, rising from the place of meeting, proceeded towards the residence of the obnoxious family, attended by their followers, where they quickly seated themselves upon the ground in full view of the family they had decided to banish. The latter often heard of the sentence in sufficient time to enable them to remove their mats and other household property to a place of safety; but the livestock generally fell into the hands of the expelling party, who reserved them to feast upon after the work of the day.

Formality was still the order of proceeding, and the anxious family had yet a little time to make preparations for their departure, as one of the

[1] Spieth, J., *Die Ewe Stämme*, 168–180 (Dietrich Reimer. By permission).

judicial party rose to make a speech, or *fai fetalainga*, for the benefit of the head of the doomed family, in which he informed him of the decision of the fono, and that they had come to enforce it. On the conclusion of this speech one of the judicial party rose up and commenced to ring the breadfruit trees, so as to destroy the part above the injured bark, leaving the stump alive, and uninjured, from which in a short time young shoots sprang up, bearing fruit after two or three seasons. The commencement of this work of destruction was either the signal for resistance to be offered, or for the family to gather up their belongings, and remove from the dwelling with sad hearts, to commence their solitary journey as outcasts on the road, whilst their house was set on fire and destroyed.

Whilst these proceedings were going on, if no resistance was offered, the old men sat around the spot, quietly plaiting their *cinet*, and chatting together apparently quite unconcerned, and waiting for the return of the young men who had been dispatched to plunder the taro patches, or else, watching with interest the chasing and killing the pigs around, ready for the feast which was soon to be prepared. On the whole of the provisions being collected, they were cooked and eaten by the expelling party, who then returned to their homes. It was a sad sight to witness this driving a family from their homes, and sending them out to wander on until they reached a spot where some friend would give them land on which to build a home.

Sometimes the sentence was to go forthwith and destroy the breadfruit trees, without expelling the family or burning their homes. The length of time the banished party remained absent from their village varied much. Their term of banishment was never specified, nor the place to which they were to go made known, unless on very particular occasions. It was generally considered sufficient to know that the expelled party were on the road; and they might take shelter wherever they liked, beyond the limits of the village or settlement from whence they had been expelled. Sometimes they were specially warned to remove to a distance.

Should the expelled party be influential, it sometimes happened that, having acknowledged the power of their settlement by submitting quietly to punishment, some friend would suggest to his companions that, their authority having been asserted and acknowledged, it would be desirable to recall the banished party, so as not to lose strength. Should this suggestion prove agreeable, those who had previously decreed the banishment went in a body to the place where the refugees were to be found, and made a conciliatory speech, telling them to *fa'a molemole* (make smooth your hearts), and return to their settlement. This generally healed the breach, but sometimes it took more to smooth the ruffled hearts; and the banished parties remained absent for years, or permanently located themselves in another settlement, which they found no difficulty in doing, from the extent of their family connections.

It occasionally happened, however, that the term of banishment was very lengthened, especially when the sentence had been pronounced in a

full fono, and where the offense had been great. One such case came under my notice. A powerful A'ana chief had committed adultery with the wife of a Manono chief, in consequence of which he had been banished to Savaii. Manono remained quiet as long as he absented himself and respected their prohibition of not returning to A'ana, a violation of which would have occasioned war. A'ana was a conquered district, but this chief had powerful family connections on Savaii, who belonged to the Malo, or victorious party, to whom he went and lived under their protection for several years. Although afraid to return openly to A'ana, I was assured that he paid frequent night visits there, to consult with his friends and partisans. At length, after many unavailing attempts had been made by his friends on Savaii to induce Manono to consent to his returning to A'ana, his friends on Savaii called a meeting, at which it was determined to muster a large armed party and take him back to his home in face of the prohibition. They called at Manono on their way, and informed the principal men of that island of their resolve; and the Manono people, seeing that they were determined as to their course, thought it prudent to cease their opposition, and forgive the offense. The Savaii party then quietly accompanied the chief to A'ana, and reinstated him in his former position. After his reproach had been removed, he preferred returning with his friends to Savaii, where he continued to reside.

The other class of punishment, noticed under the head of o le tua, was personal, and, like the former, was inflicted immediately sentence had been pronounced, in the presence of the whole assembly. This punishment was awarded for the following offenses: theft, insulting traveling parties, preparing pitfalls, and taking the comb out of a married woman's head.

Amongst these punishments may be noticed the *fa'afoa*, which consisted of compelling the delinquent to inflict severe wounds and bruises upon himself, by beating his head and chest with a large stone, until the blood flowed freely. If there appeared any disposition on the part of the culprit to inflict merely slight wounds, the chiefs assembled immediately ordered him to strike harder; which command was further speedily enforced by the prompt and unsparing use of a war club, if necessary.

O le-u-tavi, or causing to bite the *tavi*, a poisonous and acrid root, was a common and very painful punishment. On biting the root the mouth swelled greatly, and the sufferer experienced intense agony for a considerable time afterwards.

Catching poisonous spined fish in the hand after they had thrown them in the air was another severe personal punishment, commonly inflicted at fonos. This fish was covered with sharp-pointed spines, and the punishment consisted in making the culprit throw it into the air, and then catch it in his naked hand as it fell. Whenever a spine entered the hand, it caused great agony and suffering.

O le fa'a-la-ina, or exposure to the sun, was another punishment commonly inflicted for theft. The culprit's hands and feet were tied together, and a pole passed through them, when he was carried to a public place,

and placed in the broiling sun, to be exposed to the intense heat for many hours together. On other occasions the offender's feet were tied together, and he was then hoisted up to the top of a tall coconut tree, and suspended head downward, for many hours together. These five punishments have now mostly if not entirely become obsolete, and fines of pigs, property, etc., have taken their places.

In cases of murder or adultery, the common mode of making compensation to the injured party or their relatives was by the *ifonga*, or bowing down, accompanied with a *totongi*, or payment of a fine. In case the offending party thought it prudent to tender this satisfaction, he collected some valuable mats, in number and quality according to the nature of the offense, and with his friends prepared to make his submission. When it was thought necessary to appear very humble, the parties took pieces of firewood, stones, and leaves with them, to signify that they put themselves entirely into the power of the aggrieved party, who might kill, cook, and eat them, if they thought proper. On nearing their place of destination, which they usually managed to reach before or by daybreak, the culprit wrapped some valuable mats around his body, and with the rest of his party proceeded to the place where they intended to make their submission. If the offended party was a chief, they proceeded at once to his residence, where, prostrating themselves before his house, they awaited in silence his decision. The position assumed on such occasions was that of bowing on their hands and knees, or sitting cross-legged, with the head placed between the knees.

Immediately on their arrival becoming known, the chief was informed of it, and this was the critical time for the anxious party outside the dwelling. The ifonga, however, was usually deferred until it had been ascertained that the angry feelings first felt had in some measure subsided; but it occasionally happened that the injured party were unable to control their passions on seeing their enemy prostrate before them; in which case they rushed out spear and club in hand to inflict summary chastisement upon the humbled company. Some of the latter, who were on the lookout for such a contingency, narrowly watched the movements of the party within the house, and were ready to give prompt notice of any meditated onslaught, so that the whole infonga were ready to take flight on the first notice of an onslaught, either to the bush, or else to their canoes. Severe wounds were often given in such cases, and sometimes even lives were sacrificed, where the lookout had been carelessly performed, or the onslaught was unusually fierce.

Generally speaking, the ifonga or submitting party were well received, and a messenger, dispatched to invite them to rise and enter the dwelling to *fai fetalainga*, or hold a consultation. The payment of property was then tendered, accompanied with an apology on behalf of the transgressor by one of his companions. The chief and his friends replied, and sometimes vented their displeasure upon their visitors in no very measured terms. To this wordy chastisement the ifonga replied with all due sub-

mission, took their leave, and retired, heartily glad to escape with their lives, or indeed with whole heads and limbs. . . .

Sometimes other punishments were inflicted, as *o le ta-o-le-isu* (tattooing the nose), also *o le tipi o le talinga* (splitting the ear), both of which marks of degradation were at times inflicted for certain offenses.

In the only case of deliberate execution for a crime (murder) that occurred during my residence on Samoa the victim was bound to a tree, the rope being fastened around the legs and then wound slowly but tightly upwards, the wretched criminal meanwhile shrieking fearfully, and beseeching his executioners to kill him with an ax, or otherwise put an end to his misery. This execution took place in Atua, and was the result of a long and anxious native trial, and much discussion as to the mode of execution that should be adopted. The one chosen was decided upon as being more in unison with native custom than hanging. The culprit's name was Toi, and his crime a most revolting family murder, in which he sacrified five or six lives. For a very long time he evaded capture, being sheltered in the mountains, but was at length hunted down and executed.[1]

Punishment by the humiliation of being cooked and eaten symbolically, mentioned here and in the earlier quotation from von Bülow, is found as a reality among the Batak of Sumatra, where cannibalism is employed in the case of certain offenses:

The victims of the practice were adulterers, spies, traitors, committers of incest, and war captives. Rules governing the eating of human beings were, however, strict. No criminal could be condemned to be eaten without a trial, and prisoners of war could be eaten only on the battleground or in the near vicinity, soon after the contest. Two points in the philosophy of the Bataks concerning the practices seem clear. In the first place, being eaten was considered the supreme punishment and deepest disgrace, and secondly, there was a vague idea of enriching one's own soul stuff (*tondi*) by devouring the flesh of another man. Sometimes only the ears and palms of the hands were eaten, the rest of the body being given to the priests to use for magic and medicine. The head and hands were dried and hung up as trophies in the village pavilion. A relative who wished to remove the head of an executed kinsman could do so on payment of a ransom.

The feast always had to take place outside the house, either in the village pavilion or in the open. The condemned man was tied to a post as if he were a sacrificial buffalo, and killed with lance thrusts, or, in some cases, slowly sliced to death as choice bits were hacked off his living body. Originally, it seems that every man in the village was compelled to consume some of the flesh, probably to assure distribution of responsibility.[2]

[1] Stair, J. B., *Old Samoa*, 91–102, *passim*.
[2] Kennedy, *op. cit.*, 71–72.

Among the Maori, plundering a man in retaliation or as collection of damages became more or less socialized in a custom termed *muru,* which took the peculiar directions described by Maning, who was long a colonial judge in New Zealand:

There were in the old times two great institutions, which ruled with iron rod in Maori land—the *tapu* and the *muru. Pakehas* [white men] who knew no better called the *muru* simply "robbery," because the word *muru,* in its common signification, means to plunder. But I speak of the regular legalized and established system of plundering, as penalty for offenses; which in a rough way resembled our law by which a man is obliged to pay "damages." Great abuses had, however, crept into this system—so great, indeed, as to render the retention of any sort of movable property almost an impossibility, and in a great measure, too, discourage the inclination to labor for its acquisition. These great inconveniences were, however, met, or in some degree softened, by an expedient of a peculiarly Maori nature, which I shall by-and-by explain.

The offenses for which people were plundered were sometimes of a nature which, to a mere pakeha, would seem curious. A man's child fell in the fire and was almost burnt to death. The father was immediately plundered to an extent that almost left him without the means of subsistence: fishing nets, canoes, pigs, provisions—all went; his canoe upset, and he and all his family narrowly escaped drowning—some were, perhaps, drowned. He was immediately robbed, and well pummeled with a club into the bargain, if he was not good at the science of self-defense—the club part of the ceremony being always fairly administered one against one, and after fair warning given to defend himself. He might be clearing some land for potatoes, burning off the fern, and the fire spreads further than he intended and gets into a *wahi tapu* or burying ground. No matter whether anyone has been buried in it for the last hundred years, he is tremendously robbed. In fact, for ten thousand different causes a man might be robbed; and I can really imagine a case in which a man for scratching his own head might be legally robbed.

Now as the enforcers of this law were also the parties who received the damages, as well as the judges of the amount—which in many cases (such as that of the burnt child) would be everything they could by any means lay hands on—it is easy to perceive that under such a system, personal property was an evanescent sort of thing altogether. These executions or distraints were never resisted. Indeed in many cases (as I shall explain by-and-by), it would have been felt as a slight, and even an insult, *not* to be robbed; the sacking of a man's establishment being often taken as a high compliment, especially if his head was broken into the bargain: and to resist the execution would not only have been looked upon as mean and disgraceful in the highest degree, *but it would have debarred the comtemptible individual from the privilege of robbing his neighbors;* which was the compensating expedient I have alluded to. All this may seem a waste of words to my pakeha Maori readers, to whom these things have

become such matters of course as to be no longer remarkable; but I have remembered that there are so many new people in the country who don't understand the beauty of being knocked down and robbed, that I shall say a few more words on the subject.

The tract of country inhabited by a single tribe might be, say, from forty to a hundred miles square, and the different villages of the different sections of the tribe would be scattered over this area at different distances from each other. We will by way of illustrating the working of the muru system, take the case of the burnt child. Soon after the accident it would be heard of in the neighboring villages; the family of the mother are probably the inhabitants of one of them, and have, according to the law of muru, the first and greatest right to clean out the afflicted father; a child being considered to belong to the family of the mother more than to that of the father—in fact, it is their child, which the father has the rearing of. The child was, moreover, a promising lump of a boy, the makings of a future warrior, and consequently very valuable to the whole tribe in general; but to the mother's family in particular. "A pretty thing to let him get spoiled." Then he is a boy of good family, a *rangatira* by birth, and it would never do to let the thing pass without making a noise about it: that would be an insult to the dignity of the families of both father and mother. Decidedly, besides being robbed, the father must be assaulted with a spear. True, he is a famous spearsman, and for his own credit must "hurt" someone or another if attacked. But this is of no consequence: a flesh wound more or less deep is to be counted on; and then think of the plunder! It is against the law of muru that anyone should be killed, and first blood ends the duel. Then the natural affection of all the child's relations is great. They are all in a great state of excitement, and trying to remember how many canoes, and pigs, and other valuable articles, the father has got: for this must be a clean sweep.

A strong party is now mustered, headed probably by the brother of the mother of the child. He is a stout chap, and carries a long tough spear. A messenger is sent to the father, to say that the *taua muru* is coming, and may be expected tomorrow, or the next day. He asks, "Is it a great *taua* [party]?" "Yes; it is a very great taua indeed." The victim smiles, he feels highly complimented; he *is* then a man of consequence. His child is also of great consideration; he is thought worthy of a large force being sent to rob him! Now he sets all in motion to prepare a huge feast for the friendly robbers, his relations. He may as well be liberal, for his provisions are sure to go, whether or no. Pigs are killed and baked whole, potatoes are piled up in great heaps, all is made ready; he looks out his best spear, and keeps it always ready in his hand. At last the taua appears on a hill half a mile off; then the whole fighting men of the section of the tribe of which he is an important member, collect at his back, all armed with spear and club, to show that they could resist, if they would: a thing, however, not to be thought of under the circumstances.

On comes the taua. The mother begins to cry in proper form; the tribe shout the call of welcome to the approaching robbers; and then with a grand rush, all armed, and looking as if they intended to exterminate all before them, the *kai muru* appear on the scene. They dance the war dance, which the villagers answer with another. Then the chief's brother-in-law advances, spear in hand, with the most alarming gestures. "Stand up! Stand up! I will kill you this day." is his cry. The defendant is not slow to answer the challenge. A most exciting, and what to a new pakeha would appear a most desperately dangerous, fencing bout with spears, instantly commences. The attack and defense are in the highest degree scientific; the spear shafts keep up a continuous rattle; the thrust, and parry, and stroke with the spear shaft follow each other with almost incredible rapidity, and are too rapid to be followed by an unpracticed eye. At last the brother-in-law is slightly touched; blood also drops from our chief's thigh. The fight instantly ceases; leaning on their spears, probably a little badinage takes place between them, and then the brother-in-law roars out, "*Murua! Murua! Murua!*" Then the new arrivals commence a regular sack, and the two principals sit down quietly with a few others for a friendly chat, in which the child's name is never mentioned, or the inquiry as to whether he is dead or alive even made.

The case I have just described would, however, be one of more than ordinary importance; slighter "accidents and offenses" would be atoned for by a milder form of operation. But the general effect was to keep personal property circulating from hand to hand pretty briskly, or indeed to convert it into public property; for no man could say who would be the owner of his canoe, or blanket, in a month's time. Indeed, in that space of time, I once saw a nice coat, which a native had got from the captain of a trading schooner, and which was an article much coveted in those days, pass through the hands, and over the backs, of six different owners, and return, considerably the worse from wear, to the original purchaser; and all these transfers had been made by legal process of muru. I have been often myself paid the compliment of being robbed for little accidents occurring in my family, and have several times also, from a feeling of politeness, robbed my Maori friends; though I can't say I was a great gainer by these transactions.

I think the greatest haul I ever made was about half a bag of shot, which I thought a famous joke, seeing that I had sold it the day before to the owner for full value. A month after this I was disturbed early in the morning, by a voice shouting "Get up! Get up! I will kill you this day. You have roasted my grandfather. Get up! *Stand* up!" I, of course, guessed that I had committed some heinous though involuntary offense, and the "stand up" hinted the immediate probable consequences; so out I turned, spear in hand, and who should I see, armed with a bayonet on the end of a long pole, but my friend the late owner of the bag of shot. He came at me with pretended fury; made some smart bangs and thrusts, which I parried, and then explained to me that I had

"cooked his grandfather;" and that if I did not come down handsome in the way of damages, deeply as he might regret the necessity, his own credit, and the law of muru, compelled him either to sack my house, or die in the attempt. I was glad enough to prevent either event, by paying him two whole bags of shot, two blankets, divers fishhooks, and certain figs of tobacco, which he demanded. I found that I had really and truly committed a most horrid crime. I had on a journey made my fire at the foot of a tree, in the top of which the bones of my friend's grandfather had once been deposited, but from which they had been removed ten years before. The tree caught fire and had burnt down: and I, therefore, by a convenient sort of figure of speech, had "roasted his grandfather," and had to pay the penalty accordingly.

It did not require much financial ability on my part, after a few experiences of this nature, to perceive that I had better avail myself of my privileges as a pakeha, and have nothing further to do with the law of muru—a determination I have kept to strictly. If ever I have unwittingly injured any of my neighbors, I have always made what I considered just compensation, and resisted the muru altogether: and I will say this for my friends, that when any of them have done an accidental piece of mischief, they have, in most cases without being asked, offered to pay for it.[1]

Magical concepts among primitives are used in several ways to support the habit systems. The young are indoctrinated with the belief that infractions of the code will be followed by some misfortune. This point of view is particularly emphasized in Australia:

It is quite true that many such laws or customs are obeyed without the dread of physical punishment being inflicted for their breach, by any tribal authority, individual or collective. But such laws or customs are obeyed because the native has been told, from his earliest childhood, that their infraction will be followed by some supernatural personal punishment. . . . According to Mr. Curr . . . a blackfellow is educated from infancy in the belief that a departure from the customs of his tribe is invariably followed by one, at least, of many possible evils, such as becoming prematurely gray, being afflicted with ophthalmia, skin eruptions, or sickness, but above all, that it exposes the offender to the danger of death from sorcery.[2]

Magic is also widely used and feared as insurance against wrongs, as retaliation for wrongs, and as a form of judgment where wrongs are imputed. The employment of fetish in West Africa as a form of police to guard property has been described in detail by Miss Kingsley and other writers. Property marks contain, perhaps

[1] [Maning, F. E.,] *Old New Zealand: Being Incidents of Native Customs and Character in the Old Times, by a pakeha* Maori, 83–89 (Smith, Elder and Co. By permission).

[2] Howitt, *op. cit.*, 296 (The Macmillan Company. By permission).

always, a magical threat as well as a property claim. Of the Orokaiva of New Guinea Williams says:

With respect to the various tangible protection marks, whatever their sanctions, they have no real value as physical barriers to trespass or appropriation. The commonest is *papara* or *ese*, the frond of coconut palm tied about the butt, which means that no one is to climb for nuts. The *heri* is a strip of bark or liana tied to uprights, and encircling a house or some forbidden ground. A *haribari* is some object, usually a leaf or twig, placed in the cleft of a split stick and set up, *e.g.*, at the mouth of a creek, as a sign of fishing right. *Inja* is simply a few handfuls of grass laid across a track to bar the passage. We might include the *naterari* and *pamba* which serve to mark a village tabu on the coconuts, and logically enough the ordinary garden boundary, *tani*, which consists merely of a series of tree trunks or branches laid on the ground between adjacent poles. . . . It is true that these signs are often regarded or obeyed automatically and without any reflection or motive; again, they may be regarded out of pure consideration for the man—neighbor, relative, or friend—who has set them up; but there is an additional sanction, simply that of sorcery. The very name, inja, of one of these conventional signs is that of black magic, and if a native pauses to explain why he avoids trespassing beyond a heri or an inja, he will have but one explanation—the danger of sorcery. But sorcery is not merely a protector of property; it operates in all walks of life. A man will hesitate to wrong another in any way if he thinks of the crippled leg or the crop of boils which vengeance armed with magic may give him in return. In short, it is not worth elaborating what has been often enough observed, *viz.*, that sorcery, despite being in itself the most hated of crimes, is undoubtedly, by reason of the superstitious fear it inspires, a stalwart guardian of individual rights.[1]

In practically all the tribes of Guiana a form of personal retribution termed *kanaima* is reported. Among the Barama River Carib, according to Gillin, a man may seek satisfaction by violent methods or employ a sorcerer, but

if all other means of obtaining redress have failed, a man may decide to become a *kanaima*. This is a very serious step because it means that he must leave family and friends, must undergo extreme privations and social ostracism, must devote all his life and energies to the accomplishment of his purpose. The facts concerning this strange cult are difficult to determine because I have not succeeded in interviewing any individual who would admit having been a kanaima. The beliefs and attitudes concerning the cult are, however, herewith briefly set forth.

If you wish to become a kanaima, you establish contact with a kanaima headman who can usually be found hiding about in the bush.

[1] Williams, *op. cit.*, 325-326, 328-329 (Oxford University Press. By permission).

He teaches you the art. During the novitiate you sleep at home, but spend your days in the bush with your teacher. You are taught to enter houses without being seen, to twist joints and manipulate bones, to benumb the senses of your victim, and so on. One of the disagreeable features of the cult is that the members find the habit of evil-doing difficult to break, so that after accomplishing the original purpose of revenge, the kanaima continues to practice his outrages on innocent victims. For this reason, kanaimas are feared and may be killed on sight by all normal persons.

Kanaimas lead an abstinent life. They eat no meat with the exception of the *djokoro* (*dukwaru*) bird which, because it is not easily seen, is believed to make them invisible. Other meat is believed to make them heavy-footed. They eat a pimpler palm called *kosako* because doing so causes the kanaima's victim to have the sensation of being choked and pricked. They eat *rupe*, a white fungus that grows on dry wood, because it makes them light so that they can run fast. They drink only rain water that has collected in the hollows of leaves; creek water is not imbibed because it is running too strongly and makes the kanaima lose control of himself too easily. The rain water is clear and makes the kanaima clearheaded. At night the kanaima rubs his skin with pepper, instead of building a fire to keep warm. As a result of these austerities, it is said that no animal will eat the body of a kanaima, the flesh being too rank.

It is believed that kanaimas roam about the bush waiting for an opportunity to waylay a victim. Across the trail they stretch a spider web on which is rubbed the juice of a plant called *kuraru*. When the victim touches the web, he falls as in a trance, whereupon the kanaimas leap upon him, twist his joints, and stretch his tendons. They also carry a black powder made from the dried powdered root of a plant called *masi*. This powder put in the mouth of the victim makes him cough and sneeze and get a cold. If it is swallowed, the viscera decay. Victims usually do not remember enough of their experience to talk about it afterward, but to prevent any possibility of betrayal, the kanaima may pierce the tongue of the victim with a snake's fang which he carries for the purpose. When they have finished their work, the kanaimas disappear, leaving their victim to regain consciousness alone. After a time he picks himself up and goes home where he soon develops fever, has aching joints, and speedily dies. Due to the fact that he cannot or will not talk, the unfortunate sufferer's friends and relatives are able to obtain no particulars which would enable them to seek out the kanaimas. The work of the kanaimas can, however, usually be recognized by the blue finger marks left on the body of the victim, bruises left by the kanaimas while manhandling him.

There is no cure for the fever and "bone ache" resulting from an encounter with kanaimas. The kanaimas must simply be avoided. A small beeswax image made in the shape of a man, if carried in the bush, enables one to spot the anesthetizing spider web, and often the kanaimas

themselves, before harm can be done. A certain plant with roots resembling a closed fist, if hung in the house, frightens kanaimas away. As an antidote for the black masi powder taken internally, the slimy inside bark of the congo pump *tureke* is made into an infusion and drunk. (Sarusaru congo pump is not used for this purpose.) If the kanaima has put the powder on the victim's skin, the black banana sucker (*mekuru myu*) is pounded, soaked in water, and applied to the skin.

After the kanaima victim has died further precautions must be taken. The kanaima, to complete his task, must visit the grave and suck the waters of decay from the body through a hollow reed which is inserted into the ground. If the kanaima does not succeed in drinking the body liquids he will die a horrible death; they purify his body in some way after the perpetration of the outrage. To forestall the kanaima, the body may be wrapped in the leaves of the small banana (*puma bu*) which are poison for kanaimas, but not for other persons. Or the juice of the *haiari* (a fish poison) is mixed with some of the body waters and placed in a bowl on the grave. A kanaima's one aim at this point is to drink some of the body juices, however this may be accomplished. Finding in a bowl on the grave some of these juices, the taste and odor of which completely obliterate the slight acridity of the haiari, the kanaima is believed to drink unsuspectingly and thus be deceived.[1]

While this account is evidently largely folklore Gillin is inclined to believe that there is such a cult of avengers, "voluntary outcasts who, with the aid of black magic, devote a period to vengeance and possibly to purely malicious mischief," and he points out that in any case the belief that punishment may follow in this way must have a reaction upon behavior.

Practically everywhere there is some test of guilt or innocence in the form of oath or ordeal. In some localities, as in the whole of America, this pattern is not emphasized; it may be no more than an asseveration, as when we say, "I wish I may die." The Plains Indians say, "I wish a snake may bite me," etc. But always there is an implication of magical or spiritual consequences. In Africa the formal ordeal, most frequently the administration of poison in some form, is incredibly developed in many regions. The general idea is that the poison does not act as poison pure and simple but as a detector and judge. Two of the older reports are by Bosman and Battel and one of the more recent by Rattray:

When they drink the oath draught, it is usually accompanied by an imprecation, that the fetishe may kill them if they do not perform the contents of their obligation. Every person entering into any obligation is obliged to drink this swearing liquor. When any nation is hired to the

[1] Gillin, *op. cit.*, 340–342. *Cf.* Roth, W. E., "Animism and Folk-lore of the Guiana Indians," *Bur. Amer. Ethnol., Ann. Rep.*, **30**: Chap. XVIII.

assistance of another, all the chief ones are obliged to drink this liquor, with an imprecation, that their fetishe may punish them with death, if they do not assist them with utmost vigor to extirpate their enemy. . . . If you ask what opinion the negroes have of those who falsify their obligations confirmed by the oath drink, they believe the perjured person shall be swelled by that liquor till he bursts; or if that doth not happen, that he shall shortly die of a languishing sickness: the first punishment they imagine more peculiar to women, who take this draught to acquit themselves of any accusation of adultery; and if I may be allowed to make a comparison, this drink seems very like the bitter water administered to the women in the Old Testament by way of purgation from the charge of adultery.[1]

When any man is suspected for an offense [in Loango] he is carried before the king, or before Mani Bomma, who is a judge under the king. And if he denies matters, not to be proved except by their oath, then this suspected person swears thus: They have a kind of root which they call *imbando;* this root is very strong, and is scraped into water. The virtue of this root is, that if they put too much into the water, the person that drinketh it cannot avoid urine; and so it strikes up into the brain, as if he was drunk, and he falls down as if he was dead. And those that fall are counted guilty, and are punished.

In this country none on any account dieth, but they kill another for him; for they believe they die not their own natural death, but that some other has bewitched them to death. And all those are brought in by the friends of the dead whom they suspect; so that there many times come five hundred men and women to take the drink, made of the foresaid root imbando. They are brought all to the high street or market place, and there the master of the imbando sits with his water, and gives everyone a cup of water by one measure; and they are commanded to walk in a certain place till they make water, and then they are free. But he that cannot urine presently falls down, and all the people, great and small, fall upon him with their knives, and beat and cut him into pieces. But I think the witch that gives the water is partial, and gives to him whose death is desired the strongest water, but no man of the bystanders can perceive it. This is done in the town of Longo, almost every week throughout the year.[2]

The ordeal [says Rattray] was a recognized form of judicial procedure in Ashanti for the determination of guilt. In this chapter I propose to give an account, by an eyewitness, of the "chewing" of *odom,* at once the most deadly and the best known of the ordeals practiced in Ashanti, in olden days.

The ordeal, as a means of reaching a decision in difficult cases, was not ordained to be carried out by the chief; it was the accused himself who might demand it in order to prove the innocence which he affirmed, but

[1] Bosman, W., "A New and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea," in Pinkerton, J., *A General Collection of the Best and Most Interesting Voyages and Travels in all Parts of the World,* **16**: 398.
[2] Battel, A., "The Strange Adventures of Andrew Battel," in Pinkerton, *op. cit.,* 334.

which others refused to believe. Men and women accused of witchcraft often demanded the odom ordeal in an endeavor to clear themselves of the charge, and it was also resorted to in adultery cases, in which as a matter of course a witness was not likely to be forthcoming.

The following is an account of the chewing of odom, as witnessed (and described) by K.S. in the reign of the Mampon chief, Kobina Dwumo:

"The Chief's stool carrier, one Bonenwen, accused a man called Kwaku Wusu, who was my brother, of having committed adultery with his (Bonenwen's) wife, who was Kwaku Wusu's own half sister by a different mother. Kwaku Wusu denied the charge, declaring that the woman was his 'sister.' An 'oath' was 'sworn' and 'responded to' (*bo so*); the case came before the chief, and eventually Kwaku Wusu swore the 'oath' that he should be tried by ordeal (literally, given odom to chew). The *okyeame* repeated this request to the chief, who inquired, 'Does he really wish to chew odom?' to which the accused replied, *Nana me tumi awe amu* ('Grandsire, I am able to chew *amu*'). The okyeame then turned to Bonenwen (the plaintiff) and said, *Se osie no no, nti to ma no* ('Let it be as he says, so buy it for him'). Bonenwen brought 10s. and gave it to the okyeame, who gave it to one of the treasurers. A day was chosen for the ceremony, a 'male' day. Meanwhile, the treasurer had to procure two new *ahena* (water pots) and another smaller pot for the odom (the *odomkuruwa*). The chief nominated the officers who were to take an official part in the ceremony, *i.e.*, the okyeame (the prosecutor), who in this case was known as *die obo babadua* (literally, 'he who knocks the *baba* stick'); the *fotuosafo* (treasurer), who would carry the *odom adaka* (the poison-bark box); another treasurer, who would hold the "little odom pot' (*odumkuruwa*). Neither these persons nor the accused might sleep with their wives the night before the ordeal; the accused had in such cases to be specially careful not to be impure in this sense.

"Very early in the morning of the trial the okyeame came to the treasury official who was in charge of the odom poison, and received from his hands three pieces of the bark, wrapped up in *edwino* leaves. These had to be carried in the right hand until the *odom we* (the odom chewing place) had been reached. It was not customary for the chief, queen mother, or *mpanyimfo* to be present on such occasions, but the okyeame's presence was essential.

"The man who was to drink odom was always naked. In the case of a woman, she would not have worn either beads or loincloth (*etam*), but would have been allowed to wear a short skirt round her waist. The prisoner who was about to drink odom was not allowed to clean his teeth, wash his face, or have a bath on the morning of the ordeal. When all had arrived at the spot where the ordeal was to take place, the accused was sent to draw water in the new water pots. A person on such an occasion might break as many as three pots before he would finally bring the water. To do so is a sign that you are innocent. Kwaku Wusu was now set on the ground, in a sitting posture, with his legs straight in front of him. A pot of water was set by his right side; the okyeame sat upon his

Stool, facing him, holding a baba stick in his right hand. A kinswoman of Kwaku Wusu stood behind him, holding a fowl in each hand by the legs. She then began to brush the ears and shoulders of the sitting man with these fowls, saying all the while: . . . '*Bosomtwe* (*ntoro*) sit aside, spirit (soul) Yao sit aside. If any of your blood or any of your wives have done you wrong, then accept (the fowls) and bless your mouth. Soul and totemic spirit, sit ye down and let him chew this odom and let him vomit.'

"While this was being said the three pieces of odom were placed by the okyeame in the small water pot. As soon as the prayer was ended, an *afonasoafo* (sword bearer) took the bark out of the water and gave it to the man to chew, at the same time giving him the water to drink. All the while he was doing so the okyeame kept tapping the ground and saying: . . . 'If you have committed this deed and are merely denying it, then let this odom stand within you, but if you have not done it and they are bringing a false charge upon you, then vomit.'

"The man kept drinking potful after potful of water. His blood relation (*abusua*) kept exhorting him, *Mia wani* (literally, press your eyes), and the okyeame kept repeating the words already given.

"A man who was drinking odom after swallowing about three pots of water would either begin to vomit or he would die. No sooner did people see that the odom drinker was about to die, than they shouted *Owuo! Owuo!* (Death! Death!). The okyeame would immediately begin to recite the usual formula, and as soon as he had finished the *abrafo* (executioners) would rush forward and cut off the head of the dying man. The heralds sprinkled white clay on the litigant who had won his case.

"Should the odom drinker vomit, the okyeame would immediately recite the same formula, ending in this case with *Wu di bim* ('You are innocent'). The abusua (blood relations) of the man who had successfully undergone the ordeal would lift their kinsman on their shoulders (*si akonkon*) and sing the *abose:*

Osee ye,
Osee ye
Otweaduampon e
Ye da se o
Ye da se amen.

"To this Ashanti national hymn they will add a line, *Opeyen, wunya yen* (He who wished to catch us has not caught us). The person who had 'bought' the odom (*i.e.*, who had brought the charge which had resulted in the accused man demanding the ordeal) was now arrested and fastened to a log, and unless his abusua "bought his head" would be killed, any further trial not being necessary.

"In this particular case Kwaku Wusu vomited, and the Stool carrier who had brought the charge would have been killed, but during that same night the *okomfo* (priest) of the god Apia, one Kwaku Ketewa,

became possessed and rushed before the chief, saying: . . . 'The man whom you have taken and fastened to a log, let us release him at once.' The chief did so, but he had to pay *ntansa* (£24)."

In some cases of odom chewing, when the person's relatives thought that their kinsman looked as if he were going to die, they would quickly offer to "buy his head"; if the okyeame agreed, the drinker was immediately treated with an antidote in the form of an emetic, and an injection of red peppers up the anus. Even when a man came successfully out of this ordeal he had always to give the customary *aseda* to the chief.[1]

The legal and illegal aspects of magic in Africa, the concentration of attention on magical practice in some tribes, the honorable social position of the experts in legal magic, and the high moral character of legal magic itself, which may turn on and destroy one who attempts to use it illegally, have been described by Evans-Pritchard. It may be pointed out that the Zande of his study are not Bantu but Sudanese:

[Among the Azande] all people who perform an act of magic are magicians, whether they are professional departmental experts or merely amateur practitioners of sporadic rites. Amongst these magicians there are some who are criminals, who magic is illicit, and it is to identify these men that we are devoting this essay. We shall use the word "sorcerers" to symbolize these criminals and the word "sorcery" to represent their criminal activities. Actually the Azande have no single lexicographic expression to denote sorcery and sorcerers, but they use the same terms for all acts of magic and magicians, *ngwa* and *ira ngwa;* but the context of utterance makes it clear whether they refer to magic in general or to its legal or criminal uses respectively. If they wish to specify they will either speak of a magic as being good or bad (*wene* or *gbigbita*) or they will us a circumlocutory expression referring to the method or function of the magic by which the listener will know at once whether it is regarded with approval or not. We shall do the same, using the adjectives "good" and "bad" to denote the moral qualities of magic rather than the terms "black" and "white."

For the guild or association of magicians who are found amongst the Azande in common with most African peoples we shall use the good old expression "witch doctors," since their main function amongst the Azande is to detect witches and to combat witchcraft. . . .

We shall first have to make a short analysis of the purposes of Zande magic. These may be considered from four aspects—oracular magic, productive magic, protective magic, and destructive magic, though it must not be supposed that the Zande makes an abstract functional analysis on three lines. The Azande have several types of magic which function as oracles. The most important of these and the one which we will

[1] Rattray, R. S., *Ashanti Law and Constitution*, 392–395 (Clarendon Press. By permission).

therefore choose as an example is *benge*. Benge is a poison made from the roots of a creeper which grows between the Uelle and Bomokandi rivers in the Congo. A man observing special tabus gives the poison to small chicken in a stereotyped manner. When the medicine benge is in the stomach of the fowl he addresses it about the business upon which he wishes information and asks it to kill or spare the chicken by way of answer to his questions. A typical example of productive magic is *togo*. When the eleusine, the staple crop of the Azande, from which they make their daily porridge and their beer, is ripening in the gardens, an old man who knows a good togo medicine will collect the necessary ingredients and after having burnt them into soot will place the soot in a twisted-leaf funnel. Before setting off to his garden he will place a little water on to the soot so that it becomes a saturated paste, and when the leaf is squeezed a drop of black liquid will ooze out of the narrow end of the funnel. He will walk here and there amongst his eleusine, and will now and again stoop over a head of ripening grain and squeeze a drop of medicine on to it, uttering a wish as he does so that his eleusine will multiply and bring forth abundantly. Protective magic is exemplified by the medicines which a man will bury in the threshold of his hut, near the door post, to frighten away witchcraft. A destructive magic of the Azande is *bagbuduma*, which has now entirely taken the place of the old blood feud. On the death of a man one of his relatives, chosen by the oracle to undergo the tabus of mourning, will accompany a magician (ira ngwa) who knows the various medicines which compose bagbuduma, and together they will perform various magical rites on the dead man's grave and on a special kind of termite mound. This is done to kill the man who by means of witchcraft or bad magic has been responsible for the death.

Whilst we have used the terms "oracular magic," "productive magic," "protective magic," and "destructive magic," it must be remembered that only in the instance of oracle magic are the rites confined to one exclusive function; for the words productive, protective, and destructive simply define three aspects or functions of Zande magic which we have isolated for the purpose of analysis. It would be difficult to find any Zande magic which possessed only one of these aspects. Thus togo has protective functions as well as productive ones, since it is employed not only to make fruitful and increase the eleusine crop, but also to protect it from *mangu* (witchcraft) which takes the form of bats to injure the corn. It also has destructive functions, since it kills the bat, and this leads to steps being taken to kill the witch from whom the animal emanated. In the same way medicines buried on the threshold of a man's house not only protect him from injury but may even kill the witch who perseveres with his malpractices in spite of them. As a matter of fact, since in Zande opinion the reason for failure of any kind is to be looked for in the workings of witchcraft or bad magic, all his productive magic also has the functions of protecting the venture from these evil forces, and furthermore to destroy them. Probably all good

Zande magic has these three distinct aspects, which emerge from any native spell or commentary on the same. Therefore, whilst we may say that because magic is destructive, it is not thereby stigmatized in native opinion as bad magic, though bad magic has usually an exclusively destructive function.

Character of Legal Magic. The Azande stigmatize bad magic as such, not because it is destructive to the health or property of others, but because it circumvents or flouts the legal and moral rules of their society. This good magic does not do, but on the contrary it acts in accordance with the recognized modes of behavior which are expected of every good citizen. This moralizing action is apparent in the examples which we have given shortly above: a man may, often must, consult the oracles about his affairs; it is his good fortune if he knows some effective medicine for his eleusine crop and he does no one an injury by its use; every sensible man will protect himself and his family against the insolent crime of witchcraft; public opinion and his own honor compel a man to use the deadly medicines of bagbuduma to slay the slayer of his kin. Nor is Zande magic considered as illicit because its rites are performed privately, for it is only esoteric in the sense that knowledge of the medicines, which must be employed if the rites are to be efficacious, is often restricted to a number of specialists and that they perform the rites in secret. But it is well known who possess these medicines, because the practitioners do not conceal their knowledge. Also knowledge of many types of magic is widespread; thus everyone consults oracles, uses magic to multiply his crops, and to protect his homestead against witches. Rites are performed in secret because the Zande strongly objects to others knowing about his private affairs, especially if they happen to be witches or sorcerers, and one can never be too careful if one does not wish one's intentions thwarted by their malign powers; and not because there is any shame or illegality associated with the rites. Privacy, though not prescribed, nevertheless, is one of the conditions of the magic rite in Zande culture. Neither on account of its destructive energy nor its secret performance is magic condemned, for even when it is definitely homicidal and carried out in some secluded spot, as in the case of bagbuduma, its role is honorable.

Its dignity and respected place in Zande culture is due to its impersonal and impartial role in the maintenance of justice. The medicine is addressed in a long harangue and is exhorted to proceed without delay to discover who has slain the dead with witchcraft or sorcery, and to track and destroy the murderer, and leave others in peace. Bagbuduma is the sole judge between you and a person or persons unknown with whom, by the law of blood, you have a feud, and it may be relied upon to track the criminal as relentlessly as any sleuth, to weigh the evidence against him and condemn him to death as conscientiously as any judge, to execute him as surely as any hangman. Indeed, such kinds of legal magic as bagbuduma or medicines to protect homestead or gardens from witches (*ngwa kisa kpolo* and *ngwa kisa ati*) are often referred to by the

expression *ba sapu ngbanga*, the one who decides cases, and as often they are compared to chiefs; such and such a medicine, says the Azande, *na sera ngbwanga wa kina agbia*, "settles cases as judiciously as the chiefs." In the same way benge, the oracle magic, is exhorted in the traditional phraseology of the country to give judgments as acutely as those of Zakili, Monagbwondi, Bazingbi, and Gbudwe, either semimythical or famous historical figures in the annals of Zande chieftainship. Of all Zande magic which to some degree or other is injurious to the lives or property of others (has destructive functions)—and this includes the vast majority of Zande magic—we may say that it receives the sanction of public approval and the permission of the chiefs so long as it acts impartially according to the merits of the case between the magician and the object of his vengeance. Of such magic the Azande say, *si nape zunga*, "it gives a judgment."

Were a man maliciously to use a medicine like bagbuduma to kill a personal enemy out of spite where the man had committed no offense against the established laws of the community, then not only would it be a completely ineffectual weapon, but it would prove dangerous to the magician himself, who would run a grave risk of being hoist with his own petard. The Azande think of the medicine searching in vain for the criminal, and eventually turning back on to the performer of the rite who will attempt, before it is too late, to put an end to its activity by throwing it into water. If it also should prove that the man whose death is being avenged by the mechanism of bagbuduma had himself died a victim to an avenging medicine on account of some crime which he had committed, then bagbuduma having searched in vain for its prey, for the magician who had killed him cannot be its prey since he acted legally in ridding the world of this witch or sorcerer, will return pregnant with undelivered judgment to destroy the magician who sent it out, or, if he is acting on behalf of someone else, his employer. For this reason it is customary, according to doctrine if not always in fact, before embarking on the rites of vengeance to ask the oracles whether a dead relative has been murdered by witchcraft or bad magic, or whether he has been legally executed by good magic. A breach of the tabus of mourning may, in the same way, cause the medicine to turn against those who performed the rite which sent it on its mission of vengeance, instead of against him who should have been its victim. The great spirit, *Mboli*, whom the Azande reverence, is thought to have given magic to men, to control its mission, and to be the final authority for its judgments. . . .

Character of Illegal Magic. Sorcery, on the other hand, does not give judgments, *si na penga zunga te*, it has none of the attributes of justice. It is not only *gbagbere ngwa* (bad medicine) but also *mumunga ngwa* (stupid medicine), for it acts blindly against the established principles of justice in this community, that no man should be punished who has not committed an offense against the laws. It is generally a personal weapon aimed at some individual whom the sorcerer dislikes, against whom he has a grudge but no case of even a quasi-legal nature. . . .

The most feared of these bad medicines is *menzeli*, which is the prototype of all black magic in this community, and the one with the oldest history. Exactly what kind of plants (probably the nucleus is a parasitic growth) forms the medicine in an act of menzeli magic we do not know. The rite itself consists, according to our information, of the sorcerer going by night to the homestead of his victim when all the inmates are asleep, usually at time of full moon, where he buries the medicine, either on his threshold or in the center of his homestead, or on the path to his clearing. As he buries it he utters a spell over it, directing it to the murder of his enemy. Menzeli is a very potent medicine, and even should another step over it as it lies in ambush for its special victim named in the spell, he will fall temporarily sick, whilst he for whom it is intended is certain to die, unless he had been able to employ some counter-medicine, for there are many ways of combating this dreadful enemy. The use of menzeli is regarded with abhorrence by all, and against it are brought to bear the full rigors of the law. Those who killed by mangu (witchcraft) were more often than not allowed to indemnify the relatives of their victims by payments of women and spears, but a similar privilege was never allowed to the user of bad magic (*gbagbere ngwa*). Those who used menzeli as the weapon of their crime were invariably executed unless they could claim the privilege of noble blood. The chiefs, even the most powerful, were in terror of death by black magic, and month by month they used to consult the oracles whether it would be practiced against them, either by aggrieved commoners or by ruthless and ambitious relatives. For menzeli has an ancient and distinguished history in the annals of the noble Avongara house, amongst whom it has been the instrument of many parricides and fratricides. It is thought by many that Ngima killed his father Bazingbi by this means. Others say that this was how Renzi son of Wando murdered his brother Bazugba. The chief within whose territory the writer is privileged to live is Gangura, son of the great Chief Gbudwe (*d.* 1905). Across the border, in the Belgian Congo, lives Ngirima son of that Renzi who is said to have murdered his brother. These two chiefs used to be on excellent terms and were constantly exchanging presents until one day Ngirima sent his cousin Gangura a fine bundle of bark cloth, which was taken to the home of Kpiaku of the Akpura clan. This subject of Gangura consulted the oracle benge as to whether Ngirima had made medicine with it. Upon the oracle revealing the presence of medicine in the bark cloth it was ordered by Gangura to be buried in a marsh to destroy its magical energy. No more exchanges were made between the two chiefs. . . .

It may be well to point out that a medicine need not have homicidal functions to be considered as criminal, since sorcery offends the moral sense of the community not only by attempting to injure good citizens for private reasons, but also by trying to circumvent and make void the traditions and legal machinery of the country. Consequently the magic *zelengbondo benge* . . . is disapproved of by public opinion, and constitutes a crime. The object of this magic is so to affect the oracle benge

that it will give erroneous judgments in favor of the sorcerer. As benge plays an important role in native justice a magic to prevent the accuracy of its judgments is tantamount to bribery, corruption, and perjury.

Another and different type of bad magic which is condemned by all will be sufficient illustration for our short analysis of sorcery in its relation to public opinion. There are a group of medicines, the chief of which is called *gbarawasi*, which are employed either out of pure malice, or with the further purpose of obtaining another man's wife, to break up the peace of a neighboring family. The sorcerer goes at night, taking every precaution not to be seen, and performs a number of rites in the homestead of his neighbor. The result of these rites will be that the previous happiness and contentment of the family gives way to violent quarreling between husband and wife. He becomes ill-tempered and hasty in his words, she becomes disobedient and sulky. Angry words lead to blows, blows lead to litigation and divorce.

We have mentioned only three forms of sorcery, and we may note that of the vast sphere of magic in Zande culture only a very small section is held by sorcery. Probably not more than a dozen types of magic can be definitely and surely stigmatized as sorcery. All these have certain features in common as do all forms of licit magic. Good magic is directed towards ends which conform to the rules of society; it is harmless to good citizens and injures only criminals, witches, sorcerers, adulterers, thieves, and so forth; there is no shame in its practice since it is buttressed by public opinion and by the authority of the chiefs; its aim is to carry out certain essential social, economic, and cultural ventures, and not to injure or retard the plans and undertakings of others. The practitioners are known to all, but the performance of the rites and knowledge of the medicines is secret, because medicines are a form of private wealth, and publicity of rites would lead to interference and frustration of the endeavor with which they were associated. Bad magic or sorcery, on the other hand, is directed towards ends which do not conform to the established laws of the community; they are crimes committed against fellow citizens for private and socially pernicious reasons; their practice is shameful and criminal, condemned by the moral opinion of society, and penalized with death by the chiefs; its aim is to destroy the social, economic, and cultural enterprise of others, and the secrecy of its rites are due to fear of righteous punishment.[1]

In America, among the Omaha of the Plains, a rudimentary form of legal magic is reported by Fletcher and La Flesche. Through *wazhinagatha*, a disfavorable fixation of their minds on an offensive person, the honorary chiefs put him out of helpful relations with men and animals, and misfortune or death was supposed to follow. The authors also describe a similar action among the neighboring Ponca:

[1] Evans-Pritchard, E. E., "Sorcery and Native Opinion," *Africa*, 4: 27–40, *passim*.

When a man was to be punished, all the chiefs gathered together and this pipe was filled by the leader and smoked by all the chiefs present. Then each chief put his mind on the offender as the leader took the pipe to clean it. He poured some of the tobacco ashes on the ground, and said, "This shall rankle in the calves of the man's legs." Then he twirled the cleaning stick in the pipe and took out a little more ashes, and, putting them on the earth, said, "This shall be for the base of the sinews, and he shall start with pain" (in the back). A third time he twirled the cleaning stick, put more ashes on the earth, and said, "This is for the spine, at the base of the head." A fourth time he twirled the cleaning stick in the pipe, poured out the ashes, put them on the ground, and said, "This is for the crown of his head." This act finished the man, who died soon after.[1]

Among the Zuñi the distinction between the medicine man and the witch corresponds with that of the Zande between the witch doctor and the sorcerer, and the magic may carry a punishment among the Zuñi as among the Zande:

The prime difference [says Parsons] between asking a witch or asking a medicine man to help you in any undertaking is that after you succeed the medicine man removes from you the "power" he has imparted to you, whereas the witch does not, and the power may abide in you for life in punishment for having resorted to it, something like the affliction of King Midas.[2]

In Dobu (Melanesia) specific disease-giving forms of magic are the property of different sibs, and the distinction between legal and illegal magic is not, as among the Zande, clearly emphasized. A coconut-palm leaf tied round the tree trunk, says Fortune,

is a warning that a spell for causing elephantiasis, gangosa, tertiary yaws, or the like, has been placed upon the tree trunk. A thief will touch it at his peril. The question naturally arises, how then can the rightful owner of the tree father the fruit of it? The answer to this legitimate question lies in a local census of the ownership of spells for causing disease. It will then be found that different *susu* of the same locality own the spells for different diseases. This ownership is hereditary within a susu line of descent, and one susu will never sell its peculiar different powers to another. Magibweli, the old rain-making once cannibalistic woman, of the next-door village owns elephantiasis of the scrotum and pubes, Sati, the unmarried widow with the two children who has recently been involved in a scandal with Kisi, someone else's husband, owns incontinence of urine and incontinence of semen. Togo, the village wastrel of the village next door, owns cerebral malaria and meningitis. Yogalu, the most honest old character in the village, and appreciated for it by none, but rather depreciated, owns intestinal mortification. The most influential family in the village owns gangosa, limb paralysis, and tertiary

[1] Fletcher and La Flesche, *op. cit.*, 213–216, 497.
[2] Parsons, E. C., "Isleta, New Mexico," *Bur. Amer. Ethnol., Ann. Rep.*, **47**: 243.

yaws. So the list goes over a wide gamut of different diseases. By a dogma of magic only he or she who knows the spell which will inflict the disease, knows also the exorcism which will banish it. Hence Magibweli puts elephantiasis of the scrotum and pubes on her private property in trees. When she goes to pluck the fruit she exorcises the disease. Sati does the same with her spells for incontinences for her private property in trees, and so on. Magibweli is afraid to go near Sati's trees, and Sati near Magibweli's; so for the locality. Persons belonging to other localities do not trespass, and if perchance they do, they will not be well informed of the situation regarding property in trees and spells in a strange locality.

If anyone in the locality contracts elephantiasis of the scrotum, the kin of the patient repair to old Magibweli, bearing water vessels. Magibweli breathes the spell of the exorcism into a water vessel containing water, stops up the vessel to keep the spell within it, and takes a fee. The kin of the patient hurry with the charmed water to the patient and bathe the affected organ carefully with it. Then, if the patient has thieved from Magibweli's private trees, she at best has had her revenge, and received a fee for exerting her art of exorcism. Naturally, in such a case there will be general certainty either that the afflicted person has been thieving, or else that he had offended Magibweli in a more personal matter, and that she had succeeded in breathing the spell on to a bush creeper twined across the patient's path. No one knows which case is true, whether the disease is a legal sanction or the less legal sanction incurred in a more personal feud. Only the patient will know. He may tell himself that he once walked too near Magibweli's trees, even if he is not guilty of theft. I have known such an acceptance of the situation. Or he may secretly vow revenge on Magibweli if he has not thieved and if he does not recover. In any event, a complete avoidance is certain to spring up between himself and that old woman. She was liable to die at any time from the enfeeblement due to aging years, when I knew her. But death from old age is not accepted as such by the natives. If someone in the locality contracted elephantiasis not more than several years before the old woman died there would be natural suspicion of foul play leading to her death. If not, there are other witchcraft scrapes into which the old woman had inevitably been plunged. Everyone is in, or only half out of, such troubles continuously. . . .

A man in default of a good monopoly in a disease may protect a tree more precariously by naming it after a family catastrophe in his own family. Thus a man whose brother fell from a *siwabu* tree and was killed, calls his palms siwabu, and his private ownership in them is respected. He has inherited a big overseas canoe; he calls it siwabu and he alone has direction over it. If he is eating his food and does not wish to share it, he says "this food is siwabu" and none will ask for it or expect a share in it.[1]

[1] Fortune, R. F., *Sorcerers of Dobu*, 79–82 (London: George Routledge and Sons; New York: E. P. Dutton & Company, Inc. By permission).

The curse as an injurious magical wish and the contrary blessing have a particular development in kinship relations. The unity of blood and life seem to give a singular efficacy to the parental curse, and in this connection the dying curse is most impressive. Lindblom says of the Akamba:

As far as I know the use of curses is really confined to the family circle, within which they are used by a father or mother against a refractory son. . . . The head of a family in Ukamba has patriarchal authority over his children. For example, he has control over his son's earnings. It is not unusual, nevertheless, for some to be disobedient, and when the parents can in no other way—either by gentle means or chastisement—master an insubordinate son, they fall back on the last and most terrible resource—a curse.

An occasional reason for cursing is that, without his father's consent, a young man begins to drink beer (*uki*), and continues to do so, in spite of the express prohibition of his father. For, according to an old custom, youths (*anake*) may not drink beer before they have purchased their father's permission, by making him certain presents. It also happens that, in order to take away from his son all desire for unlawful beer drinking, a father utters a curse in advance, which is to come into operation if the son ignores the prohibition. A common way of cursing is the following:

The father takes the iron . . . with which the cattle are branded, and places it in the fire. When it is hot, he takes it out, and, holding it over a calabash, he urinates on it, saying: "I who have begot you do not wish you to drink beer, since you have not yet begun to pay me. May you be destroyed thus" (as the iron hisses from contact with the fluid). Then he takes the calabash and flings the urine from it to the west ("towards the setting sun"), uttering another curse: "I have begotten you with this my *kea* (penis), may you go down like this sun!" Anyone who does not improve, or who is not released from this curse, is said not to live long—at the most a few months. . . .

A mother can also curse her son, if he takes no notice of her directions or does not perform the tasks she sets him, but instead blindly devotes himself to the favorite amusements of the young men, lounging about and dancing. She cannot, however, curse in the same way as the father, but proceeds as follows:

She takes a small quantity of different sorts of vegetable foods, some grains of maize, a little millet, eleusine seeds, etc., puts them in a calabash vessel, and sets this in the fire. When the vessel crackles and is consumed, she says: "I, NN, gave birth to you; I have suckled you and washed you and carried you and removed your motions, when you were a child. But now, when you have eaten and grown strong, it is I who curse you: may you be destroyed thus (like the food in the fire), you and your children!"

For a more serious transgression on the son's part—such as, for example, stealing his mother's milk or one of her cows, the mother can lay a more serious curse on him. She washes her *ndami* (the small rectangular loincloth worn by the Kamba women) and throwing out the water violently, so that it splashes in all directions, she ways: "May you splash thus, as I have given you birth with this my *kino!*" (the name of the female pudenda).

The missionary Kanig tells of a mother who, in anger at her daughter's disobedience, took a brand from the fire and stuck it in a vessel of water, so that the hissing wood was extinguished. At the same time she ejaculated this curse: "May your life be extinguished like this wood!"

The youth who has been cursed by his father seldom dares to continue in his refractoriness but tries to get the curse removed as soon as possible, endeavors to obtain his father's blessing . . . instead. His method of procedure is as follows:

He buys beer and takes it to his father as a present, asking for his blessing. If necessary he repeats this, until the old man is propitiated and yields. Then the father mixes milk and eleusine seed together in a calabash bowl—without these accessories the blessing is ineffective—and orders his son to stretch out his hands. Taking a sip of the milk, he spirts his son's hands and chest with it, saying (the words were addressed to a son who was cursed for drinking beer without permission): "I give thee my blessing! Drink beer, but not too much; do not pick quarrels with people either, when you have drunk beer!" The son rubs his hands dry on his face, and the father spits a blessing into the calabash. The curse is now removed, and the young man has gained the right to drink beer.[1]

In the same tribe the young people may put a curse, with ostracism and a threat of barrenness, on a companion who does not conform with group practices, more especially in forms of sex license preceding marriage:

The youths and young girls among themselves can also employ a sort of curse, which they lay on an unpopular person. If a girl gives evidence of . . . "self-will"—for example, if she refuses to take part in the dancing of the young people or the excesses connected with it—the young men assemble and strike their *kithitu,* consisting of a red china bead. . . . They all strike once with a stone, saying: "NN's girl gives evidence of . . . [self-will]. If, after this, I dance with her, accompany her on the track, or even speak to her, may I be eaten by this kithitu!" The girls treat their comrade in the same way, and then the poor thing is absolutely isolated from the other young people. She cannot go to other people of the same age elsewhere, for as soon as they hear what has happened to her, they also shun her. Her position soon becomes unbearable—her parents also suffer—and sooner or later she gives way. Then her father goes to their dancing place . . . and arranges a day with the young men

[1] Lindblom, G., "The Akamba," *Arch. d'Études orientales,* **17**: 182–184.

for his daughter to be allowed to come and be received into the young people's circle again.

On the appointed day, the girl goes to the dancing place, taking with her two bunches of bananas . . . and two large calabashes full of porridge, mixed with a lot of fat. The former are presents to the men, the latter to the girls. She stands apart from the others, and a youth asks her if she is willing to abandon her defiant attitude. The answer is in the affirmative, and she may now choose out four youths and four girls, who bless her by spitting on her. The curse is thereby removed.

What makes this curse so dreadful is the belief that a woman who is under such a curse, can never, even if she manages to get a husband, be certain of being able to have children. And this implies something infinitely terrible to every Kamba girl.[1]

The dying curse of a father, frequently associated conditionally with testamentary wishes, is particulary serious among Bantu groups, where the parent becomes a near-by resident of the spirit world, with power to enforce the penalty threatened by the curse. In all societies the "last will and testament" apparently receives some of its binding force from the dying wish. Gutmann says that among the Chagga

a prohibition that is still much respected is the prohibition *fa*, "die." This fa is the conditional curse of a dying person which will be fulfilled in case of a specific event, in this case if a member of his family marries a girl from another specified family. [A curse of this kind is carried from generation to generation, and the elders attempt to break up the practice.][2]

Among the Kikuyu the dying curse is termed *kirume*, and its legal aspects are described by Hobley:

The general idea is that a dying person can put a curse upon property belonging to him, or can lay a curse upon another person, but only upon a person belonging to his own family; thus, for example, the head of a village, when dying, can lay a curse on a certain plot of land owned by him and will that it shall not pass out of the family, and if a descendant sells it, his speedy death is said to follow. A case recently came to the author's knowledge where an elder was offered a very tempting sum for a particular piece of land, and equivalent land elsewhere, but refused it because the property had come down to him with a *kirume* on it. This is a very interesting revelation, because when one comes to consider it, in all probability it is the genesis of a last will or testament. Furthermore, it is the rude beginning of our principle of "entail." It shows, moreover, that these people have almost reached the stage of individual

[1] *Ibid.*, 184–185.
[2] Gutmann, B., "Die Frau bei den Wadschagga," *Globus*, **92**: 30.

tenure in land, or at any rate, of tenure by the family, the head of the village being the trustee for the family, and it is his duty to see that the *gethaka* rights are preserved intact. The gethaka is the portion of a ridge owned by a particular family, title being obtained by an ancestor by purchase from the original occupiers, the Dorobo hunting tribes.

If the head of the family feels that he is nearing his end he assembles his sons, and to the eldest he will probably say, "The goats belonging to such a hut shall be yours"; he will then call another son and say, "The goats of such and such a hut shall be yours, and if any of you break these wishes he shall surely die." He will then mention a certain *shamba* (cultivated field) and say, "Such and such a shamba shall not be sold, and if this wish is broken the one who sells it shall die." This operates as an entail on the property which will be passed on from generation to generation; such is the strength of the belief. Upon inquiry, examples may be found all over the country.

Another case quoted was that of a man who had a ne'er-do-well son who was in the habit of pilfering the neighboring villages; the custom is for those who have suffered to collect and seize the equivalent of their losses from his father. If this continues, the father, in the end, becomes so annoyed with his son's misdeeds that he will put a kirume on him when on his deathbed. There is quite a medieval flavor about this action.

Sometimes, too, a man, when he is very old, entrusts a son with charge of his livestock, and the son may abuse the trust and let the flocks and herds melt away. Cases have been known where an old patriarch on his deathbed has put a kirume on his son to the effect that he shall neither grow rich nor have wives, but to the end of his life shall be condemned to perpetual poverty.

Again, a daughter may be a trouble to her father; she is, say, married to a husband who has paid the required dowry to her father; she runs away, repeatedly misbehaves herself, and so forth, and the father will then be subject to continual worry, owing to the husband's demands for the return of the dowry. The father may eventually become so weary of all this worry that he will put a kirume on her and condemn her to perpetual barrenness.

Another case quoted was that of two brothers, one rich and one poor; the poor man may be envious of his brother and hate him in consequence. One day they go to drink beer, and, excited by the liquor, the poorer one brutally attacks his brother and grievously injures him. When the injured man recovers consciousness he will call his brother and say, "You have always been jealous of my wealth, and now I shall probably die from treatment received at your hands, but when I am dead if you attempt to seize any of my property you shall only be able to look at it, for if you touch a single head of stock you will die, and if your son comes to take any of my beasts he will also die."

If a dying man calls out to a man of his own clan, *muhirika*, or *morika*, and makes a request such as, "Give me water," and the person refuses, the dying man can impose a kirume upon the one who refuses.

A man is, generally speaking, only able to lay a kirume upon a person belonging to his own muhirika, or clan, which really means that a kirume will only affect one with a common blood tie.

There are, however, two exceptions to this:

If a man of one clan marries a woman of another clan (as is the rule) he can, if necessity arises, place a kirume upon the family of his wife if they live in the village of his father-in-law, because they have, as the expression runs, "eaten of his property," referring to the livestock he has paid over to his father-in-law for his wife.

The converse can also happen, for if a man has married a woman and has not paid his father-in-law the full amount agreed upon, the father-in-law when he dies can impose a kirume upon his son-in-law, and such kirume may also extend to his daughter, the idea probably being that the daughter has not sufficiently worried her husband to pay the balance due.

The power to impose a kirume is apparently not altogether confined to elders, for it is said that if an incorrigible child is driven away from home, becomes starved, and dies in consequence, it can, before it dies, curse its parents and say, "You have treated me like this, and therefore you shall not have any more children."

It is said that if a person hears that someone of his own clan is threatening to impose a kirume on him, he can take steps to prevent its infliction. The procedure was described as follows: If a person hears that, say, a brother intended to place a kirume on him, he at once takes a male goat or sheep to his village and kills it there; he offers some of the fat, some milk and beer to the dying man, who cannot refuse to forgive the suppliant, and who ceremonially spits into his hands and rubs a little saliva on his forehead, navel, and feet. The threatened person then departs in peace, free from any danger of a kirume from that person. This applies to both guilds.

One curious case of kirume which was described deserves notice. It is probably very rare, but it possibly carries evidence of the ancient origin of the belief and dates back to matriarchal times.

Suppose a dying *mwanake*, or member of the warrior age, lays a kirume upon his maternal grandfather, what course would he pursue to rid himself of the dangerous infliction? If he was unable to get the one who imposed it to spit on him as above described, he would have to seek a grandson by another daughter, take or send to him a male goat, some beer, the milk of a cow, and seed of the various kinds of grain grown in the country, and beg him to come to his village. The grandson would then come accompanied by the elders; he would taste the meat, beer, milk, etc., and ceremonially spit them out on the grandfather, and this would relieve the old man of all danger from the kirume imposed by his other grandson. There is a word *kigao*, which is intimately connected with kirume, and is often confused with it, but inquiry seems to show that kigao means the neglect of a dying father's wish with regard to the disposal of property, and the result of kigao, is, therefore, kirume,

cause and effect being often very closely allied in the mind of a native. . . .

A married woman can impose a kirume, but not on an unmarried woman. The following is an example of a case in which a married woman may invoke this curse:

If a married woman has for a long time been systematically ill-treated by a brutal husband she can, when dying, put a kirume on her father for having forced her to marry such a bad man, and also upon her husband for his brutality.

The kirume is looked upon as the severest form of *thahu* or *nzahu* known; in most cases of thahu the subject rarely dies, because it is slow in its action and the patient has an opportunity of making reparation and seeking relief from the prescribed medicine man or elders, but in the case of a kirume the curse is very swift in its action, the patient rapidly sickens, breaks out into ulcers, and often dies before he can arrange to take measures to arrest its onslaught; his livestock will also die mysteriously.

It is believed that the effective power of the kirume is derived from the spirit (*ngoma*) of the deceased person by whom it is imposed, assisted by the ngoma of the ancestors of the family.

It is said that there is no poison without its antidote, and the same applies to the kirume, but the antidote must be applied in good time and the only persons who can effect a cure are certain persons called *athuri ya ukuu*. The athuri ya ukuu compose a grade of elders above that of *athuri ya mburi nne* (elders of four goats—referring to the fee they pay for initiation to the grade). They are always old men and rich, and have to pay to their fellow elders of the grade a bullock and a male sheep or goat as initiation fees.

While the athuri ya mburi nne form the ordinary *kiama*, or council of elders, the athuri ya ukuu constitute a native court of appeal, but they do not admit appeals except in very important cases, when it is within their competence to revise a judgment and, if they consider fit, reduce the amount of compensation. It is also the duty of the athuri ya ukuu to instruct the heir in the customs of the tribe when he succeeds to the property after his father's death.

The athuri ya ukuu do not treat ordinary cases of thahu but have to be called in for cases of kirume.[1]

More generally, the curse is involved in the verbal expression of any evil magical wish, and is widely employed in this form, both as legal and illegal magic. Its most elaborate use is reported from the Chagga, in the form of swinging a curse pot. The concept here resembles somewhat the curse of a mother or father, who had the power of giving life and correspondingly of taking it. Similarly, the pot has the power of nourishing life through its contents and correspondingly of destroying it. The practice was originally

[1] Hobley, *Bantu Beliefs and Magic*, 145–151. (H. F. and G. Witherby. By permission).

a rite of secret magic, but in the course of time every powerful sib possessed a curse pot. Later the chiefs socialized the procedure, permitting it to be used only in certain situations, as when a man refused to submit a dispute about cattle to the sib council.

The swinger of the pot announced his intention on a market day and the market women carried the information to the man against whom the swinging was to be directed, and if he did not relent the cursing and swinging began on the following market day and lasted for seven days, from dawn until dark. The cursing and swinging were supposed to make the pot extremely hot and "to awaken in it the slumbering powers of destruction."

On the seventh day the pot swinger gathers three sorts of grass which a warrior binds on his head when returning from a battle where he has slain a man. These grasses of purification from blood guilt he binds on his head so that one hangs over each temple and the third is stuck in the woolly hair on the top of his head. In this significant way he appears before the women of the market, and begins to curse:

"Today is the day of the outbreak. Do you, women of the market, go to him and tell him what you have heard, that today I make an end of him.

"You robber, today is the seventh day, today I dance the victory dance over you, today, on the seventh day, I pass the bounds, today is the day I kill you.

"I rob you of your shadow. Go like the wind that casts no shadow. I rob you of your shadow, like the bee that stings and leaves the sting.

"I swing the pot for you, destroyer. Stumble on your way like the grasshopper with its head torn off, that cannot find its way.

"Be tossed about by life, become a dead stump. Cast no shadow. Have the falling sickness of the banana stock whose roots are rotten. Fall like it.

"Be disturbed as a sun calf (meteor). Fall constantly, like the water of a waterfall. If you embrace your wife, engender water and call it a child. On the same day may your wife bear ten children without arms, without legs, without eyes. 'What does that mean?' someone says. They will tell you, 'That is fate. It is the vengeance for that cow. He made a claim and you would not give him what is his. You said, I have a charmed life. What can he do to me? He swung the curse pot against you and you would not relent. You let him go through to the seventh day, and he passed the bounds.'

"Today I slay you. The curse pot will tear you from your sib, today, you and your sons. You kept the cow that is mine and your outrage is alone responsible.

"Death, your death, is here. Today it is done. I send the destroyer to destroy you and yours. But he shall not destroy your sib brothers.

"He shall rob you of your first-born son. Then he will kill the next, and when he has killed him he will kill the middle one. Destroyer, when you come to the youngest, to the one of the old mother, then pause. Perhaps he has a wise mother who will warn him to come and suck my breast. If he comes not I will send you again to settle with him and end it.

"Destroyer, if he seeks to pacify and reconcile you in my absence, have nothing of it. Continue to kill, and exterminate his household.

"Robber, today I finish you! *Hu hofa, hu rumara*—die, rot!"

At sundown he repeats his curse before the dwelling of his adversary, closing as the sun sets with a last curse which compares its setting with his downfall and disappearance.[1]

The death rate in Africa is high (one missionary woman thinks that as many as 85 per cent of children die in infancy among the Ila) and there is little doubt that death or other misfortune will visit the house of the man in the course of time, and if he has been obdurate up to that point he will weaken. In that case he will be obliged to pay extra.

In New Zealand the curse, if it may be so called, was closely related to the *tapu* concept and took the form of an injury to the personality through insult:

The real curse (*kanga*) was generally a wish that the indignity of being cooked should fall to the lot of the insulted person, "May your head be cooked," etc. Another form (*apiti*) consisted in likening a portion of the other person's bodily parts to some undignified utensil, etc., also generally connected with cooked food, as, "Your skull is my calabash," "My fork is of your bone," etc. The third curse (*tapatapa*) was to call anything by a person's name, such as to name a vessel after him. This is not what we understand as a curse, but it would give the person whose name was used a title in the article. For instance, if a chief tapatapa'd a spear by saying that it was one of his legs, it became his property, that is, if the owner was not a greater man than he, in which case he would probably consider himself cursed, and demand satisfaction. The subject is difficult, and can be best understood by giving a few examples.

An old man of Waikato was at work in a plantation at Kawhia during a shower of rain. The sun came out and made the moisture rise in a cloud from the worker's body. A lad of the Ngati-toa tribe standing by said, "The steam from the old man's head is like the steam from the oven." These words were considered a curse, and a war ensued in which many were killed. A famous battle was fought in old days because a woman was asked, "Is the firewood your brother's pillow that you do not use it for the fire?" This parallel drawn between common "cooking wood" and the pillow on which a chief's sacred head rested was sufficient

[1] Gutmann, *Das Recht der Dschagga*, 629–630 (C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung. By permission). [For the whole cursing episode, see pp. 619–669.]

to convey a deadly insult. A chief jealous of the fame of the great leader Te Rauparaha said of him, "His head shall be beaten with a fern-root pounder (*paoi*)." War followed; as it did on another occasion when it was reported to Te Rauparaha that a man had cursed him by saying "I will rip open his stomach with a barracouta tooth." A little boy having gone up to receive a portion of the livers of some skates that had been cooked was pushed aside by his uncles, and the child wept. He went, however, to his half brothers, of another tribe, and told the tale of the slight upon him. Soon a war party was assembled and this *taua* attacked and carried the fort of the churlish relatives. The boy's uncles pleaded to him for mercy but received none, and each as he was dispatched heard the taunt, "This is the liver of your skate." The old wife of a chief was pounding fern root when a party of another tribe, passing, called out "Pound away at the fern root; it will line the oven in which you are cooked." This was a fearful and unsurpassable curse, so the old lady was not long in rousing up a war party to pursue the speaker and avenge the insult.

Sometimes the curse took the form of naming some part of an opponent's body or limbs, and striking the ground at the same time, thus bestowing a blow by proxy on the part named, and this was considered as equivalent to a blow on the part itself. A curse need not always be uttered, an action was sufficient, thus when the bones of Tupurupuru were used as tools with which to dig fern wood, his tribe was "cursed" thereby.

To liken a man to an animal or inferior was a curse. One chief noticing that the hair of a senior was white as a Maori's dog skin, called to him as one calls a dog, "*Moi! Moi! Moi!*" This was a very deadly insult. If, when hair had been cut from the head of some person of consequence and had not been removed to the sacred enclosure (*wahitapu*), anyone should say "How disgusting to leave it about; whose is it?" that would have been a curse on the owner of the hair. . . .

A curious legend exemplifying the extraordinary way in which a curse could be conveyed is related by the Arawa tribe. Tuwharetoa was a renowned warrior whose three sons were killed in battle. With his remaining son, and his fighting men, the old chief started out for revenge. Arriving near a fort of an allied tribe they blew the long war trumpet (*pukaea*) and this sound so enraged an old priestess resident near the fort that she cursed them with a shout of "cooked heads" (*pokokohua ma*). When the sons of Tuwharetoa heard this curse they repeated the sound of it on the trumpet, thus "*To-roro! to-roro!*" "Your brains." The priestess replied "My fern root is the bones of your ancestors." So the hearts of her hearers grew dark with the shadow of so terrible an insult. Tuwharetoa was very sad and consulted the oracles how the curse might be removed. According to direction a lizard was killed and the apiti neutralized; after which the army went home and stayed for ten nights. Then said the chief, "Go and slay the offenders," and the war party moved off to the attack; two forts were encircled and captured.[1]

[1] Tregear, E., *The Maori Race*, 192–207, *passim* (A. D. Willis. By permission).

The place of public opinion in social control was mentioned at the beginning of this chapter and the regulation of behavior by ridicule and other gestures of disapproval was indicated. In the same connection the operation of "conscience," or the feeling of guilt, plays an important role, and the "clearing of conscience," often demanded by the group, is a step for restoring a disturbed equilibrium equivalent to the operation of the law.

Conscience is, in the first place, an inner mirroring of public opinion—an anticipatory feeling of what would be the experience if secret sins were made public. The visceral aspect of guilt, felt as the gnawing of conscience, is not precisely fear of punishment. The agitation is rather a consciousness of separation from the group and self-censure as group member; and in this connection confession, like apology, is the first step toward reconciliation. It is a release of tension, "clears the conscience," and brings relief.

The desire to regularize one's self is one of the urges to confession. The development of confession as a pattern of control is, however, associated with the concept that conscience is a symptom of spiritual displeasure at the violation of tabus, and is an anticipation of spiritual punishment. Disasters will further happen to the whole group if the individual offender is not regulated, and this regulation consists of a purification. This may be in the form of a physical purgation, through an emetic, but usually the verbal confession is a purification, and sometimes the confession of an evil practice, say destructive magic, may be all that society requires. This point is referred to by Parsons in a comparison of Zuñi and Aztec practices:

> Confession "to escape worldly punishment" was an Aztec practice of which the nature was puzzling to the Catholic friar [Sahagun], just as it is puzzling to us that after a Zuñi witch has confessed punishment does not always follow. Confession is sometimes all that the war chiefs wish. . . . Here is a suggestion of why Catholic confession did not "take" among the Pueblo. (Only at Isleta is there any suggestion of acculturation between Catholic and Indian confessional practices.) Formally, there may have been an opening, but psychologically there was nothing in common.[1]

In America confession was resorted to in connection with violated tabus, in times of sickness, preceding war expeditions, and even as a general preparation for future life. Boas describes the great importance of confession among the Eskimo in connection with their conception of the source of the food supply:

[1] Parsons, E. C., "Some Aztec and Pueblo Parallels," *Amer. Anth.* N.S., **35**: 619.
[The confession "to escape worldly punishment" mentioned by Sahagun refers to the fact that the temporal courts were not permitted to prosecute a man who had confessed to a priest, but the priests assessed punishments in the way of penance and sacrifice. *Cf.* Sahagun, B. de, *History of Ancient Mexico* (tr. Bandelier) **1**: 32–33.]

The Eskimo who inhabit the coasts of arctic America subsist mainly by the chase of sea mammals, such as seals of various kinds, walruses, and whales. Whenever this source of supply is curtailed, want and famine sets in. The huts are cold and dark—for heat and light are obtained by burning the blubber of seals and whales—and soon the people succumb to hunger and to the terrors of the rigorous climate. For this reason the native does everything in his power to gain the good will of the sea mammals and to insure success in hunting. All his thoughts are bent upon treating them in such a manner that they may allow themselves to be caught. On this account they form one of the main subjects of his religious beliefs and customs. They play a most important part in his mythology, and a well-nigh endless series of observances regulates their treatment.

The mythological explanation of all the prevailing customs in regard to sea mammals is contained in a tale which describes their origin [from the finger joints of a woman which were chopped off and fell into the sea while she was clinging to the gunwale of a boat during a series of flights and adventures[1]]. . . .

This woman, the mother of the sea mammals, may be considered the principal deity of the Central Eskimo. She has supreme sway over the destinies of mankind, and almost all the observances of these tribes are for the purpose of retaining her good will or of propitiating her if she has been offended. Among the eastern tribes of this region she is called Sedna, while the tribes west of Hudson Bay call her Nuliayuk. She is believed to live in a lower world, in a house built of stone and whale ribs. The souls of seals, ground seals, and whales are believed to proceed from her house. After one of these animals has been killed its soul stays with the body for three days. Then it goes back to Sedna's abode, to be sent forth again by her. If, during the three days that the soul stays with the body, any tabu or prescribed custom is violated, the violation becomes attached to the animal's soul. Although the latter strives to free itself of these attachments, which give it pain, it is unable to do so, and takes them down to Sedna. The attachments, in some manner that is not explained, make her hands sore, and she punishes the people who are the cause of her pains by sending to them sickness, bad weather, and starvation. The object of the innumerable tabus that are in force after the killing of these sea animals is therefore to keep their souls free from attachments that would hurt their souls as well as Sedna.

The souls of the sea animals are endowed with greater powers than those of ordinary human beings. They can see the effect of the contact with a corpse, which causes objects touched by it to appear of a dark color; and they can see the effect of flowing blood, from which a vapor rises that surrounds the bleeding person and is communicated to everyone and every thing that comes in contact with such a person. This vapor and the dark color of death are exceedingly unpleasant to the souls of the sea animals, that will not come near a hunter thus affected. The hunter

[1] [Boas records the myth in some detail.]

must therefore avoid contact with people who have touched a body, or with such as are bleeding. If anyone who has touched a body or who is bleeding should allow others to come in contact with him he would cause them to become distasteful to the seals and therefore also to Sedna. For this reason the custom demands that every person must at once announce if he has touched a body or if he is bleeding. If he does not do so, he will bring ill luck to all the hunters.

These ideas have given rise to the belief that it is necessary to announce the transgression of any tabu. The transgressor of a custom is distasteful to Sedna and to the animals, and those who abide with him will become equally distasteful through contact with him. For this reason it has come to be an act required by custom and morals to confess any and every transgression of a tabu, in order to protect the community from the evil influences of contact with the evildoer. The descriptions of Eskimo life given by many observers contain records of starvation which, according to the belief of the natives, was brought about by someone transgressing a law and not announcing what he had done.

I presume this importance of the confession of a transgression with a view to warning others to keep at a distance from the transgressor has gradually led to the idea that a transgression, or we might say a sin, can be atoned for by confession. This is one of the most remarkable religious beliefs of the Central Eskimo. There are innumerable tales of starvation brought about by the transgression of a tabu. In vain the hunters try to supply their families with food; gales and drifting snow make their endeavors fruitless. Finally the help of the *angakok* is invoked, and he discovers that the cause of the misfortune of the people is due to the transgression of a tabu. Then the guilty one is searched for. If he confesses, all is well, the weather moderates, and the seals will allow themselves to be caught; but if he obstinately maintains his innocence, his death alone will soothe the wrath of the offended deity.[1]

Of the Carrier Indians in the same general region Morse says in an early report (1822):

When the Carriers are severely sick they often think that they shall not recover unless they divulge to a priest or magician every crime which they may have committed, which has hitherto been kept secret. In such a case they will make a full confession, and then they expect that their lives will be spared for a time longer. But should they keep back a single crime, they as fully believe that they shall suffer almost instant death."[2]

Loskiel's report on the missionary work of the United Brethren (1794) points out that these missionaries met with a rival plan of salvation practiced by the tribal shamans:

[1] Boas, F., "Religious Beliefs of the Central Eskimo," *Popular Sci. Monthly*, **57**: 624–627 (By permission).

[2] Harmon, D. W., in Morse, J., *Report to the Secretary of War of the United States on Indian Affairs*, 345.

[The fear of death may be] deemed the most powerful motive for their religious worship, and the principal cause of the ascendancy gained by the above-mentioned teachers over their minds.

To heathen their system of morals seemed severe, for some of them made a total cessation from fornication, adultery, murder, and robbery, the most essential condition, when they promised their hearers a place among the good spirits and a share in their affluence and joy. They added, that they must be first thoroughly cleansed from their sins, and gave the poor people vomits, as the most expeditious mode of performing this purification.

Some Indians who believed in these absurdities vomited so often, that their lives were endangered by it. They were further strictly exhorted to fast, and to take nothing but physic for many days. Few indeed persevered in attending to so severe a regimen.

Other teachers pretended, that stripes were the most effectual means to purge away sin. They advised their hearers to suffer themselves to be beaten with twelve different sticks, from the soles of their feet to their necks, that their sins might pass from them through their throats.[1]

Beckwourth, who married an Indian woman and became a Crow chief, relates of a war expedition that before seeking the enemy the men made an open confession of their sexual sins, termed "women's calling off," to promote the success of the expedition:

In the forenoon we killed a fine fat buffalo, and rested to take breakfast. The intestines were taken out, and a portion of them cleansed and roasted. A long one was then brought into our mess, which numbered ten warriors, who formed a circle, every man taking hold of the intestine with his thumb and finger. In this position, very solemnly regarded by all in the circle, certain questions were propounded to each in relation to certain conduct in the village, which is of a nature unfit to be entered into here. They are religiously committed to a full and categorical answer to each inquiry, no matter whom their confession may implicate. Every illicit action they have committed since they last went to war is here exposed, together with the name of the faithless accomplice, even to the very date of the occurrence. All this is divulged to the medicine men on the return of the party, and it is by them noted down in a manner that it is never erased while the guilty confessor lives. Every new warrior, at his initiation, is conjured by the most sacred oaths never to divulge the warpath secret to any woman, on pain of instant death. He swears by his gun, his pipe, knife, earth, and sun, which are the most sacred oaths to the Indian, and are ever strictly observed.[2]

According to information to Lowie from Bear-gets-up,

the form employed in calling off was first to mention the woman's and her husband's name, and then to add, "I slept with her." It was believed

[1] Loskiel, G. H., *History of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Indians in North America*, Part 1: 37.

[2] Bonner, T. D., *The Life and Adventures of James P. Beckwourth*, 157–158.

that if all the members of a war party spoke the truth they would have good luck. . . . Sometimes the woman thus charged with adultery denied her guilt. At times the husbands happened to be of the party and were present at the calling off of their wives' names; some did not seem to care and caused no trouble on their return, while others might leave their faithless spouses.[1]

But according to other information the custom as sometimes practiced was not a confession of sin but had the rather boasting aspect of pledging to perform a certain deed in the name of a mistress. In some cases "each man would take out some trinket presented to him by his mistress and call out her name," or say, "I shall bring a horse for So-and-so."[2]

The Maori of New Zealand had an elaborately specialized teaching in a sacred college, and

when a person was about to have an important religious rite performed over him . . . it was considered necessary that he should be in a condition of moral purity; hence he was subjected to a process consisting of confession and absolution, sometimes accompanied by immersion in water. . . . The subject was called upon by the officiating priest to confess his peccadilloes, all *hara* and *rarurarau*, offenses against tapu and morality. The absolutory rite left the subject in a condition of moral purity and mental clarity, in a fit condition to undergo the rite, and in possession of clear faculties for the performance of his duties.[3]

Handy records the lament of a fallen Hawaiian chief whose mana had failed him, his resort to confession and washing, and his confident anticipation of "salvation":

> What is my great offense, O god!
> I have eaten standing perhaps, or
> Without giving thanks,
> Or these my people have eaten
> Wrongfully.
> Yes, that is the offense, O Kane-of-the-water-of-life.
> O spare; O let me live, thy devotee,
> Look not with indifference upon me.
> I call upon thee, O answer thou me,
> O thou god of my body who art in heaven.
> O Kane, let the lightning flash, let the thunder roar,
> Let the earth shake.
> I am saved; my god has looked upon me,
> I am being washed, I have escaped the danger.

[1] Lowie, R. H., "Social Life of the Crow Indians," *Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., Anth. Pap.*, **9**: 225.
[2] *Ibid.*, 224.
[3] Best, E., "Maori Religion and Mythology," *Dominion Mus. Bull.*, **10**: 198–199. *Cf.* Best, E., "Maori Medical Lore," *Polynesian Sociol., Jour.*, **13**: 225 *ff.*

This Hawaiian lament is particularly interesting, for it practically amounts to a confession and appeal to Kane, the god of life, for forgiveness and succor. According to Best, on the east coast of North Island, New Zealand, the first act of a tohunga in seeking to help a sick person was to call upon his patient to confess all hara and rarurarau, that is, "acts offensive to religious or moral laws." The act of confession was followed by an absolutory rite which "acted as a . . . loosening or setting free from all pernicious hindrances." The purification was aided by sprinkling. It will be noted that the Hawaiian lament just quoted, the first part of which is in a sense a confession, ends

> I am saved . . . ,
> I am being washed, I have escaped the danger.[1]

Among the Nandi of East Africa the boy must buy permission to be circumcised and is required to make a confession:

Each boy has now to appear before the old men and ask for permission to be circumcised. This ordeal is called "Going to Kimasop," Kimasop being the name for the old man wrapped in furs. On his entrance the boy is shown a torch and told that if he does not speak the truth the fire will enter his nose. He has then to make a confession of his past life. Should the old men believe that he is not speaking the truth or is hiding something from them, a little eleusine grain is surreptitiously dropped on the fire, and when it explodes he is warned to be careful, as he is displeasing the spirits of the dead. Should he still be reticent about his former misdeeds or refuse to disclose any of his past doings, he is made to sit on a stool covered with stinging nettles.[2]

The Bavenda take advantage of childbirth to extract confessions from wives. In difficult childbirth the midwives urge confession of adultery. In all cases the mother is separated from the child at birth until the cord falls off and is not permitted to suckle it until a witch doctor has interrogated her as to its legitimacy:

It is believed that if she does not answer the questions truthfully the child will be dead by sundown. If she confesses that her husband is not the child's father the husband will claim two head of cattle from his wife's seducer, and there the matter will end, as the child is regarded as being unquestionably her husband's property. . . . The mother may now be given the child to suckle. Often before this the mother suffers intense pain, as the midwives refuse to summon the doctor to rub her breasts, so that she may suckle her child, until she has divulged the name of her lover. Sometimes the agony is so great that the mother will say any name that she thinks will satisfy her persecutors in order to escape from her sufferings, although she may be innocent of the indiscretions to which she confesses. If she owns to a lover her breasts must be purified with

[1] Handy, E. S. C., "Polynesian Religion," *Bernice P. Bishop Mus., Bull.*, **34**: 242.
[2] Hollis, A. C., *The Nandi; Their Language and Folk-lore*, 54 (Clarendon Press. By permission).

a lotion made from the powdered root of the *mutshetshete* (from *u tshete*, to be quiet) mixed with water.[1]

Among some Bantu tribes specific sins are thought to be transmitted to children in the form of specific diseases. Thus, Father van Wing reports that among the Bakongo "*kesa* is a disease inflicted by Nzamhi for adultery committed by the parents."[2] Father Cayzac reports from the Kikuyu that sin is inherited but that it may be wiped away by confession:

To the Kikuyu "sin" is the violation of any law, custom, ceremony, rite, or precept. Stealing, lying, fornication are not included in this definition; these are "indifferent" acts from the standpoint of consequences. Kikuyu "sin" may have as punishment and as consequences sickness, death, all kinds of calamities; and sickness, death, and all calamities have as their usual cause sin. They are *sahu.*

Upon this general idea have been grafted two other complementary and associated concepts: sin is transmissible and it is pardonable, whence the two expressions which may be heard daily: *kogwatio ne sahu*, "to be visited by the sin of others" and *kotahikio*, "to be redeemed from sin."

"To be visited by the sin of others" means, more exactly, "to undergo the consequences of the sin of others," for sahu is the consequence of a *noki* or "forbidden act." It is especially the woman who, most often, transmits her sin to her children. For example, a girl commits a noki before her marriage; later her child will have sahu, if he falls sick, and the sickness will be attributed to the noki of its mother. Shame will perhaps prevent the mother from mentioning her sin as long as the child is well and is developing normally; but, at the slightest snag, maternal love will prevail, and, for fear of seeing the child die, she will go and do all that is prescribed for the remission of sin. And until that is done, she will no longer carry her child on her back as usual but will put him back on her breast. I knew the case of a young woman who drowned herself and her sick child rather than face the shame of a public confession. It was a question of incest, not consummated and involuntary on her part.

Sin is essentially pardonable; it is sufficient to confess it. Ordinarily, confession is made to the "sorcerer" who expels the sin by a ceremony of which the principal rite is a feigned vomiting: *kotahikio*, derived from *tahika*, to vomit.

There is also a private, nonritualistic confession. A man has just committed adultery; his accomplice forbids him to speak about it. If she had said nothing, the man would not have sinned, but because she spoke, he has sinned. It is rather odd. . . . The man, in this case, then makes a private confession of his act to some friend, and this confession makes him immune to sahu.[3]

[1] Stayt, *op. cit.*, 86–87 (Oxford University Press. By permission).
[2] Wing, J. van, "Bakongo Incantations and Prayers," *Jour. Anth. Inst.*, **60**: 412.
[3] Cayzac, F. P., "La Religion des Kikuyu (Afrique orientale)," *Anthropos*, **5**: 310–311.

The confession of the sins of a man may be undertaken by the community at the time of his death in order to clear his soul and the community of guilt. Thurston has described the practice among tribes of India, where extreme care is taken to make the confession complete:

> Very impressive is the recitation, or after-death confession, of a dead man's sins by an elder of the tribe standing at the head of the corpse, and rapidly chanting the following lines, or a variation thereof, while he waves his right hand during each line towards the feet. The reproduction of the recitation in my phonograph never failed to impress the daily audience of Badagas, Kotas, and Todas.
> This is the death of Andi.
> In his memory the calf of the cow Belle has been set free.
> From this world to the other.
> He goes in a car.
> Everything the man did in this world.
> All the sins committed by his ancestors.
> All the sins committed by his forefathers.
> All the sins committed by his parents.
> All the sins committed by himself.
> The estranging of brothers.
> Shifting the boundary line.
> Encroaching on a neighbor's land by removing the hedge.
> Driving away brothers and sisters.
> Cutting the *kalli* tree stealthily.
> Cutting the *mulli* tree outside his boundary.
> Dragging the thorny branches of the *kotte* tree.
> Sweeping with a broom.
> Splitting green branches.
> Telling lies.
> Uprooting seedlings.
> Plucking growing plants, and throwing them in the sun.
> Giving young birds to cats.
> Troubling the poor and cripples.
> Throwing refuse water in front of the sun.
> Going to sleep after seeing an eclipse of the moon.
> Looking enviously at a buffalo yielding an abundance of milk.
> Being jealous of the good crops of others.
> Removing boundary stones.
> Using a calf set free at the funeral.
> Polluting water with dirt.
> Urinating on burning embers.
> Ingratitude to the priest.
> Carrying tales to the higher authorities.
> Poisoning food.
> Not feeding a hungry person.

Not giving fire to one half frozen.
Killing snakes and cows.
Killing lizards and bloodsuckers.
Showing a wrong path.
Getting on the cot, and allowing his father-in-law to sleep on the ground.
Sitting on a raised veranda, and driving thence his mother-in-law.
Going against natural instincts.
Troubling daughters-in-law.
Breaking open lakes.
Breaking open reservoirs of water.
Being envious of the prosperity of other villages.
Getting angry with people.
Misleading travelers in the forest.
Though there be three hundred such sins,
Let them all go with the calf set free today.
May the sins be completely removed!
May the sins be forgiven!
May the door of heaven be open!
May the door of hell be closed!
May the hand of charity be extended!
May the wicked hand be shriveled!
May the door open suddenly!
May beauty or splendor prevail everywhere!
May the hot pillar be cooled!
May the thread bridge[1] become light!
May the pit of perdition be closed!
May he reach the golden pillar!
Holding the feet of the six thousand Athis,
Holding the feet of the twelve thousand Pathis,
Holding the feet of Brahma,
Holding the feet of the calf set free today,
May he reach the abode of Siva!
So mote it be.

The recitation is repeated thrice, and a few Bagadas repeat the last words of each line after the leader.[2]

Thurston notes also in this connection that the more material means of release from sin by the employment of a scape had formerly been combined with the confession by the Bagada:

As the ceremony witnessed by us differs materially from the account thereof given by Gover nearly forty years ago, I may quote his description:

"By a conventional mode of expression, the sum total of sins a man may do is said to be thirteen hundred. Admitting that the deceased has committed them all, the performer cries aloud 'Stay not their flight to God's pure feet.' As he closes, the whole assembly chants aloud 'Stay

[1] The bridge spanning the river of death, which the blessed pass in safety.
[2] Thurston, E., *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, 1: 113–116.

not their flight.' Again the performer enters into details, and cries 'He killed the crawling snake. It is a sin.' In a moment the last word is caught up, and all the people cry 'It is a sin.' As they shout, the performer lays his hand upon the calf. The sin is transferred to the calf. Thus the whole catalogue is gone through in this impressive way. But this is not enough. As the last shout 'Let all be well' dies away, the performer gives place to another, and again confession is made, and all the people shout 'It is a sin.' A third time it is done. Then, still in solemn silence, the calf is let loose. Like the Jewish scapegoat, it may never be used for secular work."

At the funerals, of which we were spectators, no calf was brought near the corpse, and the celebrants of the rites were satisfied with the mere mention by name of a calf, which is male or female according to the sex of the deceased. At the funeral witnessed by the Rev. A. C. Clayton, a cow buffalo was led three times round the bier, and a little of its milk, drawn at the time, put into the mouth of the corpse. Then a buffalo calf was led thrice round the bier, and the dead man's hand laid on its head. By this act, the calf was supposed to receive all the sins of the deceased. It was then driven away to a great distance, that it might contaminate no one, and it was said that it would never be sold, but looked on as a dedicated sacred animal.[1]

The widespread magical employment, illustrated by this passage, of a scape to take over the sins of individuals and communities (which became elevated to the Christian scheme of salvation) was less moral than the clearing of conscience by confession, but had the advantage of ridding the community of the contaminating influence of sin, since the bearer of it was usually banished.

Among the Bakongo (Bantu) there is a form of negative confession or repudiation of guilt. A rite called *matabula* was mentioned above (Chap. XI) through which an appeal was made to ancestors in case of serious sickness. Before this ceremony relatives of the sick person visit the uterine relatives and raise the question whether anyone there has bewitched the sufferer because of some dissatisfaction, perhaps in connection with the distribution of bride gifts. When that is denied

the supreme effort to save the patient, the *matabula* rite, is performed, each member of the clan, kneeling in front of the patient, testifying his innocence.[2]

At an early date, certainly before 1500 B.C., the negative confession was developed in Egypt. The records of this are inscriptions relating to kings and officials and reflect the repudiation of sin they were prepared to make after death, when the heart was

[1] *Ibid.*, 117.
[2] Van Wing, *op. cit.*, 414.

weighed and the behavior reviewed by the forty-two judges of the spirit world. The following inscription on the tomb of Ameni, monarch of the Oryx-nome, is typical; and certainly the necessity of making claims of this kind would tend to influence the patterning of behavior in the direction claimed:

> There was no citizen's daughter whom I misused, there was no widow whom I oppressed, there was no peasant whom I repulsed, there was no herdsman whom I repelled. There was no overseer of serf laborers, whose people I took for (unpaid) imposts, there was none wretched in my community, there was none hungry in my time. When years of famine came I plowed all the fields of the Oryx-nome, as far as its southern and northern boundary, preserving its people alive, and furnishing its food, so that there was none hungry therein. I gave to the widow as to her who had a husband; I did not exalt the great above the small in all I gave. Then came great Niles, rich in grain and all things, but I did not collect the arrears of the field.[1]

Petrie affirms that the modern Egyptian is inclined to deny guilt under all circumstances and suggests that this attitude is derived from the historical practice of negative confession:

> The repudiation of sins before the judgment of Osiris is the earliest code of morals . . . [and] the permanence of the Egyptian character will strike anyone who knows the modern native. The essential mode of justification in the judgment was by the declaration of the deceased that he had not done various crimes; and to this day the Egyptian will rely on justifying himself by sheer assertion that he has not done wrong, in face of absolute proofs to the contrary.[2]

[1] Breasted, J. H., *History of Egypt*, 160 (Charles Scribner's Sons. By permission).
[2] Petrie, W. M. F., *The Religion of Ancient Egypt*, 86, 89.

Chapter XVI

THE DIFFUSION OF PATTERNS

In Chap. III it was pointed out that in primitive groups social habit systems tend to acquire a relatively fixed and unreflective character resembling instinctive-reflex responses. When a condition of social equilibrium is thus reached in an isolated region, based on a set of devices for securing game, supplemented by the gathering of fruits, seeds, mussels, etc., and perhaps some cultivation, a group may remain relatively stationary for an indefinite period. The jungle peoples of the Amazon region and the Malay Peninsula represent this stage. Their material life is partly dependent on the blowgun, which was developed in these two regions independently, it seems, and nowhere else in the world. It consists of a bamboo tube through which a tiny poisoned dart is expelled by a puff of breath. The dart is tipped with the deadly curare in America and with a preparation containing the juice of the upas tree in Malaysia. In both cases the tip of the dart is notched, so that it breaks off in the wound. The bamboo and poison are at hand in both regions, the tropical forest is dense, without wind to divert the tiny missile, the game is abundant, the operation is silent, the game is not frightened away, and for this reason the natives have been known to reject the white man's gun. Hose and McDougall have described the situation of one of these jungle groups:

> In almost all parts of Borneo there are to be found hidden in the remotest recesses of the jungles small bands of homeless nomad hunters. . . . Of all these nomad groups the Punans are the most numerous and we have seen more of them than of any others. . . . The Punans cultivate no crops and have no domestic animals. They live entirely upon the wild produce of the jungle, vegetable and animal. Of the former, sago and a form of vegetable tallow found in the seed of a tree (Shorea) are the most important. Animals of all kinds are eaten and are secured principally by the aid of the blowpipe and poisoned darts, in the use of which the Punans are very expert. The Punan dwelling is merely a rude low shelter of palm leaves, supported on sticks to form a sloping roof which keeps off the rain but very imperfectly, and leaves the interior open on every side.[1]

[1] Hose, C., and W. McDougall, *The Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, **2**: 177–178 (The Macmillan Company. By permission).

The blowgun of course represents an extraordinarily refined technique and it is supported by and supports other techniques and activities—traps, spears, manioc, or sago, etc., but in any case it would seem that the life of one of these isolated, shy, relatively unorganized, kindly but revengeful groups might well go on indefinitely on the same level if the environment remained constant and other populations did not press in. At least the tempo of change would be extremely slow.

The assumption that a culture undisturbed from without would be inclined to remain stationary at any point where its habit system was working adequately is in agreement with psychological tests showing that the individual tends to remain on any level of performance so long as it is adequate. Watson, for example, has shown that typists remain on the speed level required by their position but improve their performance rapidly when forced to adjust to new requirements:

> Most of the learners in telegraphy as soon as they become competent to send and receive messages in small stations cease to improve, in other words, they reach only the first level of adjustment which will just enable them to hold a job. They are then on a par with the majority of their group; consequently there is no further incentive or drive to improvement. The same thing occurs in typewriting and in practically all of the vocations. The great mass of individuals takes the lowest level of adjustment which will enable it to earn a living; and then the environment ceases to offer any adequate incentive for the continuation of practice. How can we get a learner away from this low level? This is the cry of the business world today. It is the cry of the schoolroom as well. It has been shown in these experiments that if high stimulating values can be obtained, the learning curve will again immediately begin to rise. Curves of animal leaning, where the incentive is kept high by controlling the food and other factors, show no plateaux. We might illustrate how the addition of an incentive will produce improvement by a hypothetical example in the field of typewriting. As soon as an individual can just take care of an office adequately, say at fifteen dollars per week, there comes a slump in the learning. Now suppose that a larger office is willing to try out this individual's services. She goes there and finds that her work is not so rapid nor so accurate as that of certain other girls in the office. The record of these better paid girls serves as a stimulus or drive. Our individual then gets an added incentive and soon reaches a higher level. Another period of nonimprovement results, and not until some other incentive is added will she improve. Suppose literature has been put in her hands which shows that the touch system of typewriting is more efficient than the method she has been using. Another impetus has been given to her work, a better method is employed, and improvement again results. Suppose now a prize is offered for speed and she

enters the contest. Under the emotional excitement improvement will again show up. Finally, world records begin to serve as a stimulus for improvement; and we at last find our individual holding the world's record for speed.[1]

But, a human society cannot perpetuate its behavior patterns completely unchanged as animal reactions are perpetuated, because the human habits are not based on unlearned organic reactions but are learned through definitions of situations and must be communicated from generation to generation, and an inevitable and undesigned direction of change is introduced by the inability of individuals to reproduce precisely the prevailing stereotypes. The unconscious introduction of change in the reproduction of copies has been described by Koffka and other psychologists:

Several years ago [says Koffka] Dr. Wulf undertook the following investigation. He showed to several observers a number of very simple geometrical figures and asked them to draw these figures afterwards from memory, the first drawing being made immediately after the presentation, the second twenty-four hours later, the third after a week, and possibly a fourth several weeks later. The comparison of the successive reproductions of one and the same figure revealed some significant facts. Not only was each later drawing different from the preceding one, but the direction of this difference remained constant through time; peculiarities of the figures were either reduced or enhanced. A slightly broken line, for example, became after a while in the drawings either a straight line or a pronounced angle. I speak of leveling in the first case, of emphasizing in the second. These two processes appeared under two different forms. These changes either assimilated the figures to standardized forms, or they took place independently of such standardization, in which case I shall speak of structural changes. These changes indicate that the traces which enabled the observers to produce their drawings have become altered with the lapse of time. Not only did they grow weaker, corresponding to the degree of forgetting, they also underwent changes of shape.[2]

In this case the copy is reproduced at intervals, by the same person, but if a drawing is copied successively by a number of persons, each working from the preceding copy, the changes are more rapid and radical. Thus a drawing of a bird's nest attached to a bough may eventually appear as an admiral's hat or a butterfly net.[3]

[1] Watson, J. B., in *Suggestions of Modern Science Concerning Education*, 95–97 (The Macmillan Company. By permission).

[2] Koffka, K., "On the Structure of the Unconscious," in *The Unconscious; A Symposium*, 56–57 (F. S. Croftstand Co. By permission).

[3] Balfour, H., *The Evolution of Decorative Art*, 25 *ff.*

This type of change is apparent in language systems. Individuals and generations do not reproduce the sounds and structures completely and, especially in unlettered and isolated communities where the copies are not stabilized by the printed page, as, for example, in peasant Germany and Italy, dialects are developed which tend to become mutually unintelligible. Similarly, when a portion of an American Indian tribe migrates its linguistic affinity with the parent stock will presently be recognizable only by a trained philologist.

There will thus necessarily be certain deviations from norms in the language field without any necessary improvement or deterioration as a medium of communication, and the same is true of other behavior patterns. The question arising in this connection is whether and at what rate a completely isolated group would follow a progressive tendency and develop an independent civilization. It was noted in Chap. I that even the most favorable environmental conditions permitting and inviting the development of high levels of culture do not necessarily produce them. Nevertheless we are ready to assume that an advanced culture could develop independently in the long run on the basis of internal incentives, inventions, the formation of classes, etc., but in fact we have no opportunity to study the problem from this standpoint. We never find even on the lowest levels groups not in some degree of communication with neighboring groups. The Punan just mentioned have, for example, an established relation and exchange of values with the more organized tribes of the region:

> Although these nomads wander perpetually in the forests, moving their camp every few weeks or months, any one group attaches itself to a particular area, partly because they become familiar with its natural resources, partly because they establish friendly relations with the villagers of the region, with whom they barter jungle produce to the advantage of both parties. The settled tribesmen of any region find this trade so profitable that they regard the harmless nomads with friendly feelings, learn their language, and avoid and reprobate any harsh treatment of them that might drive them to leave their district. In fact they look upon them with a certain sense of proprietorship and are jealous of their intercourse with other tribes; the nomads, in fact, rank high among the many natural products of the jungle that render any particular region attractive to the tribesmen.[1]

We see here the beginnings of a process of social inheritance termed acculturation. Different patterns and values are inevitably developed in different groups through different directions of atten-

[1] Hose and McDougall, *op. cit.*, 177 (The Macmillan Company. By permission).

tion, some of them unique, and change and progress are prominently promoted by contacts between contiguous populations, both in the way of the diffusion back and forth of material and social values and through conquests, incorporations, and amalgamations. We find, in fact, no case where it is not impossible to determine what is native and what is borrowed.

In the great historical cultures of Europe, Egypt, Babylonia, Palestine, and China, we find that numerous important cultural traits were borrowed back and forth, and in the case of Europe, we get the impression that its distinguished cultural features in both historic and prehistoric times were derived from Asia and Africa. Thus, the basis of white material civilization is agriculture, representing originally a combination of the plow and the ox for the production of the cereals. Other domesticated animals, the wheeled cart, bronze, iron, and pottery are important additions.

Now the plow was unknown in Europe until it had long been in use in Babylonia, Egypt, and China. The wheel is a Babylonian invention dating about 3300 B.C. The Kassites, an Asiatic tribe of unknown derivation, are credited with bringing the horse into Babylonia soon after 2000 B.C., and we find it somewhat later drawing Egyptian chariots. There were wild horses in Europe but they were apparently not domesticated. The European wild ox was domesticated to some extent but this breed was later superseded by or mixed with the smaller horned Asiatic animal. Europe had no wild wheat and no native sheep and the domestic varieties were derived from Asia.

Bronze was in use in Egypt before 3000 B.C., reached Spain and Italy about 2500 B.C., and northern Europe about 1900 B.C., according to the usual estimates. The origin of iron is not known, but the Hittites of Asia were selling it to the Egyptians in the thirteenth century B.C. It was used in Greece in the time of Homer, but is mentioned only 23 times in the *Iliad* (about 850 B.C.), while bronze is mentioned 270 times. Aeschylus refers to it as "the stranger from across the sea," presumably from the Hittites of Asia Minor. Italy obtained iron from the Etruscans (invaders from Asia) about 1100 B.C., and it was in use in central Europe about 900 B.C.

Some of these points are in controversy (iron, for example, may have been invented first or independently in Europe) but there was evidently a stream of material culture in prehistoric and early historic times toward Europe from Asia and Africa, and nonmaterial traits were diffused to Europe from the same sources. The Egyptians preceded the Greeks, for example, in the develop-

ment of mathematics. The periodic overflow of the Nile and the shifting of land boundaries made frequent surveys necessary for the purpose of assessing taxes, and the Egyptians developed a geometry in this connection which fifteen hundred years later became the basis of the Euclidian geometry studied today in our schools. The earlier form of our present calendar was introduced from Egypt by Julius Caesar in the year 48 B.C., but according to the historian Meyer it had been in use in Egypt for more than four thousand years:

> The 19th of July by the Julian calendar (the 15th of June by the Gregorian), 4241 B.C., on which the 365-day calendar was introduced in lower Egypt, is the oldest certain date in history.[1]

The beginnings of scientific astronomy were in Asia. In Babylonia the observation of the heavens took on a serious and professional aspect in connection with the conception that there was a heavenly division of the universe, that the great gods had their dwellings in the planets and the lesser gods in the fixed stars (much as an image is conceived as containing a spirit), and that the movements of the stars not only revealed the divine plans but directly affected human affairs:

> For the Babylonians the moving stars were not merely symbols serving as interpreters to men of the divine will; their movements were the actual cause of events on earth. To use an opposite symbol of Winckler, heaven was believed to be related to earth much as a moving object seen in a mirror was related to its reflection.[2]

There was for a time a tendency to exaggerate the early astronomical knowledge of the Babylonians, but

> as early as the close of the third millennium the astronomers recorded observations of the planet Venus, and there is also a fragment of an early text which shows that they attempted to measure approximately the positions of the fixed stars, but their art remained for a long time primitive and it was only the later Babylonians of the period from the sixth to the first century B.C. who were enabled to fix with sufficient accuracy the movements of the planets, especially those of the moon, and by this means were enabled to found a reliable system of time measurement. . . .
>
> The earliest scientific document in the strict sense of the word dates from the second half of the sixth century, when we find for the first time that the relative positions of the sun and moon were calculated in advance,

[1] Meyer, E., *Geschichte des Altertums*, §197.
[Meyer's calculation is based on evidence that the Egyptian new year was fixed by the coincidence of the spring overflow of the Nile and the heliacal rising of the star Sirius. One of these conjunctures was in the year 2781 B.C., but the sacrifice formulas and the pyramid texts show that the calendar was already in use at this date. Meyer therefore assumes that the calendar was fixed at the next older date, which was in the year 4241 B.C.]

[2] King, L. W., *A History of Babylon*, 292 (London: Chatto & Windus; New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company. By permission).

as well as the conjunction of the moon with the planets and of the planets with each other, their position being noted in the signs of the zodiac. But the tablets afford no evidence that the Babylonian astronomers possessed any knowledge of the precession of the equinoxes before the close of the second century B.C., and the traditional ascription of the discovery to Hipparchus of Nicaea, working between the years 161 and 126 B.C. on the observations of Babylonian predecessors, may be accepted as accurate.[1]

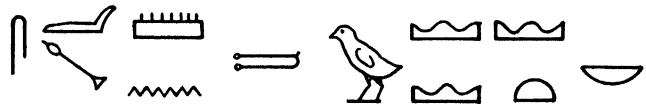
A peculiar definition of the situation in this case led therefore to a particular direction of attention and the development of a body of observations appropriated by the Greeks. A Babylonian established a school in the island of Cos in the time of Thales, which Thales may have attended, and it is conjectured that he here learned to predict the famous eclipse of 585 by means of the saros or lunar cycle, at the end of which the moon returns to her original position. Whether this incident is history or legend it indicates the westward movement of Asiatic astronomy.

The conception of negative numbers and the invention of a zero associated with the numerals seems to have occurred only twice, and independently—among the Mayas of Central America and in India. It was unknown to the Greeks and Romans, but was borrowed by the Arabs from India and bequeathed by them to Europe (along with Arabic numerals), replacing the clumsy Greek and Roman enumeration by letters of the alphabet which survives today on public buildings and on the title pages of books.

Given the universal organization of sounds into language systems discussed in Chap. IV, the subsequent most important performance of the human mind in the language field was the invention of alphabetic writing, that is, a combination of symbols representing the sounds without any necessary resemblance to the sounds. This was accomplished only once in the history of the world and resulted from the modification of the picture writing developed in an elementary way among savages and highly elaborated among the early Egyptians, Semites, Mayas, and Chinese. The modification leading to the alphabet was begun among the Egyptians. They had, in fact, a consonantal alphabet, described below, supporting the pictures and supported by them, but the studies of Egyptologists, especially those of Gardiner and Sethe, show that this condition had become stationary and that the development of a pure alphabet resulted from the contact of the Semites with the Egyptians:

[1] King, *op. cit.*, 311–312. (London: Chatto and Windus; New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company By permission).

As a sample of hieroglyphic writing [says Gardiner] we may take the four words



which, on a tablet of King Sahure in the Wady Magharah (peninsula of Sinai), accompany the scene of the Pharaoh grasping an Asiatic by the hair and smiting him with a club. These words, being interpreted, signify "the smiting of the Bedouins of all the desert hills." The exact sound of the Egyptian equivalent is unknown, only the consonantal skeleton *skr mntw h'swt nb* being vouchsafed to us; for intelligibility's sake we may conjecture, however, some such pronunciation as *sōqer mentheyyew kha'sowwet nebet.*

Examining these twelve hieroglyphic signs one by one we shall recognize in them the following objects: a napkin folded over, a windscreen (?), a club, a draughtboard, rippling water, a tethering rope, a quail chick, a hilly desert (thrice repeated), a loaf (?), and a basket. Of these, only four signs can in any way be brought into connection with the sense attributed to our four hieroglyphic words, namely the club, which is identical with that depicted in the Pharaoh's hand, and the thrice-repeated desert sign.

These signs are good examples of our first group of signs, called PICTURE SIGNS or IDEOGRAMS, the latter name being given to them because they are writings (*γράμμα*) of the forms (*ἰδέα*) of things. Some further examples may be given: to convey the notion of the ibis god Thoth the Egyptians drew the picture of an ibis perched on a standard such as was carried in the priestly processions  ; to indicate the meaning "head" they depicted a human head  ; for "house" they outlined the ground plan of a house .

Now note, however, that the sign  in our sample inscription differs from the rest of the signs that have been quoted, in that, for the purposes of that inscription, it signifies not a *thing*, but an *action*—the action of smiting or clubbing. But there are simpler and more explicit ways of conveying the notion of particular actions than this, as when the image of a man constructing a wall  is used to indicate the verb "to build," or two arms holding a shield and battle-ax  are used to indicate the action of fighting. *States* may be expressed in a similar manner: thus the verb "to be old" is written with the picture of an old man leaning upon a stick  ; in like manner the sign of some lotus flowers growing

out of a pool of water  serves to represent the verdure of the Inundation season.

By writing such ideograms one after the other in the order prescribed by the spoken language, simple sentences like "Thoth is old"  or "a house was built"  could obviously be conveyed. Now simple as this method of writing may seem we are here, nevertheless, at some distance from the most primitive kind of picture writing. Hieroglyphic writing, even when ideographic, is wholly dominated by the influence of language; in other words,  stands not merely for the conception of the building of a house, but also for the Egyptian words *kodu per* "a house is (or was) built," *kod* being the verb "to build," and *per* the word for "house."

For the right understanding of the evolution of the hieroglyphic script it is essential to realize the importance of the influence of language. Let us suppose that a primitive scribe wished to communicate pictorially, quite apart from language, the notion of Thoth being old; in all probability he would have tried to represent a decrepit ibis-headed being leaning upon a stick. The objections to such a method of picture writing are twofold: firstly, it makes quite an excessive demand upon the skill and ingenuity of the writer, and, secondly, its results are very far from unambiguous; a spectator might just as well interpret such a picture as meaning "Thoth has a stick to lean upon," which is not at all the sense supposed to be in the mind of the writer. Clearly what was needed was some means of reducing the number and variety of all possible pictorial writings, so that every picture sign used should have attached to it a more or less fixed conventional meaning. Language is the medium by which alone we have become able to arrange and give precision to our thoughts, and two or three hundred words have been found enough to suffice the needs of simple folk.

At the conclusion of this article I shall attempt to indicate the way in which language became associated with pictures, so as to serve for the expression of articulate ideas. For the present the fact must be taken for granted, and the reader must be content with noting its consequences. Of these perhaps the principal was the wider application given to individual signs. Take for example  , the now familiar sign for old age. Pictorially regarded, this sign could strictly only indicate old age as exhibited in the person of a man; but by virtue of its association with the Egyptian word *tni* (perhaps to be vocalized *thoney*), the same sign could be used in every connection in which *tni* could be used, whether in describing the old age of a god, a man, a woman, or an animal. In other terms. the meaning "man" disappears from the connotation of the hieroglyph and the meaning "old" alone remains.

Somewhat different, but easily comprehensible, extensions of meaning may be illustrated by the following instances. The sign  represents a twig, for which the Egyptian word was *khet*. But this identical word has also the significations "wood" and "tree." If therefore the Egyptian scribe wished to express the notions "wood" or "tree" it sufficed him to draw the picture of the twig. Take again the picture of the falcon god Horus  , the primary use of which was to express the idea of the god himself. But every living Pharaoh was considered as an impersonation of Horus, so that the sign  could be employed too where the Pharaoh Horus was meant, in spite of the fact that the sign represents not a man, but a bird.

This allusive employment of hieroglyphic signs, an advance under the influence of language from a more rigid pictorial use, pointed the way to yet further developments. Thus, the picture of any thing could be employed not only to suggest the name of that thing, but also to express various actions or states involving the existence of that thing. For example,  depicts an animal's ear, and served to write the word *masdger* (*msdr*) "ear," whether referring to a human ear or to that of an animal; elsewhere, however, it might be read *sodgem* (*sdm*) "to hear," since the ear is the organ of hearing. Similarly the hieroglyph  , depicting a scribe's palette, reed pen, and water bottle, might not only represent the word *menhadg*, "a writing outfit," but might alternately stand for the verb "to write," *skhai*, or for the substantives "scribe," *sakh*, or "writing."

The very flexibility of the ideographic signs, as illustrated in the last paragraph, is sufficient evidence of their insufficiency, unless accompanied by other signs which could render their meaning less ambiguous. If  can mean any one of the four things "scribe's outfit," "to write," "scribe," or "writing," how could it be known, in the particular case, which of the four was meant? The eye  in Egyptian was called *yiret;* without unduly extending the principle above described, the same sign might have been used to write a full dozen different things that are done with or in some way concern the eye such as "to see," "to look," "to stare," "to watch," "to wink," "to blink," "to weep," and even "to be blind." Clearly, if reading was to be possible at all, some method had to be found for indicating the specific meaning to be adopted in a given case.

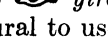
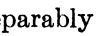
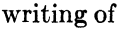
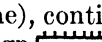
This problem was met in a simple way, yet in a way which at first sight seems to increase rather than to diminish the ambiguity of the signs. The word for "eye" in Egyptian, as we have seen, was *yiret;* the new departure consisted in using the hieroglyph of the eye to spell words the

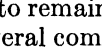
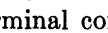
sense of which had nothing to do with the eye, but the *sound* of which closely resembled the sound of *yiret*, the word for eye. In this way  was employed to write the verb *ir-t* "to make," which in the infinitive sounded *yiret* just like the word for eye. So used, is no longer an ideogram or picture sign; it has become the mere indicator of a sound, and its external appearance is a matter of complete indifference, so far as the purpose for which it was used is concerned. Signs of this kind, which are much more numerous in Egyptian writing than ideograms, are called PHONOGRAMS, because they serve to write sounds (φωνή).

Now the transition of meaning that is exhibited in these phonograms is precisely the same as that found in the playful form of writing familiar among ourselves under the name of rebus writing. Exactly the same principle is involved, too, in our children's game of charades. There is a point of great interest to be learnt from this comparison. Let us attempt to render in rebus writing the English word *manly*. For the first syllable we might draw the picture of a little man, and for the second syllable we possibly might make shift with the representation of a bed, suggesting "to lie." The two Egyptian hieroglyphs  would thus form an easily enough recognizable equivalent of the word *man-ly*.

The point here to be emphasized is that the genius of the English language is totally opposed to the development of any elaborate system of rebus writing along the lines I have described. There is indeed no difficulty in forming rebus groups for such words as *manly*, *mandrake*, *manhood*, or *mandate*, since *lie*, *drake*, *hood*, and *date* are, all of them, notions that can be represented pictorially. But there are other words beginning with *man-* which it would be quite impossible to write in this way; how, for example, could one cope with *manna* or *manacle?* Similar difficulties arise with the words *monkey* and *mongoose;* the images of a *key* and a *goose* would meet the respective requirements of the two second syllables, but we should be quite at a loss to find any suitable equivalent for the first.

Rebus writing has thus, in English, but a narrow field open to it. It is otherwise with the Egyptian language, because there the relation of the vowels to the consonants was different from the same relation in the Indo-European languages. In Egyptian, as in the more or less closely related Semitic languages, no word begins with a full vowel sound, and, speaking in a general way, it may be said that the vocalization was a matter of quite secondary importance. The essential part of every Egyptian word was its consonantal skeleton, and variations of vocalization seldom altered the root meaning of a word, but merely varied the nuance of meaning to be attached to it. Take the verbal stem *m* + *n*, "to remain" or "be firm." The various parts of this verb, and its derivative substantives as well, are formed by ringing the vocalic changes on this consonantal framework. Thus *menu* means "remaining," *moun*, "to remain"; the simple indicative tense probably sounded *emno*, "remains"; *mainu* is the word for "monument." Now cases were

quoted above in which, under the influence of language, picture signs acquired a wider and less restricted ideographic meaning than their appearance seemed strictly to permit. In a somewhat similar manner original picture signs, on their conversion into phonograms, rapidly obtained a wider phonetic use than might have been anticipated a priori. We are greatly in the dark as to the real vocalization of most Egyptian words, but let us assume, for the sake of argument, that the word for a draughtboard was *manet*, the syllable *-et* being the feminine ending. Let us further assume that the feminine participle "she who remains" was likewise pronounced *manet*. By virtue of the principle that was expounded above in reference to  *yiret*, "the eye" and *yiret*, "to make," it would be perfectly natural to use the draughtboard  for the writing of *manet* "she who remains." But this word *manet*, "she who remains," was inseparably associated with all the other derivatives of the verbal stem *moun*, and it consequently came about that the sign  was used for the writing of all these as well. Neither the particular vocalization of the word for draughtboard, nor its feminine ending *-et* (if the word *was* feminine), continued to possess the slightest importance, and as phonogram the sign  thus acquires the value $m + n$, whatever vocalization might temporarily serve as clothing to those consonants. Wherever the consonants $m + n$ occurred in that order, whether in the biliteral words *moun*, "to remain," *emno*, "remains," *menu*, "remaining" or whether as one of several component parts in more lengthy words such as *Eymun*, "the god Amun," *emnodg*, "breast," or *mentheyyew*, "Bedouins,"  could now be used as a simple sound sign for $m + n$. And in precisely the same manner  became a biliteral sign for $y + r$, and was used, not only for the variously vocalized derivatives of the stem *ir* or *yr*, "to make," but also as an element in the spelling of such totally unrelated words as *eyrothet*, "milk," and *Wesyīrew*, "Osiris."

The great utility of a long series of BILITERAL signs, that is to say, signs having as their phonetic value two consonants in a certain order (like  $m + n$), may easily be conceived. How much more serviceable, then, would not be a series of UNILITERAL or alphabetic signs, with which any given word could at once be translated into phonetic writing? In point of fact an alphabet was evolved simultaneously with the other kinds of phonetic sign, but such was the peculiar conservatism of ancient Egypt, that the alphabet always remained auxiliary to the other elements in the combined ideographic and phonetic script. The origin of the alphabetic signs was closely analogous to that of the biliteral signs. The Egyptian language possessed a number of words in which the consonants all except one were so weak, so similar to a breathing or vowel, that they could be ignored just in the same way as it has been seen that vowels were always ignored. The hieroglyph  depicts a mouth, and was ideographically used to write the word meaning "mouth." This word in Egyptian was *ro*, the terminal consonant, here indicated by a comma, probably not being sounded. On the same principle that  *manet*, by the ignoring of the vowel and the feminine ending *-et*, gave rise

to a biliteral sign $m + n$, so *ro*, by the canceling of the *o* and the breathing, gave rise to the alphabetic sign *r*. The phonetic value *d* for the hand  has been recently shown to be derived from an ancient word for hand *yad* (Hebrew יָד, Arbic يَدٌ), which very early became obsolete. Now the Egyptians were never able quite to make up their minds whether *w* and *y* were consonants or vowels; so closely were they related to the vowels *u* and *i* respectively, that under certain circumstances they could be regarded as identical therewith, and could consequently be ignored in hieroglyphic writing. For this reason the word *yad* might be considered to possess only one consonant that really mattered and thus the value = *yad* = (*ia*)*d* = *d* was evolved. The origin of the value *dg*(*d*) for the hieroglyph of the snake  is still more complex. The name of the Snake-goddess was *We'dgoet*—a name preserved in the Delta place name Buto. Fuller spellings in which the initial consonant *w* and the breathing ' are written out occur frequently, but a very early variant  merely adds to the snake the *t* of the feminine ending and a more important-looking image of the goddess. By a process of thought not very easy for ourselves to realize, but still merely an extension of the principle involved in the creation of the alphabetic values of the mouth and the hand, there dropped out from *we'dgoet* not only the vowel *o* and the feminine ending *-et*, but also the whole first syllable *we'* or *ue*, thus leaving high and dry the alphabetic value  = *dg*(*d*).

 ' (breathing)

 *i* (like y or i̯)

 ' (a strong guttural, the Arabic

 ' ayyin)

 w (like w or u̯)

 b

 p

 f

 m

 n

 r

 h (weak h)

 ḥ (emphatic h)

 ḥ (fricative kh)

 ḫ (ch)

 s

 ś (perhaps sharper than s)

 š (sh)

 ḳ (q)

 k

 g

 t

 ṯ (th or z)

 d

 ḏ (dg)[1]

[1] Gardiner, A. H., "The Nature and Development of the Egyptian Hieroglyphic Writing," *Jour. Egypt. Archaeol.*, **2**: 63–68.

Thus the complete alphabet of the earliest times, including one or two values which later became fused together, contained twenty-four signs, as shown at the bottom of page 622.

At this point, as early as 3000 B.C., the Egyptians were in a position to make a transition to a pure alphabetic writing, and other picture-writing systems (Babylonian, Hittite, Chinese, Mayan) reached at various times a transitional stage through the extensive identification of the drawing not only with the object but with any homonym of the object. That the Egyptians, for example, did not make this transition was due to the force of the habit system. The picture writing was "picturesque," it was an art in the hands of a few experts and had, moreover, a quality of royalty, sanctity, and mystery in connection with the forms of its employment. We can appreciate the force of habit and emotion in this connection from our own reluctance to make changes in the form of our written language and from the fact that although the Chinese and Koreans invented movable metal type and have had the Western alphabet before them for centuries they still use as many as ten thousand picture characters instead of an alphabet.

Theories as to the precise origin of an alphabet in the Near East, independent of pictures, may be dated from the discovery in 1868 on Syrian soil, that is, among Semites, of an alphabet of twenty-two linear signs. The so-called Moabite stone presenting this alphabet is dated about 840 B.C., and the inscription celebrates the revolt of the Moabites under King Mesha (mentioned in II Kings 3: 4-5) against the Kings of Israel, to whom they had been tributary.

Following this the theory prevailed that this was the Phoenician alphabet later borrowed and developed by the Greeks. The assumption was that the Phoenicians, a northern Semitic people, had invented this alphabet independently in connection with their commerce and business. There were, however, four ancient South Semitic groups possessing alphabets and in one of them, the Sabaean (in the district of Nemen, Southern Arabia) an inscription has been found dating from about the sixth century B.C., and comparison of the Phoenician and South Semitic forms led to the supposition that there was a proto-Semitic precursor from which all were derived. In this connection, Prätorius wrote in 1909:

> We are obliged very seriously to weigh the possibility that the South-Semitic alphabet is descended, not from the Mesha [Moabite] alphabet or from some only slightly different and slightly older script, but rather from a much older script now unknown to us—a script which must in essentials have exhibited an alphabetic character. On this view the

uniformity which the letters of the South-Semitic alphabet display among themselves, in strong contrast to the wholly different Phoenician alphabet, would find its explanation in the fact that the South-Semitic and the Phoenician alphabets were very ancient bifurcations from a script still plastic and not yet reduced to uniformity. A further inference to be drawn would be this, that very possibly the intermediate stages between the Mesha alphabet and the South-Semitic may now have completely disappeared.[1]

More recently a number of brief inscriptions have been unearthed in the mining district of Sinai from which the Egyptians quarried their turquoise. This Sinai script resembles the Egyptian hieroglyphics superficially but contains signs answering to the names or forms of the early Semitic letters, and Gardiner, following a critical review of the details, concludes that this is the point of emergence of the proto-Semitic alphabet:

> Thus [he says] we have to face the fact that, at all events not later than 1500 B.C., there existed in Sinai, *i.e.*, on Semitic soil, a form of writing almost certainly alphabetic in character and clearly modeled on the Egyptian hieroglyphs. Exception may perhaps be taken to the detailed comparison of signs that have here been made, but if the new Sinaitic script is not the particular script from which the Phoenician and the South-Semitic alphabets are descended I can see no alternative to regarding it as a tentative essay in that direction, which at all events constitutes a good analogy upon which the Egyptian hypothesis can be argued. The common parent of the Phoenician, the Greek, and the Sabaean may have been one out of several more or less plastic local varieties of alphabet, all developing on the acrophonic principle under the influence of the Egyptian hieroglyphs.[2]

The most plausible interpretation of the precise relation of the Semitic alphabet to Egyptian writing was formulated by Champollion in the general terms that Egyptian was "not the origin but the methodological model" of the alphabet. Sethe later elaborated such a view, advocating the claim of the Phoenicians as the direct creators of the alphabet. He points out the residence of the Israelites in the Nile Delta and their return to Palestine (1400–1300 B.C.) under Moses, mentions the invasion of the Semitic Hyksos or "Shepherd Kings," who from about 1700 B.C. ruled Lower Egypt for more than a century until they were driven back to Palestine, in fact to Phoenicia, and gives evidence indicating that the Phoenicians did not remodel the Egyptian system of writing but remodeled their own system in the direction of a pure alphabet on the basis

[1] Quoted by Gardiner, A. H., "The Egyptian Origin of the Semitic Alphabet," *Jour. Egypt. Archaeol.*, 3: 4–5.

[2] *Ibid.*, 12.

of the suggestion provided by their familiarity with the Egyptian language. Following Champollion's suggestion, Lidzbarski had concluded that the Phoenician alphabet was invented by a Semite in Canaan "who knew of the existence of the Egyptian writing and something of the system, but whose knowledge was not sufficiently precise to borrow certain of its particular characters," but Sethe, who never doubts that the alphabet was invented at a given point by a clever individual Phoenician, contends that, in his adaptation of signs to Semitic speech and taste, this person showed an extensive acquaintance with Egyptian.[1]

To the sociologist these interesting attempts at historical reconstruction seem at least to reveal that the reduction of signs to an alphabet was a vulgar or nonprofessional performance. There is a tendency to assume that so unique an invention was a *tour de force* at a given point by an educated and gifted person. We have seen, however, that spoken languages were not so developed but in an anonymous way among the people, and the organization of sounds into a language is as remarkable a performance as the association of sounds with signs. In this case the Egyptian writing had developed an alphabet supporting pictures, but had perseverated in this line, and the completion of the alphabet was apparently in the hands of more vulgar scribes not connected with royalty. The Sinai script, found in a country barren of culture, may be an example of this (it is not known whether the scribes were Egyptians or Semites) and seems to represent a widespread movement going on among the general population, much as dialects depart from classical languages and may in turn become standard and classic. The line of development advocated by Sethe indicates also that Egyptian contacts had given an alphabetic trend to Semitic attention. The particular steps were, however, presumably taken anonymously from point to point, as we have seen certain trends followed in language. From this standpoint the South-Semitic and the Phoenician North-Semitic alphabets are comparable with dialects derived from a common source. Popular letter writing and trade seem to have been incentives to the dissociation of the sound symbols completely from pictures. The alphabet was a short and at first a vulgar way of record making. It was used by the Phoenicians and Greeks in trading operations, and the cleverness of the Greeks was limited to converting into vowels certain superfluous Phoenician consonant sounds (aspirates and semivowels).

Since this alphabet, developed at the eastern end of the Mediterranean about the tenth century B.C., is the model of all the

[1] Sethe, K., "Der Ursprung des Alphabets," *Nachrichten der K. Gesellsch. der Wissensch. zu Göttingen*, 1916: 133–139.

alphabets in the world, and since it is a case in which the diffusion of an important early trait can be traced in black and white, it affords a good example of the extent to which a value originating in one culture area may penetrate other areas and also of the various modifications possible during the course of its migrations. This is shown in Dixon's brief sketch, which emphasizes historical circumstances in determining the fate of a migratory trait, the different rates of diffusion in time and distance, and the greater influence, in some cases, of secondary or marginal copies as compared with the original copy:

From this center of origin at the eastern end of the Mediterranean the alphabet diffused along four main lines. Following first the western or European branch, we find the Greeks taking over the Phoenician form some time prior to the seventh century B.C. In so doing they made relatively little change in the forms of the letters, but owing to the accidental difference in the phonetic character of their language were forced to develop signs for the vowels. This they did by utilizing some of the letters whose original sounds did not occur in Greek. We have here, then, a definite modification taking place in the trait as a result of diffusion into a different culture and environment. From Greece, before the new trait became fully standardized, one variety of the alphabet spread to Italy, in which process further changes were made. From Italy the Roman form passed into central and western Europe with still further changes, including the development of capitals and of decorative forms like the Gothic, which survives in use in Germany until today. The Slavic peoples, in the main, derived their alphabets from the Greek forms between the seventh and tenth centuries. So two quite different derivatives of the Greek alphabet were developed by adjacent peoples.

An interesting side line in this diffusion was the invention of the Ogham script by the Celtic peoples in the third century. This is a wholly different kind of character, in no way directly derived from the alphabet in any of its many forms, but suggested by it. In this peculiar form the characters are all straight lines, the vowels being indicated by a series of from one to five dots on the line, and consonants by one to five short lines standing out at an angle, either on the right or left of the main line. The Ogham script is thus a striking instance of marginal specialization in which the trait itself did not pass, but only served as a stimulus for the invention of a wholly new means of carrying out the original idea.

From the Aramaic, a form related to the Phoenician alphabet, there developed the typical quadratic Hebrew with greater changes in form of the letters than took place throughout the whole development of the European branch. Thus here we have a case where, in the very home of the trait, the changes undergone were greater than those due to long diffusion and several changes of culture and environment. But the

changes were local, they applied locally only, and the modifications developed at the trait nucleus did *not* diffuse from there toward the outlying areas. At first the new local form (Hebrew) had still no indication of the vowels, but in the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. these came to be supplied by the use of "points" or diacritical marks.

While the Hebrew was becoming more and more angular and boxlike in the forms of its letters, another branch of the same Aramaic from which it had grown, was developing a more cursive, curvilinear type, which ultimately became known as the Syriac. In the fifth century A.D. this started to differentiate into two forms as a result of religious differences which at the time divided the Christian Church, the Nestorians in Persia using one form, while the western Syrians, who were under Roman rule, used the other. This well illustrates how a material trait may be strongly influenced by nonmaterial factors in culture, as well as the way in which a trait may rapidly develop local forms. The Nestorian form of the alphabet, which early developed "points" or vowel marks, served as the source for the Zend or Old Persian and the Kharosthi, a form used for a time in Turkestan and northern India. Carried by missionaries throughout inner Asia, it there developed the Old Turkish, the Mongol, and the Manchu forms. In each case changes and modifications took place which were often cumulative, culminating in the case of the Manchu, where, as a result of the influence of the Chinese custom of writing in vertical columns, the alphabet characters were turned through an angle of 90 degrees and written from top to bottom as appendages to a vertical line. Here, again, we have an extreme marginal specialization due to the influence of a neighboring culture pattern.

From the Nabataean form of the Syriac, in use by the nomads of Sinai and northern Arabia, came in the second and third centuries A.D. Arabic, very cursive and with elaboration of special forms of characters according as they were initial, medial, or terminal. This is, in principle, allied to the development of capital letters in Europe, only the principle is carried out logically to its conclusion. With the spread of Islam, this form spread rapidly and wisely, giving rise later to the modern Persian and modern Turkish. In these, and Persian in particular, the decorative element was very greatly stressed, so that calligraphy became really an art, and very elaborate and complicated forms of the characters were developed for purely ornamental purposes. Here we have again a partial parallel to the European decorative forms, such as the Gothic, only in Persian the ornamental factor was carried even further. From Persia the earlier forms of Arabic spread farther eastward to Afghanistan, India, and the Malay world; on the other hand, from Arabia itself the Arabic spread westward over portions of Africa.

Fully as early as the diffusion to the Greeks took place, and apparently from the same source, the early Semitic alphabet made its way to India, where it underwent a drastic series of changes, developing there practically into a syllabary, since each consonant was regarded as having associated with it an "A" vowel. If it was to be understood as without the

vowel sound, this was indicated by a special sign, the "virama." Here we have two interesting features, a reversion, as it were, from the true alphabet to the more primitive syllabary form, and the use of diacritical marks in a negative rather than positive sense. Many additional characters were also added to the series as received, compound consonant characters were invented, and the whole systematized in a very elaborate manner. It is easy to see that in India we have a far greater degree of modification and specialization taking place than anywhere in Europe, let us say, and not only this, but the rate of change was apparently very rapid, for the whole gamut was run in India before the later developments out of the Roman forms had taken place in Europe.

From this Brahmi, as the older Indian form was called, came a long list of other alphabets—Sanskrit, Tibetan, all the Dravidian alphabets of southern India, and Pali in Ceylon. From this latter with the spread of Buddism came the Burmese, Cambodian, Siamese, Javanese, Sumatran, and all the Philippine forms, and finally Korean. Here, as in the neighboring Manchu alphabet already spoken of, the letters were written in vertical columns from top to bottom under the influence of the Chinese culture pattern. Thus in Korean and Manchu we have the meeting of two separate streams of diffusion, the one coming from Syria by way of India and Ceylon, the other also from Syria, but by way of Persia and Central Asia. Each at this ultimate point succumbed to the culture pattern of the Chinese—a pattern originating in the ancient custom of writing on long strips of bamboo, which custom of vertical writing was then still retained after paper had come into use.

The last line of diffusion came from the southern Semitic forms of the alphabet. This gave rise to the ancient Sabaean and other southern Arabian forms, the Sabaean spreading in the beginning of the Christian era to Abyssinia, where it gave rise to the Ethiopic. Here a new type of specialization arose, in that a new means of indicating vowels was devised, various elements being added directly to the characters representing consonants.

This hasty outline of the diffusion of the alphabet reinforces at many points the conclusions drawn from the previous examples, and serves to bring out strikingly, features which the available data in other instances do not supply. It serves to emphasize again that the center of origin for the trait (the eastern Mediterranean) is by no means central geographically in the total area over which it has diffused. It repeats the evidence already given by the other examples, that the center of origin is not a source from which the latter specializations flow. On the contrary, the areas of increasing specialization and development are mainly marginal, where the advancing trait meets new environments and new cultural types and patterns, to which it has to conform in order to be accepted. It shows that the widest changes, the most striking specializations take place as a rule at the very end of the diffusion stream; it affords, in detail, the most precise evidence of the cumulative character of the changes undergone in protracted diffusion, and shows that the

marginal forms of the trait (Ogham, Manchu, Korean, Pali, Ethiopic) do not in any sense represent the primitive form.

It enables us to get in many cases definite historical data as to time, and shows that diffusion in one direction may be very much more rapid than in another, as in the diffusion to India at the same time that it was just reaching Greece. It shows, further, that not only do all sorts of complex cross-currents of diffusion occur (as in the development of Armenian from Greek, rather than from the nearer Syriac), but that adjacent peoples may receive the same trait by very different ways, as in the instance of Korean and Manchu. It demonstrates the influence of purely physical features of environment in the changes in form of characters produced by the different mediums upon which and with which writing was done (inscription on stone or wax tablets, scratching on leaf, painting with brush, writing with pen, etc.). In short, there is hardly an aspect of the whole process of secondary diffusion which the diffusion and development of the alphabet does not exemplify, giving us, moreover, the opportunity to determine time relations, which few if any other traits supply.[1]

While the alphabet was thus a legacy to Europe from the Near East, China, in the Far East, which has never adopted the alphabet but retains its picture characters, has made a number of important contributions to Europe, consisting of the mariner's compass, gunpowder, block printing, rag paper, paper money, silk, porcelain, tea, playing cards, etc., though a number of these traits eventually reached Europe by the way of Islamic populations by whom they had been adopted and improved:

The progress of printing and paper from China to Europe indicates the time involved in the transition of given traits from the source of origin, the elements of chance and indirection, and the dependence of the penetrating power of given traits upon the previous emergence of other traits.[2]

Chinese block printing had its approximate origin between 712 and 756, the period covering the reign of Ming Huan of the Tang dynasty (618–907). The early emperors of this dynasty were patrons of learning, literature, art, and religion, and encouraged or tolerated the importation and circulation of all values of this character. Before the middle of the seventh century a library was erected at the capital containing six hundred thousand volumes; Christian and Islamic missionaries, Mazdean priests, and the Manichean doctrine were welcomed; Buddhism was making propaganda side by side with the native Confucianism; and in this

[1] Dixon, R. B., *The Building of Cultures*, 136–141 (Charles Scribner's Sons. By permission).

[2] The following sketch of the history of printing and paper follows closely, Carter, T. F., *The Invention of Printing in China and Its Spread Westward* (Columbia University Press).

situation the art of printing was developed. The motive involved was the desirability of multiplying and circulating copies of sacred writings and pictures of sacred persons. In addition to the propagation of the doctrine this was regarded as a means of attaining individual merit, somewhat as almsgiving and good works operated in the early Christian church.

In this connection, a number of devices were developed by the Confucians and Taoists, and more prominently in the Buddhist monasteries. These were rubbings from inscriptions, stencils, pounces (pencil stencils made by pin pricks), seal impressions, and innumerable stamped figures of Buddha. The steps toward the block printing of books are obscure and many of the records were destroyed during later religious persecutions, notably between 845 and 859, when 4,600 Buddhist temples were demolished. The earliest known printed book in China therefore dates from 868, but that this was far from the beginning is made plain by the fact that the Empress Shotoku completed a large printing project in Japan about the year 770. The Japanese had been active in the adoption of Chinese culture, including Buddhism, for about two centuries, and the empress, a convert to Buddhism, ordered the printing on paper from wooden blocks of a million Buddhistic charms to be deposited in a million small pagodas.

Between the years 932 and 1063 the Chinese printed the Buddhist Tripitika, in 130,000 pages, and their dynastic histories. Between 1041 and 1049 movable type of earthenware, tin, and wood was developed. The use of wooden type was extended as far as Turkestan by the year 1300, as shown by a font of type of about this date. In 1390 a metal type foundry was established by the king of Korea, producing type in type molds, and the earliest extant book printed in Korea in movable metal type is dated 1409.

In comparison with this, block printing began in Europe toward the end of the fourteenth century in the form of playing cards and printed images, and the earliest European block books appeared between 1440 and 1450. Gutenberg's activity, including the development of the type mold, dates about 1450, when printing from movable type made in type molds had been active for about half a century in Korea.

It is practically certain that a knowledge of Chinese printing had reached Europe between the eighth and the fourteenth centuries. The Chinese had used printed paper money profusely from about 1100, and this was described by Marco Polo in 1297 and within a century by seven other European writers. Printing had also been carried on at points nearer to Europe, for example

at Tabriz in Persia, since about 1221 and in the Faiyum since the tenth century.

Playing cards are another source from which a knowledge of printing may have reached Europe. Invented by the Chinese about 969 as a printed form of dice, and termed originally "sheet dice" (their form probably influenced by the form and designs of paper money), they spread westward to the Mongols and were presumably carried by them on their invasion of Europe. It is also probable that the Mongol armies in Europe were paid in printed money. It is, however, not certain that European printing was influenced from these sources. It is certain that the European steps were later, but conceivably they were independent.

It was the type mold which made printing a success on a large scale in Europe. There is no indication that information about this had reached Gutenberg or Europe, and it would seem that no suggestion along this line was necessary. To one working at the problem of printing in a language possessing an alphabet this step, in addition to movable type, was relatively simple and eventually inevitable. The remarkable point is that the idea of movable type should have been applied in China and Korea, where because of the great number of characters it is relatively unsuitable, and where movable types are consequently not at present commonly used.

It is evident that the development of printing in Europe depended on a plentiful supply of suitable material on which to print more than on the appliances for making the impression. Parchment was the material used in writing but this was not only unsuitable for printing but expensive, and out of the question for the cheap multiplication of copies. It is known that a copy of Gutenberg's Bible printed on parchment required the skins of three hundred sheep. Now there is no doubt that paper was contributed to Europe and all the intervening countries in a perfectly developed form from China:

> While other nations [says Carter] may dispute with China the honor of those discoveries where China found only the germ, to be developed and made useful to mankind in the West, the manufacture of paper was sent forth from the Chinese dominions a fully developed art. Paper of rags, paper of hemp, paper of various plant fibers, paper of cellulose, paper sized and loaded to improve its quality for writing, paper of various colors, writing paper, wrapping paper, even paper napkins and toilet paper—all were in general use in China during the early centuries of our era. The paper, the secret of whose manufacture was taught by Chinese prisoners to their Arab captors at Samarkand in the eighth century, and

which in turn was passed on by Moorish subjects to their Spanish conquerors in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, is in all essential particulars the paper that we use today. And even in our own times China has continued to furnish new developments in paper manufacture, both the so-called "India paper" and "*papier mâché*" having been introduced from China into the West during the nineteenth century.[1]

The earliest Chinese writing was on strips of bamboo or wood, but before A.D. 100 an attempt at papermaking was made by the employment of raw silk, and the Chinese records state that the invention of paper made from rags, fishnets, hemp, and tree bark was announced officially to the emperor in A.D. 105. The movement of paper westward has beeen traced step by step through the discovery of dated documents and through the records of importation and manufacture.[2] The earliest extant paper, found in a spur of the Great Wall (a pure rag paper), probably dates from about 150. The movement westward through Central Asia was prompt and continuous and from 650 paper was used and imported by the Arabs in Samarkand (Russian Turkestan) until in 757 they learned the art of its manufacture from Chinese prisoners. In the year 793 Harun-al-Rashid imported Chinese workmen and established a paper factory in Bagdad. Paper imported from Arabia began to displace papyrus in Egypt about 800 and by the end of the century papyrus was out of fashion, as shown by the words, "Pardon the papyrus" in a letter dated between 883 and 895. Paper was manufactured in Egypt, beginning about 900, and its manufacture passed from Egypt through Morocco to Spain where (before 1150) it became an industry in the hands of the Saracens. In Spain, Christians learned this art from Arabs and paper manufacture passed to northern Europe. In 1189 the first paper mill in Christendom was set up in France (at Hirault) and others followed, at Cologne about 1320, in Holland (Dordrecht) in 1586, in England in 1494 (seventeen years after Caxton began to print on imported paper), and in Philadelphia in 1690. From Egypt also paper and paper manufacture reached Italy and Germany by a different route, passing through Sicily. The first Italian manufacture was at Montefano (1276), and the first German factory at Nuremberg (1391). The use and import of paper usually preceded its manufacture by something like a century or a century and a half. The import and use began in Italy about 1154, in Germany about 1228, in England about 1309. The import at this time was largely from Damascus through Constantinople and from Africa through Sicily,

[1] Carter, *op. cit.*, 1 (Columbia University Press. By permission).
[2] *Cf.* Carter, *op. cit.*, 95–101, and charts.

culminating in the fourteenth century, and coinciding somewhat with the development of block printing. The use and manufacture of paper in Europe, correlated with the development of printing, is thus an illustration of the interdependence of cultural traits. In this case, as Carter points out, "while it was the coming of paper that made the invention of printing possible, it was the invention of printing that made the use of paper general."

The movement into Europe of Christianity from a Semitic source, of learning from Semitic and Hamitic sources, and of Chinese material traits directly and through Arabs and Africans, makes it plain that the internal development of European culture was relatively late and was supported and augmented at every point by Asiatic and African contributions. But the question of the ultimate origin of the transmitted traits opens up other horizons. The Egyptians, along with the human race, were probably derived from Asia and at present it is thought that their language, which has both Semitic and Hamitic elements, may have been originally Semitic,[1] and consequently the basis of their civilization may have been Semitic. The Babylonian Semites possessed a civilization comparable with the Egyptian and the Eastern and Western Semites seem superficially to have played the most important cultural role. They transformed the Egyptian writing into an alphabet and passed it on to the Greeks and through them to Europe, provided Europe with the Old and New Testaments, and the scientific contributions of the Babylonian Semites pointed more toward the natural sciences than those of the Egyptians. But the remotest records of the Semites, at the period when they were ruling in Babylon, show that they had displaced the Sumerians, a non-Semitic group of whom little more is known than that they had a relatively high culture which the Semites borrowed extensively:

> The Semites [says Langdon] persistently adopted everything they could from the Sumerians: the writing itself was Sumerian, their religion was Sumerian, and the Semitic kings often wrote their own names in Sumerian ideograms.[2]

Ultimate origins in this case are therefore out of the question, but this digression from the real primitives will serve to show some phases of borrowing revealed only by written records and the intensity with which it is carried on, and incidentally it shows, perhaps better than another line of argument, the absurdity of the flattering and chauvinistic myth of Nordic superiority.

[1] Meinhof, C., *Die Sprachen der Hamiten (Hamburgisches Kolonialinstitut, Abhand.)* **9**: 1–2.
[2] Langdon, S., "Early Chronology of Sumer and Egypt," *Jour. Egypt. Archaeol.* **7**: 137.

In the absence of written records among primitive groups it is necessary to rely on more indirect approaches. It is certain, for example, that a number of traits and transforming influences have been disseminated throughtout the continent of Africa from northern Africa and Asia, but the data are in the main word-of-mouth tradition, evidence of mixed blood, language change through contact, migration, and invasion, the presence in contiguous areas

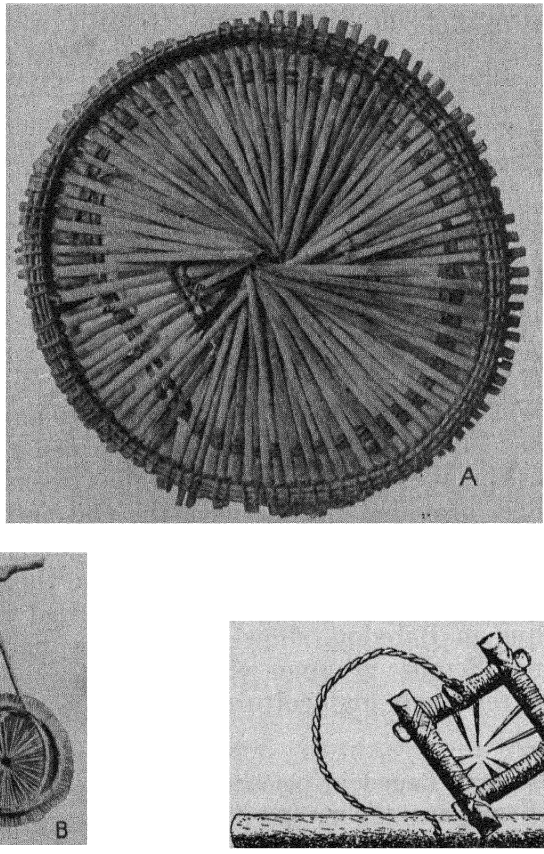


FIG. 4.—Wheel traps. *A*, Maka, Cameroon (diameter 53 centimeters). *B*, with noose attached. Tuareg. *C*, square type, from the Amur region.

of a material object or social practice so unique that it was presumably not invented independently again and again, or the presence of traits which cannot be native or which are not commensurate with or organic in the cultural complex of the population.

For Africa the spiked-wheel trap may be taken as an example of a mechanical invention of so singular a type as to preclude the likelihood of its frequent invention. The principle employed is that of

the modern rattrap, in which the animal's head may be inserted between concentrically arranged prongs but cannot be withdrawn. But in Africa the contrivance is concealed in the ground and designed to hold the foot of the animal treading upon it.

This device is widespread and probably prehistoric. It is found in Central Asia and in Europe and a form of it is depicted

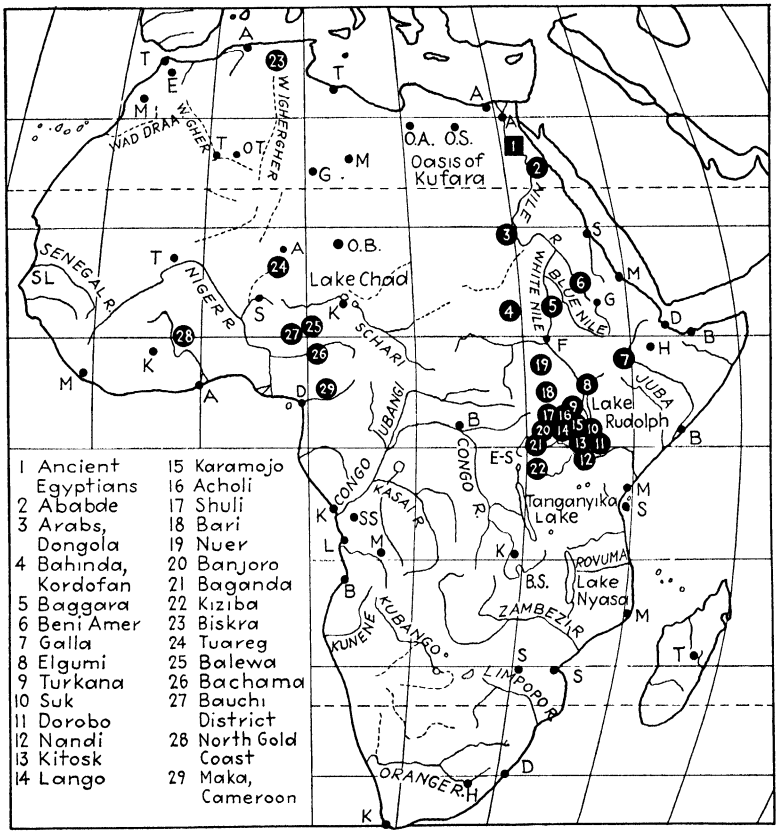


FIG. 5.

on an ancient Egyptian relief. Lindblom's study of its distribution, quoted below, shows its occurrence in twenty-nine African tribes. These are in the main of the same Hamitic stock as the Egyptians and mainly located directly south of Egypt in a territory reaching below the equator. As Lindblom suggests, the trait may have come with the Hamites from Asia, but it was at any rate in all probability not invented independently south of Egypt:

> The trap [says Lindblom] is carefully concealed, covered with earth, etc. In the main it is used for trapping antelopes—exclusively for that

purpose in Kitosh. Further north, however, it is also employed to catch elephants, buffaloes, giraffes, and rhinoceroses. . . .

The oldest proofs of the existence of this trap come from Old Egypt, one of them being prehistoric. This appears on a grave painting at Hierakonpolis, its purpose being to provide game for the deceased. In the Pitt River Museum, Professor Seligman informs me, there is a trap dated as from the 20th or the 22nd dynasty. In regard to the spread of this trap in present-day Africa, a glance at the illustration below will show that it is limited to the Hamites in the north, to the Niloto-Hamites and Nilotics more or less influenced by them, and to a few negro tribes inland from the shore of Upper Guinea. Among the Bantu tribes it is not to be found, except among the Baganda and Banjoro, who have Nilotic neighbors; among the negroes of Kitosh, who told me themselves it was brought to them about twenty years ago by the Turks in the north, and finally in the Bukoba region and Kiziba, west of Lake Victoria, where the tribes have Hamitic neighbors (Batusi-Bahima).

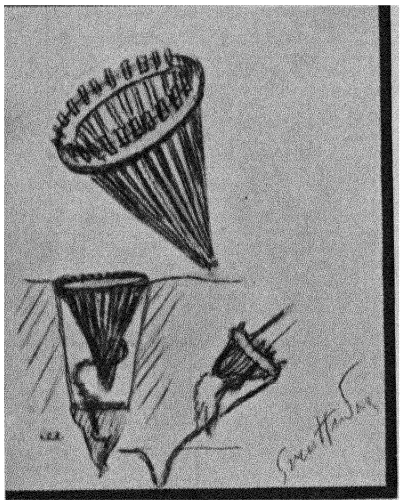


FIG. 6.—Wheel trap found by Sven Hedin north of Transhimalaya, in the region south of the source of the Indus (spokes of antelope ribs).

I feel that I can claim without hesitation that this trap, as used by the negroes in Africa, is a loan from the Hamites in the north. To them it probably came from Asia at one time or another (perhaps even with the Hamites themselves?). However, I have found no evidence of it in the parts of Asia adjoining Africa. . . . Sven Hedin mentions its existence in the country north of Transhimalaya, but does not illustrate it. However, he has been kind enough to draw the picture for me which I am reproducing [above]. The spokes of the trap are made of animal ribs. It is used in the winter and secured in the following manner: Water is poured into the bottom of the hole and one end of a rope is fastened to the trap while the other end is immersed in the water, which then anchors the contrivance when it freezes solid. An Englishman, Captain Bower, describes the trap from a region about 300 km. northeast of Lake Tengri-Nor, where he came across a number of them set around a drinking hole. The pointed spokes were made of horn and the trap was secured to a horn buried in the ground. The United States National Museum (Smithsonian Institution) owns a similar trap from Tibet. Sir Aurel Stein found one of them during his excavations in the oasis of Tun Huang in the extreme west of Kansu. My only remaining proof from Asia is from southwest Caucasus (Suchum region) where the trap is set for wild

boar. The collar is of wood, funnel-shaped, and the teeth, or spokes, of wood.

From modern Europe I have only one report about the occurrence of this trap, namely from the woodland regions on the boundary between Hungary and lower Austria, west of the Neusiedler Lake. There it is used by poachers for trapping deer. Incidentally, the hunting and trapping methods of poachers ought in many instances to offer considerable material of scientific interest. They are to a large extent limited to traps, since shots would disclose their whereabouts. For this reason some of the ancient methods have survived among them.

Among the old Greeks and Romans this trap was used to catch deer and wild boar. In Xenophon's treatise on hunting I found a detailed description of how it is used for deer. According to him, the spokes were

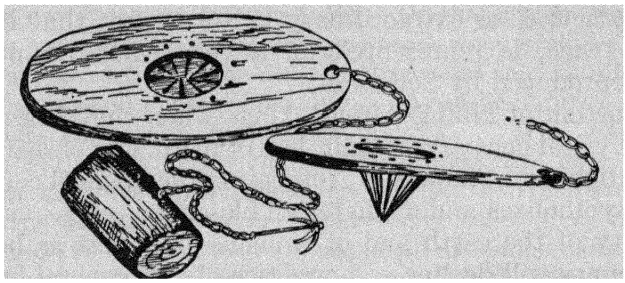


FIG. 7.—Wheel trap (wooden collar with iron spokes, or teeth) from the boundary region between Hungary and lower Austria. (*From Deutsche Jägerzeitung.*)

made alternately of iron and wood. The iron spokes were larger and were supposed to hold the animal while the wooden ones were intended to give so that the foot would slip into the trap more easily.[1]

Another singular trait found in Egypt and in tribes farther south is the deformation of the horns of cattle. Beech, for example, says of the Suk:

Horns of cattle are hammered and twisted into all kinds of fantastic shapes. An ox with one horn pointing forwards and the other backwards, called *kamar,* is an object of envy and admiration to all. Such an ox evidently is credited with exceptional properties. Every fighting man should have his *kamar;* those who do not possess one are taunted. When preparing to start on a raiding expedition the *kamar-tin* are collected, bedecked with ostrich feathers, and sent to the river where the warriors collect. These latter dance round them and flap their hands at them, and kneeling on one knee they hold up their shields in an attitude of defense and brandish their spears at them, the while uttering a weird war cry, which is supposed to excite in the faint-hearted the desire of

[1] Lindblom, G., "Forskninger bland Niloter och Bantu i Kavirondo, Särskilt med Hänsyn till äldre Kulturelementer," *K. Svenska Vetenskapsakadamiens Årsbok för År* 1927, 259–262.

battle. A captured *kamar* is a coveted prize and is slaughtered and eaten with much ceremony.[1]

Seligman has made a study of the distribution of this practice and reproduced drawings from present-day tribes and ancient Egyptian reliefs showing a practical identity.[2]

A peculiar detail of circumcision among the Masai and Nandi, mentioned in Chap. XII, is thus described by Seligman:

> The prepuce is split, the flaps are turned back and brought together on the ventral aspect of the phallus so that the remainder of the prepuce forms an irregular mass of tissue of considerable size projecting beyond the glans.[3]

This practice, so extraordinary as to suggest that it was not invented twice, is represented on a very early Egyptian slate palette, reproduced by Seligman.[4]

The custom of killing African kings when they begin to show signs of physical decay (gray hair, loss of teeth, loss of sexual power, etc.), mentioned in Chap. XIV, represents the magical concept that the king symbolizes and mediates all blessings—crops, cattle, rain, the fertility of the earth and of women—and that as he declines these blessings will decline. A practice of this general kind might originate independently many times. The concept resembles that of Indian manitou and Polynesian mana, but in Africa the practice is more or less bound up with the belief that the king incarnates a particular divinity, and its concentration in Africa and the practical identity of the pattern in many regions seem to indicate extensive diffusion, as was doubtless the case with the mana and manitou formulations of the concept.

Seligman[5] has suggested that the practice of killing kings may be represented on an Egyptian relief, which he reproduces, but the arrows shot in that scene are apparently no more than part of a coronation ceremony.[6]

The frequent invasions of the lighter colored northern Hamitic tribes and the establishment of kingdoms among the blacks was mentioned in Chap. XIV, and this brought a train of influences. Gutmann points out in this connection that Chagga custom had become so rigid that change from within was difficult and leadership and change were possible only through invading elements, which

[1] Beech, M. W. H., *The Suk: Their Language and Folklore*, 8–9 (Clarendon Press. By permission).
[2] Seligman, C. G., "Egyptian Influence in Negro Africa," in *Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith.*
[3] Seligman, C. G., "Ethnic Relationships of the Vanquished Represented on Certain Proto-Egyptian Palettes," *Annals of Archaeol. and Ethnol.* **7**: 45.
[4] *Ibid.*, 43–49.
[5] *Egypt and Negro Africa.*
[6] *Cf.* Gardiner, "The Nature . . . of . . . Hieroglyphic Writing," 121–126.

were not even always stronger but had the advantage of facilitating readjustments.[1] He says of the Chagga, whose chiefs were originally Hamitic invaders, that they will have no chiefs of small stature; the first wife must be stately but slender and of light complexion.[2] Von Luschan has described for other Bantu tribes the physical appearance of these invading Hamitic families and concludes that they practiced a marriage selection calculated to emphasize their distinguishing physical characteristics:

> The Hima and Tusi are people who live among the Bantu as rulers, the purest of them perhaps in Mpororo. Spatially they are very widespread but in most groups they are limited to single families. They have always been much concerned to keep their blood pure and have practically never taken native women into their sibs. On that account they have in many cases preserved their original type quite wonderfully. . . . Many of them look precisely like the old Egyptians and the examination of a large number of good photographs always leaves the impression that the old Pharaohs have risen from their graves. . . . The extraordinary height of the Hima is very striking. Anthropometric data are not at hand but we know from provisional reports that the Hima are doubtless the tallest people in the world—considerably taller than the Scotch. Individuals of 190 cm. and over are not at all uncommon and attract no notice. The extremities alone are not responsible for this extraordinary height; the trunk is also nearly always uncannily long and very thin and narrow. I can never examine the collection of photographs by Weiss without wonder and speculation as to the seat of the viscera. There are individuals whose stomach cannot be distinguished in a transverse direction but must lie along the body axis, as in the case of snakes. Among the Hima, as among the celebrated tall groups in the eastern Sudan, there must have been for generations a more or less conscious and continuous principle of breeding—breeding for height.[3]

On the other hand, the Hamitic upper classes have left their physical marks on the black populations as far down as the southern extremity of Africa:

> We naturally could not expect [says von Luschan] that in these long migrations which certainly covered many millenniums the physical characters of the people would remain unchanged. . . . Not a few individuals among the true Kaffirs of Southeast Africa can be distinguished by their narrow faces, thin and prominent noses, thinner lips, lighter colored or quite fine and soft hair—even in cases where modern mixture with European blood is highly improbable.[4]

[1] Gutmann, B., *Das Recht der Dchagga*, 249–250 (C. H. Bech'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung. By permission).
[2] *Ibid.*, 499, 500.
[3] Luschan, F. von, "Hamitische Typen," supplement to Meinhof, C., *op. cit.*, 250–252.
[4] *Ibid.*, 251–252.

Concurrently with the movement of Hamitic populations southward there was, in connection with trade and war, a limited infiltration northward from negro or negroid populations. Black captives are represented on Egyptian reliefs (one of these scenes has just been mentioned in connection with circumcision), and Junker places the beginning of these contacts about the year 1600 B.C.:

In this period [he says] we meet for the first time with numerous representation of genuine negro peoples. The Egyptian artist, who had of old an uncommonly sharp eye for what was typical and characteristic, depicts for us the black figures, gently caricatured, in a mature style which was never surpassed.[1]

In the eighth year of his reign Sesostris III (1887–1849 B.C.) fixed a boundary line between Egypt and negro Africa just above the Second Nile cataract with an inscription showing what appears to be not so much a prejudice against the blacks as a political policy:

He erected on each side of the river a stela marking the boundary line, and one of these two important landmarks has survived; it bears the following significant inscription: "Southern boundary made in the year eight, under the majesty of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Sesostris III, who is given life for ever and ever:—in order to prevent that any negro should cross it by water or by land, with a ship, or any herds of the negroes; except a negro who shall cross it to do trading . . . or with a commission. All kind treatment shall be accorded them, but without allowing a ship of the negroes to pass by Heh [Semneh] going downstream, forever."[2]

The erection of a pyramid for the placenta of Egyptian kings and a parallel custom in Uganda were mentioned in Chap. II. Both Egyptian and Ganda kings are classed as Hamitic and a common origin of the practice may be assumed. This view is confirmed by the fact that the custom in Uganda is applied only to royalty; the common person is buried with the expectation that he will be reincarnated. On the other hand, we may suspect here, and in other cases of Egyptian and Bantu similarities, that the trait was borrowed from neither group by the other but that both derived it from a common proto-Hamitic source.

Examples of Bantu addresses to the dead were given in Chap. XI, and letters in the same strain were written by the Egyptians to the dead:

We have [says Gardiner] a number of pathetic letters to departed relatives craving their intervention and help. In one of these letters

[1] Junker, H., "The First Appearance of Negroes in History," *Jour. Egypt. Archaeol.*, **7**: 128.
[2] Breasted, J. H., *A History of Egypt*, 184 (Charles Scribner's Sons. By permission).

bitter reproaches are addressed to a dead woman by her widower, who has fallen ill, blaming her for her neglect of him after all his kindness to her while she was alive.[1]

Gardiner and Sethe have translated a number of these letters, one of which follows:

Given by Dedi to the priest Antef, born of Iwnakht.

As for this serving maid Imiu who is sick, thou dost not fight for her night and day with every man who is doing harm to her and every woman who is doing harm to her. Wherefore dost thou wish thy threshold to be desolated? Fight for her today as (though it were something) new (?), so that her household may be established, and that water may be poured out for thee. If there be no (help) from thee, then is thy house destroyed. Can it be (?) thou dost not recognize that it is this serving maid who makes thy house among (?) men? Fight for [her]! Watch over her! Save her from all men and women who are doing harm to her! Then shall thy house and thy children be established. Good be thy hearing![2]

The resort to the dead and the querulous tone of the communications are the same among the Bantu and the Egyptians, but in this case also the practice may go back to a common Hamitic heritage.

Language changes are one of the available means of tracing the contacts of peoples and inferring the accompanying diffusion of influence. Meinhof[3] has traced the diffusion of Hamitic language forms from the north southward and westward into all portions of Africa. They are prominent, in pure or vestigial forms, in equatorial East Africa, parts of French West Africa, and even the Nama language of the Hottentots is basically Hamitic.

To the presence of a Hamitic tongue and Hamitic physical features in the extreme southern portions of Africa may be added cattle, which are certainly of Hamitic origin, and which, as von Luschan points out, did not wander that far alone but were carried along with human migrations, and it is thus plain that no part of the continent has remained aboriginal.

At a later period culture traits were exchanged between Arabian settlements on the east coast and African populations. The Arabs founded settlements toward the end of the seventh century (about

[1] Gardiner, A. H., "Life and Death," in *Encycl. Rel. and Ethics* (ed. J. Hastings).

[2] Gardiner, A. H., and K. Sethe, *Egyptian Letters to the Dead*, 7–8.

[The authors add the following explanation: "The situation is perfectly clear. The household of the dead priest Antef had a serving maid who has now fallen ill, and the widow upbraids her late husband for neglecting to look after this mainstay of their home. The few doubtful points in our translation are due to the scribe's carelessness—a carelessness characteristic of this whole class of documents. The novelty here is that intervention is sought against disease, not against some palpably human act of malice. . . . Magical incantations or prayers to the gods were usual methods of warding off illness that arose in this way. That letters to dead relatives could be employed for the same purpose we learn here for the first time."]

[3] Meinhof, *op. cit.*, 1–256.

689) and began to intermarry with the natives, with the result that a language developed (Swahili) which is purely Bantu in structure while containing many Arabic words, and in the same connection there was an extensive interchange of Arabian tales and Bantu folklore.[1] Whether the story of the visit of the Queen of Sheba to the court of King Solomon is history or legend, the official language of Ethiopia is Semitic, derived apparently from Arabia at an unknown date.

The adoption of the practice of circumcision by tribes to whom it had been unknown is perhaps the most notable example of the rapid spread of a practice in present-day Africa. Among the marks left on the body, either voluntarily and for ornament or as result of cuttings during puberty ceremonies, circumcision has shown a marked tendency to diffusion both as a spontaneous fashion and as a symbol of social and political unity, and, far from disappearing, the custom is spreading at present among numerous populations. Codrington[2] reports that it is moving, as a social distinction, into Melanesia from the east and south. Gifford[3] says the introduction of Christianity among the Tongans has produced no more than a tendency to change from incision to the more serious form of Jewish circumcision. In Africa, the Reik (a division of the Dinka) have learned the practice from the Arabs during the last few years, and their women approve the custom.

Among the Polynesians and Melanesians the practice reached only the fashionable level. In North America it did not exist. But when, as among the Jews, Arabs, and others, it became a symbol of social unity it became also a burning political question which took on the bitter and compulsory aspects recorded in the Old Testament, as mentioned in Chap. XII. In portions of eastern and southern Africa the practice is spreading rapidly and even violently in connection with political organization. An example of extraordinarily violent propaganda among the Bavenda of the Transvaal is given by Stayt:

> Circumcision is not an indigenous Venda institution, although it is now firmly established in parts of the country, particularly in the west, where the influence of Makhado and his successors is most widespread. According to Grant, a Native Commissioner in the Zoutpansberg at the beginning of the present century:
>
> "The large extent of the tribe was due to constant accession to their numbers from subordinate tribes who recognized Magato as the para-

[1] Werner, A., "Some Notes on East African Folklore," *Folklore*, **25**: 457–475; **26**: 60–78; "The Bantu Element in Swahili Folklore," *Folklore*, **20**: 432–56.

[2] Codrington, R. H., *The Melanesians: Studies in Their Anthropology and Folk-lore*, 234 (Clarendon Press. By permission).

[3] Gifford, E. W., "Tongan Society," *Bernice P. Bishop Mus., Bull.*, **61**: 187.

mount chief. The idea of thus enlarging the influence of Magato was said to be due to his redoubtable commander-in-chief, Tromp, who, himself having undergone the rite of circumcision, resolved during the lifetime of Mablaan, while Magato was still a youth, to induce the future chief of the tribe to undergo a similar rite. This was determined on with a view of attracting to Magato other smaller tribes who were known to be circumcised, and the arrangements were undertaken by Tromp without the knowledge of Mablaan, who was uncircumcised. Magato was quietly secluded for a time, and having undergone the operation the fact was duly reported to his father."

Tromp's nephew, a petty chief of the present Chief Mphephu, as well as many other responsible elders, agree that the recognition of circumcision by Makhado was the beginning of its general adoption by his people. . . .

The spread of circumcision among the Bavenda was at first very slow. Mphephu and the majority of his people, who were the staunchest supporters of the institution, were out of the country for some years. During this period it stagnated, and it was not until the year 1904 that the numbers of its adherents began to increase rapidly. This sudden impetus was the result of the return of Mphephu, coinciding with the rapid opening up of the country and the increased traffic between the Rand mines and the Zoutpansberg. The railhead at that time was at Pietersburg. Between that point and Vendaland, there lay a wide stretch of country occupied by tribes who were enthusiastic supporters of the lodge. Any uncircumcised man, venturing near a circumcision school, was likely to be caught and detained by force until he had conformed with all the regulations of the lodge. Many traveling Bavenda must have suffered this fate. The lodge administrators were, in some cases, so formidable that sooner or later capture and forcible circumcision seemed inevitable. The danger and inconvenience became so great that many Bavenda found that the simplest way of solving the difficulty was voluntarily to enter the school before attempting to make a long journey. To the circumcised traveler the lodge is a great convenience. He belongs to the fraternity and has only to repeat the secret formula, which constitutes the password, to be sure of rest, shelter, and hospitality.

The news of these obvious advantages soon spread throughout the tribe, and the more general adoption of circumcision increased. In the eastern area of Vendaland, where the influence of the conservative Tshivhase and Mphaphuli are most felt, the *murundu* [circumcision lodge] is still disliked and discouraged. The lesser chiefs, however, who are more or less independent, are today not inclined to oppose any alien introduction which may be a source of wealth to themselves, and often, with the object of increasing their revenue, encourage the lodge in their own districts. . . .

At one time it was tabu for any circumcised man to eat meat with one who had not undergone the rite. He was derisively termed *mushavhura* (unclean), and on every possible occasion was reviled and made the sub-

ject of obscene jokes and gestures. Unwilling victims are still forced to join the lodge. Cases of assault and manslaughter often result from the opposition of the more determined recalcitrants. One of my uncircumcised informants sleeps with his ax by his side in readiness for a surprise visit when a murundu is in progress near his home, as it is in the secrecy of the murundu enclosures that the frightened initiates are compelled to divulge the names of the uncircumcised.[1]

We may conceive that a painful mutilation at puberty, coincident with manhood and usually immediately preceding marriage, would sometimes be genital, precisely because sex life is at the moment in the focus of attention. Moreover, these ordeals tend to be humiliating as well as painful, and this one is an extreme violation of privacy. Consequently the custom probably originated independently in Africa and elsewhere, but in any case it appears from several reports that the present wave of diffusion was set in motion by Arab influence.

In North Ameria the vision pattern mentioned in Chap. XI is prominent from the standpoint of distribution. It is everywhere present except in some tribes of the Southwest. Benedict has compared its forms and indicated its distribution, pointing out that the vision may or may not be associated with the concept of a guardian spirit and that the pattern is modified in many directions through its incorporation in different regional culture complexes:

> Not only the means of obtaining the vision . . . and the events of the vision itself, were standardized over thousands of miles, east and west, and north and south; the sanctions derived from it were as widely formalized. Ceremonial procedure, preeminently, was derived from it, but, almost as widely, healing powers, success in battle, and control of the weather. Even trivial connections have crossed the continent; so that, not only on the Plains, but on Puget Sound and on Chesapeake Bay the person who confers a name upon another chooses some phrase descriptive of something his guardian spirit said or did in his vision. . . .
>
> However it may be in other areas of North America, on the Plains there is no tribe where the vision quest was not a much more general phenomenon than the acquiring of a guardian spirit. Everywhere, even in those tribes where every man was expected to fast once in his life specifically for an individual guardian, the vision was sought also by the same means on continually recurring occasions—that is, in mourning; as an instrument of revenge on one's enemies; on account of a vow made in sickness or danger for oneself or one's relative; on initiation into certain societies; and as a preliminary to a war party. On all these occasions, the seeker ordinarily received his power or commands directly, without specifically acquiring a guardian spirit. . . .

[1] Stayt, H. A., *The Bavenda*, 125, 127, 135–136 (Oxford University Press. By permission).

The very great diversity of the vision pattern even in one culture area such as the Plains is therefore evident. Not only are the general traits unevenly distributed and even entirely lacking in certain tribes, but local developments of one kind and another have overlaid the common pattern till it is at times hardly recognizable. A blanket classification under some such head as the "acquiring of guardian spirits" leads us nowhere. Correlated with the use or disuse of torture; with the existence of a shamanistic caste, or the free exercise of supernatural powers by all men; with the conception of visions as savings-bank securities or as contact with the compassion of Wakanda—are and must be psychological attitudes of the utmost diversity which make of Plains "religion" a heterogeneity which defies classification. Animism, magic, manism, mysticism—all the known classifications of religion—jostle each other in this one area; and after all these headings were tabulated, the real diversities would still remain outside. For this reason, topical studies of religion must lack the rich variety of actuality, and imply a false simplicity.[1]

In a later study of the vision-guardian-spirit concept, Benedict concludes:

The miscellaneous traits that enter in different centers into its make-up are none of them either the inevitable forerunner, the inevitable corollary, or the inevitable accompaniment of the concept, but have each an individual existence and a wider distribution outside this complex. In one region it has associated itself with puberty ceremonials, in another with totemism, in a third with secret societies, in a fourth with inherited rank, in a fifth with black magic. Among the Blackfoot, it is their economic system into which the medicine bundles have so insinuated themselves that the whole manner of it is unintelligible without taking into account the monetary value of the vision. Among the Kwakiutl, their social life and organization, their caste system, their concept of wealth, would be equally impossible of comprehension without a knowledge of those groups of individuals sharing the same guardian spirit by supernatural revelation. It is in every case a matter of the social patterning—of that which cultural recognition has singled out and standardized.[2]

For the Plains tribes Lowie has presented the historical evidence for the recent diffusion of certain specific ceremonial traits:

In the Plains area [he says], the diffusion of ceremonies is in some cases not merely a plausible hypothesis, but a historical fact. No one could doubt that the Hot Dance of the Arikara Ruptare Mandan, and Hidatsa (involving in each instance the plunging of the performers' arms into scalding hot water) must have been derived from a common source. But we have in addition Maximilian's assurance that the ceremony was

[1] Benedict, R., "The Vision in Plains Culture," *Amer. Anth.*, N.S., **24**: 1–2.
[2] Benedict, R. F., "The Concept of the Guardian Spirit in North America," *Amer. Anth. Assn., Mem.*, **29**: 84.

obtained by the Hidatsa from the Arikara. Lewis and Clark (1804) mention ceremonial foolhardiness as a feature borrowed by the Dakota from the Crows. Within the memory of middle-aged men at least, two ceremonies have been introduced into the northern Plains from the south. The peyote cult, which is found among the Tepehuane, Huichol, and Tarahumare of Mexico, flourishes among the Kiowa and Comanche, and has thence traveled northward to the Arapaho, and even to the Winnebago. The Grass Dance was introduced among the Crows by the Hidatsa about 1878; among the Blackfoot by the Grosventre, about 1883; among the Flathead by the Piegan, in quite recent times. It seems to have originated among the Omaha and cognate tribes, including the Ponca, Osage, Iowa, and Oto. In addition to the tribes already mentioned, its occurrence has been noted among the Pawnee, Dakota, and Assiniboin. Other unexceptionable instances are numerous. Thus a Medicine Pipe Dance of the Pawnee *hako* type was adopted by the Crows from the Hidatsa during the second half of the nineteenth century; and the Hidatsa remember that their Medicine Pipe ceremony was in turn derived from the Arikara. A sacred Horse Dance practiced by the River Crows was secured from the Assiniboin. The same division of the Crows adopted a Crazy Dog Society from the Hidatsa about thirty-five years ago. To pass to another area, the Kwakiutl proper ascribe the origin of their cannibalistic ceremonial to the Heiltsuk, from whom they derived the practice in approximately 1835; while the Tsimshian derive a corresponding custom from the same source, whence it reached them probably ten years before. While native tradition is often untrustworthy, the date set by it in these instances is so recent that skepticism is hardly in place. This is especially true, since linguistic evidence supports the account of the Indians; for practically all the names applied to the Tsimshian performances are derived from the Kwakiutl, and the characteristic cry of the cannibal is likewise a Kwakiutl word.

The foregoing instances, which could be considerably multiplied, illustrate diffusion as an observed or recollected historical phenomenon. Even in the absence of such direct evidence, however, the theory of diffusion is in many cases inevitable. Among the graded ceremonies of the Grosventre, the lowest is a Fly Dance, which is said to have been instituted by a Mosquito; the members imitated mosquitoes, pursuing people and pricking them with spines and claws. The lowest of the graded Blackfoot ceremonies recorded by Maximilian in the early thirties of the nineteenth century was likewise practiced by a Mosquito Society, whose members imitated mosquitoes, maltreating their fellow tribesmen with eagle-claw wristlets. The coincidence is so complete in this instance, that a common origin is certain, especially since the Blackfoot and Grosventre have been in intimate contact with each other, and since the only other people known to have had a Mosquito ceremony, the Sarsi, have also been closely associated with the Blackfoot. In the case at hand, we are even able to go a step farther, and ascertain not merely the fact, but the direction, of the diffusion process. The Grosventre

are linguistically most closely allied with the Arapaho, with whom they once lived, and whose ceremonial system presents striking resemblances to their own. The presence of a Mosquito Dance among the Grosventre constitutes one of the glaring disparities amidst otherwise far-reaching likenesses: we may therefore reasonably infer that the difference resulted from the adoption of the Blackfoot Mosquito Dance by the Grosventre subsequent to their separation from the Arapaho.

In other cases we must be content to infer the mere fact of diffusion from the observed homologies. For example, the Arapaho and Cheyenne have each a Dog organization with four scarf-wearing officers pledged to bravery, and characterized by the same ceremonial regalia, such as dew-claw rattles, feather headdresses, and eagle-bone whistles. The union of these logically quite unrelated features in adjoining tribes establishes beyond doubt a common origin; but I am not acquainted with any specific data that would indicate whether the Arapaho borrowed from the Cheyenne, or vice versa. Cases of this type are exceedingly common in every one of the principal culture areas; and where similarities extend beyond the confines of these conventional provinces, or beyond a linguistic stock that more or less coincides with a cultural group, the fact of transmission is emphasized by the type of distribution found. Thus the shooting of a magical object with intent to stun candidates for initiation into the Midewiwin Society occurs among the Central Algonkin. In one form or another, this shooting is also a feature of societies among several Siouan tribes; but these are precisely those tribes which have been in close contact with the Central Algonkin—the eastern Dakota, southern Siouan, and Winnebago. The Sun Dance offers another case in point. This ceremony is found among the majority of Plains tribes, but has also been celebrated by several divisions of the Shoshonean stock, who properly belong, not to the Plains, but to the Plateau area. Here, again, the type of distribution is such as might be expected on the theory of diffusion: of the Shoshoni proper, the Lemhi did not practice the Sun Dance, but it is still performed at Wind River and Fort Hall, where the Shoshoni come more in contact with Plains peoples.

The fact of diffusion must, then, be regarded as established; and the very great extent to which ceremonials have traveled from tribe to tribe, coupled with undoubted diffusion of other cultural elements in North America, indicates that, while the process has been greatly accelerated by improved methods of transportation and other circumstances promoting intertribal intercourse, it must have been active prior to these modern conditions due to white influence.[1]

Lowie has also analyzed the process by which borrowed ceremonial features are fitted into the preexisting ceremonial patterns:

Even where a ceremony seems to be bodily transferred, it may become different because of the differences in culture between the borrowing and

[1] Lowie, R. H., "Ceremonialism in North America," *Amer. Anth.*, N.S., **16**: 611–614.

transmitting tribes; that is to say, even an entire ceremony is not an isolated unit within the culture of the tribe performing it, but has definite relations to other ceremonies and to the tribal culture generally. Even tribes sharing in large measure the same mode of life tend to diverge as regards specific conceptions of social and ceremonial procedure. The "same" ceremony may thus enter different associations, and in so far forth become different through its novel relations. There can be no doubt that the Tlingit and Haida potlatches represent a single cultural phenomenon. Nevertheless there is a remarkable disparity between the associations of the great potlatches of these tribes. Among the Haida, the main festival was conducted by a chief in behalf of his own moiety, and was intended only to enhance his social standing. The Tlingit performed a potlatch for the benefit of the complementary moiety and for the sole avowed purpose of showing respect for the dead. This illustration is instructive, because it embodies both types of changes that a transmitted ceremony undergoes—a change in objective relations, which, however, cannot in many instances fail to affect the subjective attitude of the performers or borrowing tribe at large; and a change of the ostensible object, of the theoretical *raison d'être*, of the performance. . . .

The Crows have a Tobacco order composed in recent decades of perhaps a dozen or more distinct branches or societies, all sharing the right to plant sacred tobacco, and differing only in the specific regalia, and instructions imparted to the founders in the visions or other experiences from which the branches are derived. Visions of similar type are not lacking among such a tribe as the Shoshoni; but in the absence of an integrating pattern they have not become assimilated to a ceremonial norm. A Crow who belonged to the Tobacco order, and stumbled across a nest of curiously shaped eggs, would form an Egg chapter of the Tobacco order; a Shoshoni might experience precisely the same thrill under like conditions, but the same psychological experience could not possibly result in the same cultural epiphenomenon. . . .

The pattern principle is also of the greatest value in illuminating the precise happenings during the process of diffusion. It has been shown in another section, that a borrowed ceremony, even when bodily adopted, becomes different, because it originally bore definite relations to other cultural features of the transmitting tribe; and, unless these additional features happen to exist in the borrowing group, the same unit must assume a different cultural fringe. What happens in many, perhaps in the majority of, such cases, is, that the borrowed elements are fitted into conformity with the pattern of the borrowing tribe. Thus the Dog Society of the Crows is traced back to the Hidatsa. But among the Hidatsa this ceremonial body is one of a graded series of military societies in which it occupies a definite position; and entrance into it, as in the case of the rest, is a matter of purchase. Since the Crows neither grade their military organizations nor exact an entrance fee in any of them, the Dog Society naturally lost the impress of the Hidatsa mold so far as these features were concerned. Moreover, it was made over to fit the Crow

scheme. Entrance into the society was, as for all other Crow military societies, either a matter of choice, or, more commonly, was stimulated by the desire of members to have the place of a deceased member filled by a relative. Again, while police duties among the Hidatsa were the exclusive right of the Black-mouth Society, the Crow organizations all took turns at exercising this social function, the Dog Society among the rest. Thus the Dog Society with all its ceremonial correlates came to enter quite new combinations and to assume a specifically Crow aspect. . . .

Wherever a particular ceremonial concept becomes the predominant one, it tends to assimilate all sorts of other concepts originally independent of it: thus, in the Crow example of the Tobacco societies and in the case of the Blackfoot Beaver Bundle, which has not only become the pattern for other bundles, but has even absorbed such rituals as the Sun Dance and Tobacco ceremony. Among the Crows, individual visions by members of the Tobacco order have led to the association of quite heterogeneous features. A tobacco member who chanced upon curiously shaped eggs would found an Egg chapter of the order, and initiate new members into it, thus bringing about a connection between egg medicine and the sacred tobacco; and in corresponding fashion have developed the Weasel, Otter, Strawberry, and other divisions.

In these cases it would seem that the notion of sacredness or ceremonialism is so strongly associated with a particular content that has become the ceremonial pattern, that any new experience of corresponding character is not merely brought under the same category as the pattern, but becomes an illustration, an adjunct of the pattern concept. In many other instances, a ceremony may bring about conditions normally associated with certain activities in no way connected with the ceremony itself; and, when these conditions arise in the course of the ceremony, they act as a cue to the performance of the normally associated activities. There is no connection between initiation into a society privileged to plant tobacco for the tribal welfare and the recounting of an individual's war record; nevertheless, in the Crow Tobacco adoption, the entrance into the adoption lodge is uniformly followed by such a recital. The reason is fairly clear. At every festive gathering of the Crows there is a recital of war deeds; the Tobacco initiation produces such a gathering, which elicits the customary concomitant; and thus the coup recital becomes a feature of the Tobacco adoption ceremony. Similarly, every Iroquois festival seems to have been preceded by a general confession of sins. Still another way by which heterogeneous ceremonial activities or features become associated is, of course, by purchase. The Hidatsa Stone-hammer Society, according to Maximilian, bought the Hot Dance from the Arikara. But the Stone-hammers had a ceremony of their own prior to the purchase, which was thus associated with the newly acquired fire dance and the plunging of arms into hot water. . . .

So far as the interpretation of the single elements is concerned, there is relatively little difficulty. Though we may not be able to comprehend

the ultimate origin of a certain mode of ceremonial behavior, we can generally apperceive it as typical of a certain tribe or a certain group of tribes. The fact that the Plains Indians went to fast in a lonely place, looking for a supernatural revelation, may remain an irreducible datum; but, when we disengage from the Crow Sun Dance complex the attempt to secure a vision that is given as its ultimate motive, we at once bring it under the familiar heading of "vision quest." So we may not know how "four" came to be the mystic number of many tribes; but it is intelligible that, where it is the mystic number, dances, songs, processions, and what not, should figure in sets of four.[1]

Tales and myths are among the culture traits which circulate most freely and the problem of their origin, meaning, and diffusion has been approached more systematically in America than elsewhere. Studies of the patternings of these tales have been made, particularly by Boas, Swanton,[2] and Waterman.[3] Boas gives a generalized statement of their character and the following extracts from this will serve as a background for the later discussion of their diffusion:

In the mind of the American native there exists almost always a clear distinction between two classes of tales. One group relates incidents which happened at a time when the world had not yet assumed its present form, and when mankind was not yet in possession of all the customs and arts that belong to our period. The other group contains tales of our modern period. In other words, tales of the first group are considered as myths; those of the other, as history. The tales of the former group are not by any means explanatory in character throughout. They treat mostly of the achievements of animals and of heroes. From our modern point of view, it might be doubtful sometimes whether such a tale should be considered as mythical, or historical, since, on account of the Indian's belief in the powers of animals, many of the historical tales consist of a series of incidents that might as well have happened in the mythological period; such as the appearance of animals that become supernatural helpers and perform marvelous exploits, or of those that initiate a person into a new ritual. It can be shown that historical tales may in the course of time become mythical tales by being transferred into the mythical period, and that historical tales may originate which parallel in the character and sequence of their incidents mythical tales. Nevertheless the psychological distinction between the two classes of tales is perfectly clear in the mind of the Indian. It is related, in a way, to the ancient concepts of the different ages as described by Hesiod. . . . The Indian [for example] who disappears and is taken to the village of the

[1] *Ibid.*, 617–627.
[2] Swanton, J. R., "Types of Haida and Tlingit Myths," *Amer. Anth.*, N.S., **7**: 94–103.
[3] Waterman, T. T., "The Explanatory Element in the Folk-tales of the North American Indians," *Jour. Amer. Folk-lore*, **27**: 1–41.

Buffaloes is, in the mind of the Indian, the hero of a historical tale, although the Buffalo men are at the same time mythical personages. . . .

It is a common trait of most American-origin myths that they deal with the transition from a mythological period to the modern age, brought about by a number of disconnected incidents, sometimes centering pre-eminently around the acts of one particular figure, sometimes by incidents distributed over a mass of tales that have not even the actions of one being as their connecting link. On the whole, the mythical world, earth, water, fire, sun and moon, summer and winter, animals and plants, are assumed as existing, although they may not possess their present forms, and although they may have been kept in some part of the world inaccessible to the human race. We are dealing, therefore, essentially with tales of expeditions in which, through cunning or force, the phenomena of nature are obtained for the use of all living beings; and with tales of transformation in which animals, land and water, obtain their present forms. We do not find in North America the genealogical sequence of worlds, one generated by another, that is so characteristic of Polynesia. The idea of creation, in the sense of a projection into objective existence of a world that preexisted in the mind of a creator, is also almost entirely foreign to the American race. The thought that our world had a previous existence only as an idea in the mind of a superior being, and became objective reality by a will, is not the form in which the Indian conceives his mythology. There was no unorganized chaos preceding the origin of the world. Everything has always been in existence in objective form somewhere. This is even true of ceremonials and inventions, which were obtained by instruction given by beings of another world. There is, however, one notable exception to this general rule, for many Californian tribes possess origin tales which are expressions of the will of a powerful being who by his thoughts established the present order. . . .

The statement here made needs some further restriction, inasmuch as we have quite a number of tales explaining the origin of animals and of mankind as the results of activities of superior beings. Thus we have stories which tell how men or food animals were fashioned by the Creator out of wood, stone, clay, or grass; that they were given life, and thus became the beings that we see now. It is important to note that in these cases it is not a mere action of a creative will, but always the transformation of a material object, which forms the essential feature of the tale. Furthermore, I believe it can be shown that many of these tales do not refer to a general creation of the whole species, but that they rather supply a local or temporary want. For instance, the Creator carves salmon out of wood, but they are not fit to serve his purpose. This does not imply that no salmon were in existence before that time, for we hear later on in the same cycle that the real salmon were obtained by a party that captured the fish in the mythical salmon country. The Creator, therefore, had to make artificially an object resembling the real salmon that existed somewhere else, but his unsuccessful attempt resulted in the origin of a new species. In another way this point may be brought out

in the story of the origin of death, which appears as part of the Raven cycle of the North Pacific coast. Here Raven tries to create man first from stone, then from leaves. Since his attempts to give life to stones were unsuccessful, and man originated from leaves, man dies like leaves. The men thus created were, however, not the only ones in existence. Raven tried to create them only in order to obtain helpers in a particular kind of work in which he was engaged. Nevertheless the generalized explanation of death is attached to this story.

There are also marked differences not only in the manner in which origins are accounted for, but also in the extent to which these elements enter into tales. While in a large collection of Eskimo stories only from thirty-five to fifty phenomena are explained, the number is infinitely greater on the Western Plateaus. In the essay quoted before, Waterman states that ninety-eight Eskimo tales contain thirty-four explanations, while in a hundred and eighty-seven Plateau tales, two hundred and twenty-five explanations are found. This quite agrees with the impression that we receive by the perusal of tales. In some cases almost every tale is an origin tale, in others these are few and far between. . . .

Marked differences occur also in the selection of the phenomena that are explained. Among the southern Caddoan tribes the explanation of stars preponderates. Among the Plateau tribes the largest number of tales refer to characteristics of animals. Among the Blackfoot and Kwakiutl the mass of tales relate to ceremonials. Among the Southern tribes a great number are cosmogonic tales.

Related to this is also the more or less systematic grouping of the tales in larger cycles. It is but natural that in all those cases in which traits of animals form the subject of explanatory tales, the tales must be anecdotal in character and disconnected, even if one person should form the center of the cycle. It is only when the origin tales are brought together in such a way that the mythological concepts develop into a systematic whole, that the origin stories assume the form of a more complex cosmogony. This point may be illustrated by the long record of the origin legend of Alaska collected by Swanton,[1] in which obviously a thoughtful informant has tried to assemble the whole mass of explanatory tales in the form of a connected myth. Critical study shows not only the entire lack of cohesion of the parts, but also the arbitrary character of the arrangement, which is contradicted by all other versions from the same region. Unifying elements are completely missing, since there is no elaboration of a cosmogonic concept that forms the background of the tale.

The same is no less true of the Kwakiutl, among whom the disconnected character of the origin tales is perhaps even more pronounced, since they refer in different ways to various aspects of the world; the origin of animals being treated in one way, the rise of social differences of the people in another way, and the supernatural basis of their religious ceremonials in still another manner. The contrast in form brought about

[1] Swanton, J. R., "Tlingit Myths and Texts," *Bur. Amer. Ethnol. Bull.*, **39**: 80 *ff.*

by the systematization of mythical concepts may be seen clearly in the case of the Bellacoola, who have developed more definite notions of the organization of the world, and among whom, for this reason, the single stories, while still disconnected, are referred clearly to a background of systematized mythical concepts. The contrast between the disconnected origin tales and the elaborate cycles is most striking when we compare the disjointed tales of the Northwest with the long connected origin myths of the East as we find them among the Iroquois and Algonkin, and even more when we place them side by side with the complex myths from the Southwest.

On the whole, these features are characteristic of definite geographical areas. On the Western Plateaus it is almost entirely the grouping of the tales around one single hero that makes them into a loosely connected cycle. So far as we can discover, the single adventures are disconnected, and only exceptionally a definite sequence of incidents occurs. The same is largely true of the origin tales of the East and of the Upper Mississippi region, excepting their complicated introductory parts. In other districts—as on the Pacific coast between Vancouver Island and central California—a somewhat more definite order is introduced by the localization of the tales. A transformer travels over the country and performs a series of actions, which are told in a definite order as his journeyings take him from place to place. Thus we have a definite order, but no inner connection between the incidents. Quite distinct in type are the origin tales in which the people themselves are brought to their present home by long-continued migration. It is characteristic of the northern part of the continent that there is no migration legend to speak of, that the people consider themselves as autochthonous. In the Southwest and in Mexico, on the other hand, particular stress is laid upon the emergence of the tribe from a lower world and upon its migrations, with which are connected many of the origin stories. This type, which in its whole setting is quite distinct from that of the North, occurs wherever southern influences can be traced, as among the Arikara, a Caddoan tribe that migrated from the south northward to the Missouri River.

We may also recognize local characteristics in the details of the methods by which the present order of things is established. In the Plateau area, among the Eskimo, and in part at least in eastern North America, something happens that accidentally determines the future. When Grizzly-Bear, in a tussle, scratches Chipmunk's back, this gives rise to his stripes. If an animal jumps out of a canoe and breaks off his tail on the gunwale, this is the reason why it has a short tail. Since an animal wears down the hair of its bushy tail, it has a hairless tail now. Because the frog leaped on the moon's face, it stays there. In this area incidents in which transformations are the result of an intentional activity are quite rare, although the idea is not quite absent. In the East the concept of intentional transformation appears particularly in the tales treating of the origin of the earth and of ceremonies; on the Plateau it appears from time to time either in the form of councils held by the

animals in order to decide how the world is to be arranged, or in contests between two antagonistic animals which desire different conditions. Thus we find in the Plateaus the story of Chipmunk and Bear,[1] to which I referred before, essentially a contest which is to determine whether it shall always be day or always night; and in the Coyote cycle a contest which is to decide whether man shall be immortal.

On this basis a number of types of origins may be distinguished—first, origins due to accidental, unintentional occurrences; second, the formation of the present order according to the decisions of a council of animals; third, development due to the actions of two antagonistic beings, the one benevolent and wishing to make everything easy for man, the other one counteracting these intentions and creating the difficulties and hardships of life; as a fourth type we may distinguish the culture-hero tales, the narratives of the migration of men or deities who wander about and set things right. At the present time it is hardly possible to group the origin stories quite definitely from these points of view. In the extreme north the disorganized tale seems to prevail. On the plateaus of the northern United States and in part of the plains, the animal council plays an important role. California seems to be the principal home of the antagonistic formula, although this idea is also prominent among some Eastern tribes; and culture-hero tales appear locally on the North Pacific coast, but more prominently in the South.

We shall next turn to a consideration of the trickster tales. In a sense these have been referred to in the previous group, because many of the trickster tales are at the same time origin tales. If, for instance, Coyote tricks the birds by letting them dance near the fire, and their red eyes are accounted for in this way, we have here an origin story and a trickster tale. At present we are not concerned in this feature, but rather in the consideration of the question whether certain features can be found that are characteristic of the whole cycle as developed in various regions. First of all, it seems of interest to note the degree to which the whole group of tales is developed. It is absent among the Eskimo, moderately developed in California, probably not very prominent in the aboriginal myths of the Southwest, but most prolific on the northwest coast, the Northern Plateaus, and in the East. Whether it is a marked feature of the Athapascan area cannot be decided at present. Some of the heroes of the trickster cycle have been noted before. Raven, Mink, Bluejay, on the northwest coast; Coyote on the Plateaus; Old Man among the Blackfoot; Ishtiniki among the Ponca; Inktumni among the Assiniboin; Manabosho, Wishahka, and Glooscap among various Algonkin tribes, are some of the prominent figures. Although a complete list of all the trickster incidents

[1] [Teit records this incident as follows: "The Black Bear and the Chipmunk once contended against each other, the former for darkness, the latter for light. The Bear cried, "Lipa, Lipa, Lipa!" and the Chipmunk, "Ma'a, ma'a, ma'a!" The Bear, finding that the Chipmunk was his equal in the possession of magic powers, finally became enraged, and would have killed his adversary; but the Chipmunk was too quick for him, and ran into his hole just as the Bear made a dash for him. The Bear scratched the Chipmunk when going into his hole. This is the origin of the present stripes on the chipmunk's back. If the Bear had managed to kill the Chipmunk, we should have had eternal darkness instead of day and night, as we have at present." Teit, J., "Thompson River Indian Traditions," *Amer. Folk-lore Soc., Mem.*, **6**: 61.]

has not been made, it is fairly clear that a certain number are found practically wherever a trickster cycle occurs. I have already stated that one group of these tales is confined to the western Plateaus, another one to the northern half of the continent. At present it is more important to note, that, besides these widely distributed elements, there seem to be in each area a number of local tales that have no such wide distribution. The characteristics of the tales appear most clearly when the whole mass of trickster tales in each region is studied. A comparison of the Raven, Mink, and Bluejay cycles is instructive. The background of the Raven stories is everywhere the greedy hunger of Raven. Almost all of the Raven tales treat of Raven's endeavors to get plenty of food without effort; and the adventures relate to this attempt to cheat people out of their provisions and to the punishment doled out to him by those who have suffered from his tricks. Quite different in type are the Mink stories. Here we find throughout an erotic background. Mink tries to get possession of girls and of the wives of his friends, and his tricks have almost exclusively this one object. Occasionally only a trick based on his fondness for sea eggs is introduced. The Bluejay adventures may be characterized in still another way. Generally it is his ambition to outdo his betters in games, on the hunt, or in war, that brings him into trouble or induces him to win by trickery. He has neither a pronounced erotic nor a notably greedy character. The tricks of the Plateau cycle are not so easy to characterize, because the deeds of Coyote partake of all the characteristics just mentioned. Coyote attempts to get food, and his erotic adventures are fairly numerous; but on the whole these two groups are considerably outnumbered by tricks in which he tries to outdo his rivals.

The identification of trickster and transformer is a feature which deserves special notice. I have called attention to the fact—borne out by most of the mythologies in which trickster and culture hero appear as one person—that the benefactions bestowed by the culture hero are not given in an altruistic spirit, but that they are means by which he supplies his own needs.[1] Even in his heroic achievements he remains a trickster bent upon the satisfaction of his own desires. This feature may be observed distinctly in the Raven cycle of the northwest coast. He liberates the sun, not because he pities mankind, but because he desires it; and the first use he tries to make of it is to compel fishermen to give him part of their catch. He gets the fresh water because he is thirsty, and unwillingly spills it all over the world while he is making his escape. He liberates the fish because he is hungry, and gets the tides in order to be able to gather shellfish. Similar observations may be made in other mythological personages that embody the qualities of trickster and culture hero. Wherever the desire to benefit mankind is a more marked trait of the cycle, there are generally two distinct persons—one the trickster, the other the culture hero. Thus the culture hero of the Pacific coast gives man his arts, and is called "the one who sets things right." He is not a trickster, but all his actions have a distinct bearing upon the

[1] [Cf. Boas, F., Introduction to Teit, *op. cit.*]

establishment of the modern order. Perhaps the most characteristic feature of these culture-hero tales is their lack of detail. Many are bare statements of the fact that something was different from the way it is now. The hero performs some very simple act, and ordains that these conditions shall be changed. It is only when the culture-hero concept rises to greater heights, as it does in the South, that these tales acquire greater complexity. . . .

We shall now turn to the third group of tales, those dealing with human society. These can only in part be characterized in the manner adopted heretofore. Some of their local color is due to the peculiar distribution of incidents which has been discussed before. On the whole, however, it is rather the plot as a whole that is characteristic. This may be exemplified by the incident of the faithless wife, which occurs all over the continent. The special form of the plot of the woman who has an animal or supernatural being or some object for a lover, whose actions are discovered by her husband, who disguises himself in her garments and who deceives and kills the paramour and later on his wife, is most characteristic of the northern area, reaching from northeastern Siberia and the Eskimo district southward to the Mississippi basin.

Individualization of form may also be illustrated by the widely distributed incident of the deserted child who rescues his people when they are in distress. The special form of the plot—in which the child makes his parents and uncles ashamed, is deserted, and then helped by animals that send him larger and larger game until many houses are filled with provisions, and in which the people offer him their daughters as wives—is characteristic only of the North Pacific coast. On the Plains the deserted boy escapes by the help of his protector, and becomes a powerful hunter. The analysis of the plots has not been carried through in such detail as to allow us to do more than point out the existence of characteristic types in definite areas.[1]

The degree to which these tales are of independent origin or diffused can be inferred in a few cases from plots so singular in conception or construction that they probably would not develop more than once:

An example of this is the story of two girls who noticed two stars, a bright one and a small one, and wished these stars for their husbands. The following morning they found themselves in the sky married to the stars, and later on tried to return to the earth by letting themselves down through a hole in the sky. This rather complex tale is found distributed over the American continent in an area extending from Nova Scotia to the mouth of the Mississippi River and westward to the Rocky Mountains, and in places even on the Pacific Ocean, for instance, in Alaska and in the state of Washington. It would seem difficult to assume, in a case of this kind, the possibility of an independent invention of the tale at a number of

[1] Boas, F., "Mythology and Folk-tales of the North American Indians," *Jour. Amer. Folk-lore*, **27**: 377–396.

distinct points; but it must be assumed that, after the tale had attained its present form, it spread by dissemination over that part of the continent where it is now found.[1]

More systematically, Boas has examined the composition of the tales of particular regional cultures, inferred the direction of their distribution, pointed out the modifications and elimination of specific traits in the course of their migrations, and concludes that dissemination is incomparably more important at present than independent invention:

The region with which I deal, the North Pacific coast of our continent, is inhabited by people diverse in language but alike in culture.

The arts of the tribes of a large portion of the territory are so uniform that it is almost impossible to discover the origin of even the more specialized forms of their productions inside of a wide expanse of territory. Acculturation of the various tribes has had the effect that the plane and the character of the culture of most of them is the same; in consequence of this we find also that myths have traveled from tribe to tribe, and that a large body of legends belongs to many in common.

As we depart from the area where the peculiar culture of the North Pacific coast has reached its highest development, a gradual change in arts and customs takes place, and, together with it, we find a gradual diminution in the number of myths which the distant tribe has in common with the people of the North Pacific coast. At the same time, a gradual change in the incidents and general character of the legends takes place.

We can in this manner trace what we might call a dwindling down of an elaborate cyclus of myths to mere adventures, or even to incidents of adventures, and we can follow the process step by step. Wherever this distribution can be traced, we have a clear and undoubted example of the gradual dissemination of a myth over neighboring tribes. The phenomena of distribution can be explained only by the theory that the tales have been carried from one tribe to its neighbors, and by the tribe which has newly acquired them in turn to its own neighbors. It is not necessary that this dissemination should always follow one direction; it may have proceeded either way. In this manner a complex tale may dwindle down by gradual dissemination, but also new elements may be embodied in it.

It may be well to give an example of this phenomenon. The most popular tradition of the North Pacific coast is that of the raven. Its most characteristic form is found among the Tlingit, Tsimshian, and Haida. As we go southward, the connection between the adventures becomes looser and their number less. It appears that the traditions are preserved quite fully as far south as the north end of Vancouver Island. Farther south the number of tales which are known to the Indians

[1] Boas, F., *Handbook of American Indian Languages*, **1**: 51 (Bur. Amer. Ethnol., Bull. 40).

diminishes very much. At Newettee, near the north point of Vancouver Island, thirteen tales out of a whole of eighteen exist. The Comox have only eight, the Nootka six, and the Coast Salish only three. Furthermore, the traditions are found at Newettee in the same connection as farther north, while farther south they are very much modified. The tale of the origin of daylight, which was liberated by the raven, may serve as an instance. He had taken the shape of a spike of a cedar, was swallowed by the daughter of the owner of the daylight, and then born again; afterwards he broke the box in which the daylight was kept. Among the Nootka, only the transformation into the spike of a cedar, which is swallowed by a girl and then born again, remains. Among the Coast Salish the more important passages survive, telling how the raven by a ruse compelled the owner of the daylight to let it out of the box in which he kept it. The same story is found as far south as Grey's Harbor in Washington. The adventure of the pitch, which the raven kills by exposing it to the sunshine, intending to use it for caulking his canoe, is found far south, but in an entirely new connection, embodied in the tradition of the origin of sun and moon.

But there are also certain adventures embodied in the raven myths of the North which probably had their origin in other parts of America. Among these I mention the tale how the raven was invited and reciprocated. The seal puts his hands near the fire, the grease drips out of them into a dish which he gives to the raven. Then the latter tries to imitate him, but burns his hands, etc. This tale is found, in one or the other form, all over North America, and there is no proof that it originally belonged to the raven myth of Alaska. For other examples I refer to my book.[1]

I believe the proposition that dissemination has taken place among neighboring tribes will not encounter any opposition. Starting from this point, we will make the following considerations:—

If we have a full collection of the tales and myths of all the tribes of a certain region, and then tabulate the number of incidents which all the collections from each tribe have in common with any selected tribe, the number of common incidents will be the larger the more intimate the relation of the two tribes and the nearer they live together. This is what we observe in a tabulation of the material collected on the North Pacific coast. On the whole, the nearer the people, the greater the number of common elements; the farther apart, the less the number.

But it is not the geographical location alone which influences the distribution of tales. In some cases, numerous tales which are common to a certain territory stop short at a certain point, and are found beyond it in slight fragments only. These limits do not by any means coincide with the linguistic divisions. An example of this kind is the raven legend, to which I referred before. It is found in substantially the same form from Alaska to northern Vancouver Island; when it suddenly disappears almost entirely, and is not found among the southern tribes of

[1] *Indianische Sagen von der Nord-Pacifischen Küste Nordamerikas* (Berlin: A. Asher & Co.).

Kwakiutl lineage, nor on the west coast of Vancouver Island, although the northern tribes, who speak the Kwakiutl language, have it. Only fragments of these legends have strayed farther south, and their number diminishes with increasing distance. There must be a cause for such a remarkable break. A statistical inquiry shows that the northern traditions are in close contact with the tales of the tribes as far south as the central part of Vancouver Island, where a tribe of Salish lineage is found; but farther they do not go. The closely allied tribes immediately south do not possess them. Only one explanation of this fact is possible, *viz.*, lack of acculturation, which may be due either to a difference of character, to continued hostilities, or to recent changes in the location of the tribes, which has not allowed the slow process of acculturation to exert its deep-going influence. I consider the last the most probable cause. . . .

The identity of a great many tales in geographically contiguous areas has led me to the point of view of assuming that wherever a greater similarity between two tales is found in North America, it is more likely to be due to dissemination than to independent origin.

But without extending these theories beyond the clearly demonstrated truths of transmission of tales between neighboring tribes, we may reach some further conclusions. When we compare, for instance, the legend of the culture hero of the Chinook and that of the origin of the whole religious ceremonial of the Kwakiutl Indians, we find a very far-reaching resemblance in certain parts of the legends which make it certain that these parts are derived from the same source. The grandmother of the divinity of the Chinook, when a child, was carried away by a monster. Their child became the mother of the culture hero, and by her help the monster was slain. In a legend from Vancouver Island, a monster, the cannibal spirit, carries away a girl, and is finally slain by her help. Their child becomes later on the new cannibal spirit. There are certain intermediate stages of these stories which prove their identity beyond doubt. The important point in this case is that the myths in question are perhaps the most fundamental ones in the mythologies of these two tribes. Nevertheless, they are not of native growth, but, partly, at least, borrowed. A great many other important legends prove to be of foreign origin, being grafted upon mythologies of various tribes. This being the case, I draw the conclusion that the mythologies of the various tribes as we find them now are not organic growths, but have gradually developed and obtained their present form by accretion of foreign material. Much of this material must have been adopted ready-made, and has been adapted and changed in form according to the genius of the people who borrowed it. The proofs of this process are so ample that there is no reason to doubt the fact. We are, therefore, led to the conclusion that from mythologies in their present form it is impossible to derive the conclusion that they are mythological explanations of phenomena of nature observed by the people to whom the myths belong, but that many of them, at the place where we find them now, never had such a meaning. If we acknowledge this conclusion as correct, we must give up the attempts at offhand

explanation of myths as fanciful, and we must admit that, also, explanations given by the Indians themselves are often secondary, and do not reflect the true origin of the myths.

I do not wish to be misunderstood in what I said. Certainly, the phenomena of nature are at the bottom of numerous myths, else we should not find sun, moon, clouds, thunderstorm, the sea, and the land play so important a part in all mythologies. What I maintain is only that the specific myth cannot be simply interpreted as the result of observation of natural phenomena. Its growth is much too complex. In most cases the present form has undergone material change by disintegration and by accretion of foreign material, so that the original underlying idea is, at best, much obscured.

Perhaps the objection might be raised to my argument that the similarities of mythologies are not only due to borrowing, but also to the fact that, under similar conditions which prevail in a limited area, the human mind creates similar products. While there is a certain truth in this argument so far as elementary forms of human thought are concerned, it seems quite incredible that the same complex theory should originate twice in a limited territory. The very complexity of the tales and their gradual dwindling down to which I have referred before, cannot possibly be explained by any other method than by dissemination. Wherever geographical continuity of the area of distribution of a complex ethnographical phenomenon is found, the laws of probability exclude the theory that in this continuous area the complex phenomenon has arisen independently in various places, but compels us to assume that in its present complex form its distribution is due to dissemination, while its composing elements may have originated here and there. . . .

The fundamental condition, that all comparisons must be based on material collected in contiguous areas, differentiates our method from that of investigators like Petitot and many others, who see a proof of dissemination or even of blood relationship in each similarity that is found between a certain tribe and any other tribe of the globe. It is clear that the greater the number of tribes which are brought forward for the purposes of such comparisons, the greater also the chance of finding similarities. It is impossible to derive from such comparisons sound conclusions, however extensive the knowledge of literature that the investigator may possess, for the very reason that the complex phenomenon found in one particular region is compared to fragmentary evidence from all over the world. By means of such comparisons, we can expect to find resemblances which are founded in the laws of the development of the human mind, but they can never be proofs of transmission of customs or ideas. . . .

We will consider for a moment the method by which traditions spread over contiguous areas, and I believe this consideration will show clearly that the standpoint which I am taking, *viz.*, that similarity of traditions in a continuous area is always due to dissemination, not to independent origin, is correctly taken. I will exemplify this also by means of the

traditions of the North Pacific coast, more particularly by those of the Kwakiutl Indians.

It seems that the Kwakiutl at one time consisted of a number of village communities. Numbers of these village communities combined and formed tribes; then each village community formed a clan of the new tribe. Owing probably to the influence of the clan system of the northern tribes, totems were adopted, and with these totems came the necessity of acquiring a clan legend. The social customs of the tribe are based entirely upon the division into clans, and the ranking of each individual is the higher—at least to a certain extent—the more important the legend of his clan. This led to a tendency of building up clan legends. Investigation shows that there are two classes of clan legends: the first telling how the ancestor of the clan came down from heaven, out of the earth, or out of the ocean; the second telling how he encountered certain spirits and by their help became powerful. The latter class particularly bear the clearest evidence of being of a recent origin; they are based entirely on the custom of the Indians of acquiring a guardian spirit after long-continued fasting and bathing. The guardian spirit thus acquired by the ancestor became hereditary, and is to a certain extent the totem of the clan—and there is no doubt that there traditions, which rank now with the fundamental myths of the tribe, are based on the actual fastings and acquisitions of guardian spirits of ancestors of the present clans. If that is so, we must conclude that the origin of the myth is identical with the origin of the hallucination of the fasting Indian, and this is due to suggestion, the material for which is furnished by the tales of other Indians, and traditions referring to the spiritual world which the fasting Indian may have heard. There is, therefore, in this case a very strong psychological reason for involuntary borrowing from legends which the individual may have heard, no matter from what source they may have been derived. The incorporation in the mythology of the tribe is due to the peculiar social organization which favors the introduction of any myth of this character if it promises to enhance the social position of the clan.

The same kind of suggestion which I mentioned here has evidently molded the beliefs in a future life. All myths describing the future life set forth how a certain individual died, how his soul went to the world of the ghosts, but returned for one reason or the other. The experiences which the man told after his recovery are the basis of the belief in a future life. Evidently, the visions of the sick person are caused entirely by the tales which he had heard of the world of the ghosts, and the general similarity of the character of this tale along the Pacific coast proves that one vision was always suggested by the other.

Furthermore, the customs of the tribes are such that by means of a marriage the young husband acquires the clan legends of his wife, and the warrior who slays an enemy those of the person whom he has slain. By this means a large number of traditions of the neighboring tribes have been incorporated in the mythology of the Kwakiutl.

The psychological reason for the borrowing of myths which do not refer to clan legends, but to the heavenly orbs and to the phenomena of nature, are not so easily found. There can be no doubt that the impression made by the grandeur of nature upon the mind of primitive man is the ultimate cause from which these myths spring, but, nevertheless, the form in which we find these traditions is largely influenced by borrowing. It is also due to its effects that in many cases the ideas regarding the heavenly orbs are entirely inconsistent. Thus the Newettee have the whole northern legend of the raven liberating the sun, but, at the same time, the sun is considered the father of the mink, and we find a tradition of the visit of the mink in heaven, where he carries the sun in his father's place. Other inconsistencies, as great as this one, are frequent. They are an additional proof that one or the other of such tales which are also found among neighboring tribes—and there sometimes in a more consistent form—has been borrowed.

These considerations lead me to the following conclusion, upon which I desire to lay stress. The analysis of one definite mythology of North America shows that in it are embodied elements from all over the continent, the greater number belonging to neighboring districts, while many others belong to distant areas, or, in other words, that dissemination of tales has taken place all over the continent. In most cases, we can discover the channels through which the tale flowed, and we recognize that in each and every mythology of North America we must expect to find numerous foreign elements. And this leads us to the conclusion that similarities of culture on our continent are always more likely to be due to diffusion than to independent development. When we turn to the Old World, we know that there also diffusion has taken place through the whole area from western Europe to the islands of Japan, and from Indonesia to Siberia, and to northern and eastern Africa. In the light of the similarities of inventions and of myths, we must even extend this area along the North Pacific coast of America as far south as Columbia River. These are facts that cannot be disputed.

If it is true that dissemination of cultural elements has taken place in these vast areas, we must pause before accepting the sweeping assertion that sameness of ethnical phenomena is *always* due to the sameness of the working of the human mind, and I take clearly and expressly issue with the view of these modern anthropologists who go so far as to say that he who looks for acculturation as a cause of similarity of culture has not grasped the true spirit of anthropology.

In making this statement, I wish to make my position perfectly clear. I am, of course, well aware that there are many phenomena of social life seemingly based on the most peculiar and most intricate reasoning, which we have good cause to believe have developed independently over and over again. There are others, particularly such as are more closely connected with the emotional life of man, which are undoubtedly due to the organization of the human mind. Their domain is large and of high importance. Furthermore, the similarity of culture which

may or may not be due to acculturation gives rise to the same sort of ideas and sentiments which will originate independently in different minds, modified to a greater or less extent by the character of environment. Proof of this are the ideas and inventions which even in our highly specialized civilization are "in the air" at certain periods, and are pronounced independently by more than one individual, until they combine in a flow which carries on the thought of man in a certain direction. All this I know and grant.

But I do take the position that this enticing idea is apt to carry us too far. Formerly, anthropologists saw acculturation or even common descent wherever two similar phenomena were observed. The discovery that this conclusion is erroneous, that many similarities are due to the psychical laws underlying human development, has carried us beyond its legitimate aim, and we start now with the presumption that all similarities are due to these causes, and that their investigation is the legitimate field of anthropological research. I believe this position is just as erroneous as the former one. We must not accuse the investigator who suspects a connection between American and Asiatic cultures as deficient in his understanding of the true principles of anthropology. Nobody has proven that the physical view holds good in all cases. To the contrary, we know many cases of diffusion of customs over enormous areas. The reaction against the uncritical use of similarities for the purpose of proving relationship and historical connections is overreaching its aim. Instead of demanding a critical examination of the causes of similarities, we say now a priori, they are due to psychical causes, and in this we err in method just as much as the old school did. If we want to make progress on the desired line, we must insist upon critical methods, based not on generalities but on each individual case. In many cases, the final decision will be in favor of independent origin; in others in favor of dissemination. But I insist that nobody has as yet proven where the limit between these two modes of origin lies, and not until this is done can a fruitful psychological analysis take place. We do not even know if the critical examination may not lead us to assume a persistence of cultural elements which were diffused at the time when man first spread over the globe.

It will be necessary to define clearly what Bastian terms the elementary ideas, the existence of which we know to be universal, and the origin of which is not accessible to ethnological methods. The forms which these ideas take among primitive people of different parts of the world, "*die Völker-Gedanken,*" are due partly to the geographical environment and partly to the peculiar character of the people, and to a large extent to their history. In order to understand the growth of the peculiar psychical life of the people, the historical growth of its customs must be investigated most closely, and the only method by which the history can be investigated is by means of a detailed comparison of the tribe with its neighbors. This is the method which I insist is necessary in order to make progress toward the better understanding of the development of

mankind. This investigation will also lead us to inquire into the interesting psychological problems of acculturation, *viz.*, what conditions govern the selection of foreign material embodied in the culture of the people, and the mutual transformation of the old culture and the newly acquired material. . . . In order to investigate the psychical laws of the human mind which we are seeing now indistinctly because our material is crude and unsifted, we must treat the culture of primitive people by strict historical methods. We must understand the process by which the individual culture grew before we can undertake to lay down the laws by which the culture of mankind grew.[1]

It is known that certain important material traits reached Indian tribes farther north from the more advanced cultures of Mexico and Central America. Among these maize and the horse are the outstanding material traits. While the horse was derived from the Spaniards in historical times, it affords a rare opportunity to examine the dissemination of a totally new trait and its effect on the cultures adopting it. Wissler's notable paper undertakes to trace this in so far as the records are accessible:

The great Spanish expeditions to explore the southern parts of the United States were well equipped with horses and even cattle and hogs. The adventurers were cavaliers; hence, horses were a necessity. De Soto carried some of his horses across the Mississippi in 1541. At about the same time Coronado reached the present bounds of Oklahoma from Santa Fe. Onate is believed to have visited the Pawnee and Kansas, 1599–1601, and Peñalosa conducted an expedition to the Mississippi in 1662. From Coronado's time on there was a growing trade with the Indians of the Gulf coast, and trade to the interior from Santa Fe as a base began about 1600. The pueblo village of Taos soon became the trade center for the Plains Indians. This trade seems to have reached its maximum about 1630. Doubtless the archives of Mexico and Spain contain data on the trade of this period, but nothing definite has so far found its way into literature. It is known, however, that the Indians of the Plains and especially the Pawnee were so troublesome in their plundering raids for horses that a post was established in Kansas about 1704 and an unsuccessful expedition undertaken by Villazur in 1720. Yet, in 1719 Du Tisné, a Frenchman, visited two Pawnee villages in Oklahoma where he counted three hundred horses. As early as 1682 Henri de Tonty found horse-using Indians on the lower Missouri. La Salle also states (1682) that the Gattacka (Kiowa-Apache) and Manrhoat (Kiowa?) had many horses. In fact they found horses in many places. This is about the earliest date we can hope to find for the Missouri, but if horses were there at that time, it is most certain that the Pawnee were well provided with them. It seems, therefore, safe to conclude that some time during the interval 1600–1682, at least, the Caddoan tribes, the Tonkawa,

[1] Boas, F., "The Growth of Indian Mythologies," *Jour. Amer. Folk-lore*, **9**: 1–11.

and the Comanche, as well as the Kiowa, became fully equipped with horses. The Metontonta (Oto) came to see La Salle and brought a horse's hoof, stating that the Spanish made war upon them (1680). From the statements by Hennepin we infer that the Oto did not use horses at that time.

It is thus clear that the Indians below the Platte and lower Missouri were quite well supplied with horses by 1682, and there is no reason why many of them should not have had horses as early as 1600. Presumably those to get them first would be the Ute, Comanche, Apache, Kiowa, and the Caddo. . . . [1]

The phenomenon we have is now plain: Indian horse culture spread rapidly from the Spanish settlements of the Southwest and Mexico upward between the Rocky Mountains and the Mississippi River, and thence northward between the Missouri and the mountains, to the west of the Black Hills and thence to the Saskatchewan country. On the south it spread out over the Gulf states, but did not become prominent north of Virginia, or between the Ohio and the Great Lakes, and reached the upper Mississippi relatively late. It reached the lower Colorado on the west, but did not reach far into California or any part of the Pacific coast to the north. Likewise it reached up into the Plateau area, and even to the Déné area.

The preceding data are presented solely to define the problem and make no claim to completeness. However, we cannot well discuss the influence of horse culture without fixing its relative time of origin, for, if it greatly preceded other strong European influences, its value as a cultural characteristic is high. While the fixing of such a date is quite speculative, we have its limits clearly defined, for we find the horse in the far north in 1751 and know that it could not have reached the Indians before 1500.

It is generally considered that horses abandoned by De Soto's men in 1541 gave rise to the wild horses later found west of the lower Mississippi. This may be true. Recalling that at about the same time Coronado reached the Wichita, we have an increased probability that the nuclei of several wild herds were formed about this date. However, we have found no historical support to this theory, for the first mention of wild horses is much later. [Hendry saw wild horses on the Saskatchewan in 1754.] However, it may be that the Indians profited by the use they saw made of horses and took possession of some abandoned animals. This would not have been difficult. The Pawnee have a story that the first horse they ever saw came into their village and permitted itself to be handled. Such could have happened with domesticated horses just turned loose. In other words, a normal series of events could have placed the horse in the hands of Indians and at the same time started the wild herds. If this did happen in 1541, 1560 could have found several tribes in the south well mounted and far advanced in horse culture. Then we

[1] [Wissler's detailed account of the first mention of the horse among the various Indian tribes is here omitted.]

must not overlook the tribes in southern Texas who even in 1541 could have easily reached Spanish posts on the other side of the Rio Grande. So 1600 could have found the horse at the headwaters of the Missouri and even among the Blackfoot. This is, of course, speculation, but it is well to note that for all we know the Crow and the Blackfoot, for instance, may have had horses for one hundred fifty years before their first mention in 1742 and 1751. In other words, we have an interval from 1550 to 1850, or three hundred years, in which the horse culture of the Plains could have developed along its own lines. . . .

[We might anticipate that the advent and spread of the horse would have a marked effect on the warfare, raiding, ranging, and internal expansion of the Indian tribes, and we do find evidence that these and other activities were notably stimulated at this period.] We must not, however, too hastily conclude that the introduction of the horse during the seventeenth century was the chief cause of this. The presence of the white traders on the continent must be considered. Firearms were soon in the hands of the tribes along the Mississippi and so spread westward. These new weapons must also have brought feelings of power and confidence. Then again the trade by which they were received created new demands, new wants, and so stimulated production. Thus, it seems equally probable that the disturbed balances of power from the introduction of guns and the necessity of visiting regions adjacent to trading posts, must have exerted a strong influence upon the periodical ranging of tribes, a change in which the horse was undoubtedly a large factor, but not the only one. . . . While there is [thus] a presumption that the horse stimulated periodic ranging on the Plains, there were other factors capable of exerting similar influences; but that actual migration was due to the horse is quite unlikely. The existence of former periodic ranging is proven by historical evidence in some cases and made inferential in others by the previous development of dog traction. In short, we may say that only those traits directly associated with the horse can be taken as later; the most characteristic traits, for want of evidence to the contrary, must be given priority, and that while the horse along with other European influences may have intensified and more completely diffused the various traits, there is no good evidence at hand to support the view that the horse led to the development of the important traits. In other words, from a qualitative point of view the culture of the Plains would have been much the same without the horse. It does not follow, though, that these Plains traits were diffused over the same area as found in 1850. . . .

We may now turn to a more specific examination of the point as to what distinct modifications of culture were produced.

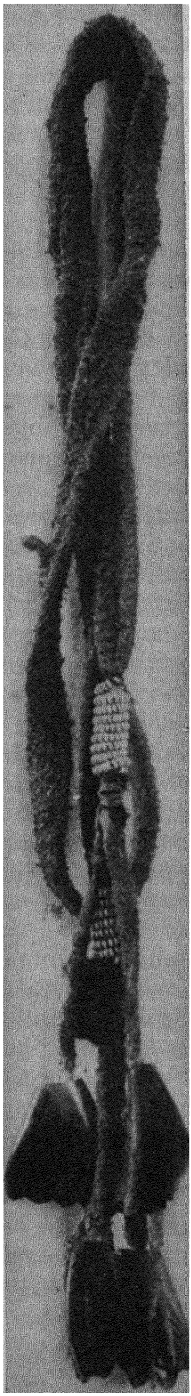
In the first place, the horse brought with it all its own associated elements of culture. Our collections show that saddles and other riding gear are quite uniform in type for the Plains and are on the whole after Spanish patterns. Even the use of the *reata* seems to be of Spanish-American origin. Riding itself was, of course, intrusive. Knowledge of

how to care for horses would also come in from the Spanish. ´So we must surely have had a whole group of associated culture traits carried along with the horse.

Thus we have a fine example of diffusion, like the sun dance, men's societies, etc. Could we show that the diffusion of horse culture preceded the diffusion of these other traits, we should have a strong case for the horse as a modifier of culture. As we have seen, what little evidence there is points in the other direction.

The use of the horse in war and hunting may have greatly modified weapons, tactics, etc. Thus, it seems quite probable that the long spear of the Comanche and other southern tribes was developed for use on horseback, possibly even copied directly from the Spaniards. . . . Our problem is, however, as to whether there are other complexes created or modified indirectly by the presence of the horse. In this connection we can offer little save speculation. As we have so far developed the subject there is some reason for expecting that the relative intensities of many traits were changed, giving us a different cultural whole. We have noted the probability that horse culture inhibited tendencies toward agriculture, pottery, and basketry, and favored the use and development of the tipi; but our observations can apply only to the less typical tribes who had these traits, since their mere absence is not satisfactory evidence of inhibition. As an intensifier of original Plains traits, the horse presents its strongest claim. Some of the early Spanish observers note the great use of large dogs, both for packing and travois traction, and the almost entire dependence on the buffalo; here we have at least some of the highly characteristic traits of Plains culture in horse days. To such a culture the horse would most surely be a new and superior dog; he would like any greatly improved appliance enrich and intensify development in certain established directions. It is also conceivable that this development had a similar effect on other material traits, but to varying degrees. We see, however, no good ground for assuming that any important traits, material or otherwise, were either dropped or added among the buffalo-hunting, dog-using rovers observed by the first Spanish explorers. Economic prosperity and contact with the white race have greatly modified the material culture of the Indian, physiologically by interbreeding and disease it has brought marked changes and politically it has stamped out his own government; but not even the great wealth of the Osage or the Pawnee has served to modify greatly their religious practices or their social ideals. It is chiefly the persistently driven wedge of the missionary and the teacher that is slowly overcoming that tenacious phase of culture. The familiar phenomena of tenacity of hold upon tribal religious, medical, and social practices seems a good argument against the great effects of new material traits upon culture in general. Thus, it would be exceptional to find that the introduction of the horse was alone responsible for the typical Plains culture. . . .[1]

[1] Wissler, C., "The Influence of the Horse in the Development of Plains Culture," *Amer. Anth.*, N.S., **16**: 1–19, *passim*.



There is also reason to believe that spiritual and ceremonial traits which, as Wissler points out, were not greatly modified by horse culture, had been diffused from Mexico at an earlier date. In Chap. VI there was mention of a Pueblo ceremony adopting or conciliating slain enemies and making spiritual allies of them, and a resemblance to a Mexican ceremony was pointed out. The Aztec practice has been described by Wissler and Spinden and compared with a Pawnee ceremony containing features suggesting a single origin:

Sometimes it happens that the most insignificant looking object has the most interesting history. In the Museum's Pawnee Indian collection is a simple pair of thongs, but slightly decorated, which of themselves would escape notice, yet which stand, so far, as our only objective representation of the Pawnee human sacrifice ceremonies. The historic home of the Pawnee was Nebraska, where they resided until moved to Oklahoma in 1876. They were to some extent an agricultural people but were also great buffalo hunters. They had a highly developed ceremonial and religious system in which certain stars in the heavens were the leading gods. One very bright star, probably Mars, was the Pawnee god of war, although often spoken of as the Morning Star, and there was in the keeping of certain priests a ritual for the sacrifice of a captive to this star. While the sacrifice was made only when the star was in a certain position at dawn, it was not an annual occurrence but

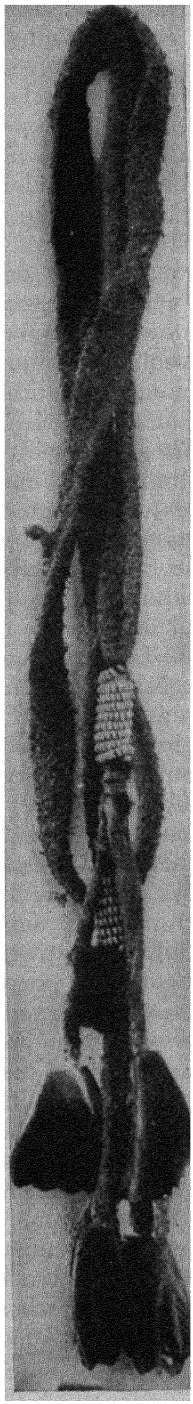


FIG. 8.

was given only when the Morning Star himself called for it. This he did by appearing to an individual in a dream or vision. Then war parties were sent out until a captive maiden was secured. She was kept under guard but otherwise treated like a goddess until the time of the sacrifice.

The accessories for the sacrifice ceremony were provided by various individuals. The thongs mentioned above were intended for tying the hair of the captive.

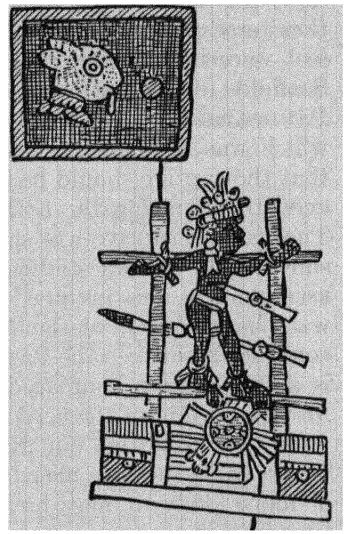


FIG. 9.—The scaffold sacrifice among the Aztecs of Mexico City, as shown in a drawing from the *Codex Telleriano-Remensis* recording its first appearance. The symbol of the year One Rabbit appears above, below it being recorded the important events of that year, beginning with the sacrifice. The date was written in later by a Spanish priest who interpreted the native manuscript with valuable marginal notes.

It seems that the Pawnee had for many years performed this gruesome ceremony somewhat unwillingly, impelled by a sense of religious duty. It is said that the officiating priests always found it a sore trial. One time about 1818, as arrangements for a sacrifice were under way, a bold young man decided to rescue the captive. At the psychological moment he interrupted the proceedings and announced it as his intention to free the captive at any cost. He then cut the poor girl loose from the scaffold, carried her swiftly through the awestruck crowd, mounted his horse, and dashed away. When beyond pursuit he gave her a horse and sent her on her way. Then returning to the village he announced his opposition to the continuance of the ceremony. As he was already a distinguished warrior and the son of the chief's sister, which, according to the Pawnee system, gave him the hereditary right to succeed his uncle, many strong men rose in his favor and pledged their future support. The name of this man was Petahlayshahrho. In 1821 he visited Washington, D. C., and a medal was presented to him by the ladies of that city in recognition of his humane deed. Nevertheless, the ritual of the sacrifice was still regularly performed as a formal matter and many conservative individuals looked forward to a revival of the sacrifice itself. In anticipation of this, vows to furnish the accessories were still made.

Thus it was that a man by the name of White-horse, while the tribe was still in Nebraska, made a vow that if he were fortunate during the year he would give the thongs for the next Morning Star sacrifice. Things came his way and he did as he had promised, but the thongs did not serve the purpose intended because the sacrifice had been discontinued. He was bound to preserve them, however, and at his death passed them on to his family and thence to the keeping of the American Museum.

To the serious-minded reader this human sacrifice ceremony of the Pawnee presents some interesting problems. So far as we know there was nothing like it among the other Plains tribes, nor anywhere else in the United States and Canada, except possibly in Arizona and New Mexico; but in ancient Mexico we find some curious parallels. The Pawnee captive was tied upon a rectangular frame, which according to descriptions consisted of two upright poles and five crosspieces. Four of these crosspieces were in the nature of steps, to the top one of which the feet were bound, and the arms were made fast to the fifth crosspiece. Scaffolds of this kind are pictured in Mexican codices. The idea in the Pawnee sacrifice was to offer the victim's blood and to cut out the heart, which was also the Mexican idea. Again, the Pawnee ritual required that the captive should be induced to do everything of her own free will, even to mounting the scaffold; this also has its Mexican counterpart. The Pawnee captive was shot full of arrows; the Mexican codex sketches show many arrows sticking into the sacrifices. Finally, there was an astronomical idea involved, and there is reason to believe that this also was characteristic of the Mexican rites. All this suggests a historical connection between the Pawnee and Aztec cultures, and since the Pawnee is a small group compared with the latter, the probabilities favor the Mexican origin of the ceremony.

Let us now turn our attention to the question on its Mexican side. The scaffold sacrifice may have been invented by Moctezuma II in 1506, or more likely, it may have been taken over into Aztec ritual at that time from some tribe in southern Mexico. The early Spanish interpreter of the *Codex Telleriano-Remensis*, writes under the year One Rabbit (1506): "In this year Moctezuma shot with arrows a man in this fashion [referring to the illustration], say the old men, because for two hundred years there had always been hunger upon the year One Rabbit." The unexcelled historian of the Indians, Fray Bernardino de Sahagun, refers to the same year (in which Zozullan had been captured) in these words: "The Mexicans killed many of those from Zozullan which they took in war, and placing them as a windmill's wings between two poles they shot them, and each year they made this fiesta." In addition to the representation of this sacrifice in the historical portion of the *Codex Telleriano-Remensis* (and its copy, the *Codex Rios*), there are other representations in the *Codex Nuttall*, the *Manuscrit du Cacique* and the *Codex Porfirio Diaz*. All of these are native books made before or just after the coming of the Spaniards.

The scaffold sacrifice was evidently associated by the Aztecs with the feast of the month Tlacaxipehualiztli. This feast was sacred to Xipe Totec, the Lord of the Flayed, a war god whose appalling cult had spread far and wide over Mexico and Central America. The feature of Xipe worship which has attracted most attention was the wearing by warrior priests of the skins of flayed victims and the holding of a mock battle in this gruesome attire. It may be added that the earliest reference to scalping is in connection with the cult of Xipe. Another ceremony per-

formed at this feast was a sort of gladiatorial contest in which a captive, bound by a rope to the center of a great stone disk and armed with a short wooden club, was compelled to fight four warriors fully armed, two wearing jaguarhide costumes and two dressed to represent eagles. In the drawing from the *Manuscrit du Cacique* the ceremonial of the stone disk is indicated at the left. The rope passes from the victim's waist to the center of the stone. The handicapped gladiator wears the characteristic blood-red dress of the god Xipe Totec. Before a temple at the right is the scaffold, the crossbars of which are tied with ropes. To this scaffold a victim, also wearing the costume of Xipe Totec, is bound. A priest, whose body is painted black, has pierced the sacrifice with several arrows and the blood is streaming down.

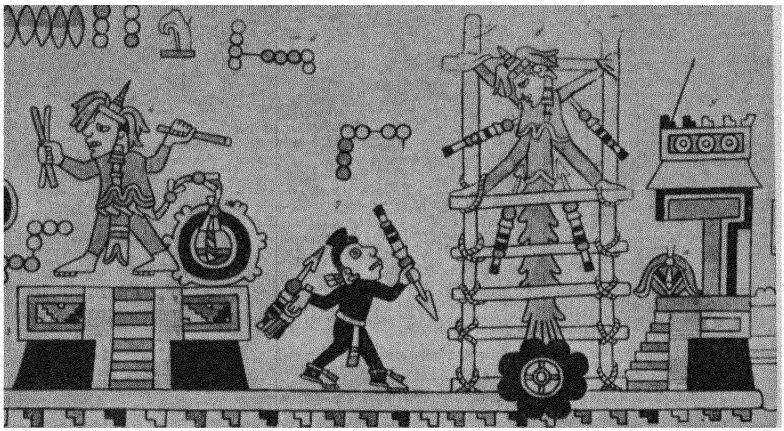


FIG. 10.—The Mexican feast to Xipe Totec, the Lord of the Flayed, representation from the *Manuscrit du Cacique*. A temple is depicted at the right, before which a captive taken in war is being sacrificed on a scaffold. A priest garbed in black is throwing arrows at the victim with an *atlatl*, or throwing stick. At the left is shown the contest of the stone disk, in which another captive fights four armed warriors. Both victims wear the blood-red costume and headdress of Xipe Totec.

In the *Codex Nuttall* the contest on the stone disk is more fully represented and that on the scaffold is somewhat abbreviated. There is a remarkable uniformity, however, in essential details. The day Six House is recorded in both pictures and there are also figured eight sacrificial knives. Under the sacrifice on the scaffold is an object which may represent the sacred bowl used to catch the blood.

Two human sacrifices on scaffolds are drawn in a somewhat more realistic fashion in the *Codex Porfirio Diaz*. In each picture we see a temple (drawn out of scale as always) and before it a scaffold with four crossbeams at the bottom and one at the top. The victim is stretched across the open space and his body is pierced by arrows. In one picture we see a priest in the act of shooting. Behind the temple is a pole with some sort of framework at the top and with a rope hanging to the ground. Various individuals are also shown, each with his name

hieroglyph above his head. There is nothing to indicate that the scaffold sacrifice is here connected with the feast of Tlacaxipehualiztli. Above the upper crossbar in one case there is a heart, which may indicate that this vital organ was offered to the divinity in whose honor the ceremony was celebrated; in the other case there is a disk-shaped object which doubtless represents the sun or some other heavenly body. There is good reason to believe that the scaffold sacrifice originated in southern Mexico and that it was connected primarily with the sun or some important planet and secondarily with war. Most of the native records of this sacrifice refer to southern Mexico and are largely concerned with astronomy.

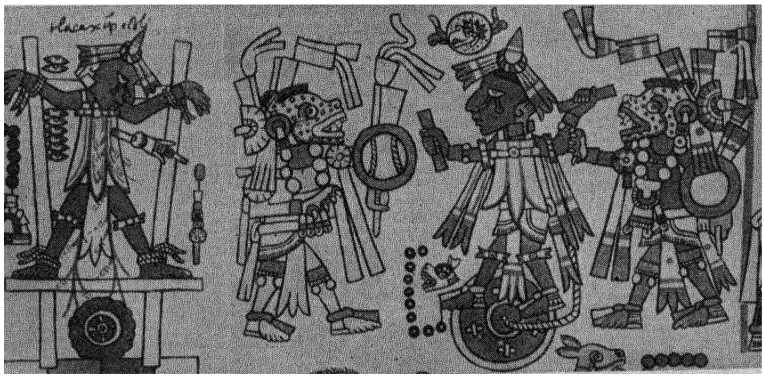


FIG. 11.—Ancient record of human sacrifice. Feast of Xipe Totec as depicted in the *Codex Nuttall*. This is probably the most beautifully preserved of all the native manuscripts. Written on deer skin and folded like a Japanese screen, it records conquests, ceremonies, etc., and is generally accredited to some tribe of the State of Oaxaca, Southern Mexico. The gladiatorial contest of the stone disk is here clearly represented. The captive gladiator, fastened by a rope round the waist to the center of the disk and armed only with wooden clubs, fights four fully armed warriors, two dressed as eagles and two (the ones shown above) as jaguars. Tears run from his eyes.
At the left is shown the scaffold sacrifice.

From these pictures alone we should be unable to obtain more than an objective similarity to the human sacrifice among the Pawnee. But Sahagun and other early writers give us intimate studies of acts and thoughts of the Mexicans that could hardly be expressed in drawings. Many ceremonies are described; some occurring at fixed times in the year, others at a time regulated by the *Tonalamatl*, or book of days, or by the rising of some star or planet. The psychological attitude toward human sacrifice comes out clearly in many of these accounts.

Ceremonialism was intensely developed in Mexico and the dramatic quality of many Aztec rites of human sacrifice has probably never been equaled. We are apt to think only of the gruesome features of human sacrifice and to overlook the spiritual ones. The victim was often regarded as a personification of a god and as such he was feted, clothed in fine garments, and given every honor. Efforts were made to cause him to go willingly to his death, uplifted by a truly religious ecstasy. It was

considered unlucky that he should grieve or falter. To give an example: On the last day of the month Toxcatl there was sacrificed a young man chosen from captured chieftains for his beauty and accomplishments. For an entire year this intended victim, gayly attired and accompanied by a retinue of pages, had been granted the freedom of the city. When the month of Toxcatl entered he was given brides whose names were those of goddesses, and in his honor was held a succession of brilliant festivals. On the last day there was a parade of canoes across Lake Texcoco, and when a certain piece of desert land was reached the brides and courtiers bade farewell to the victim. His pages accompanied him by a little-used trail to the base of an apparently ruined temple. Here he was

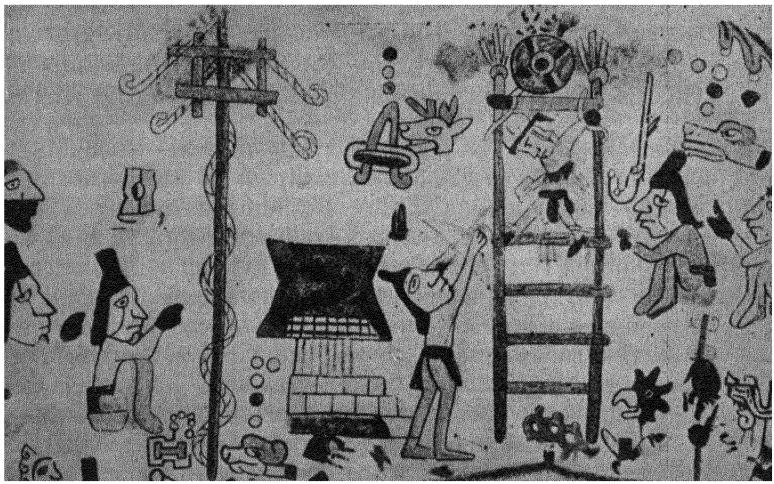


FIG. 12.—One of two drawings in the *Codex Porfirio Diaz* representing a scaffold sacrifice. This manuscript is preserved in the National Museum in Mexico City and is accredited to the Ciucatecan tribe of the State of Guerrero. Before a crude drawing of a temple, a priest shoots arrows at the victim before the eyes of onlookers who sit and watch.

stripped of his splendid garments and of the jewels that were symbols of divinity. With only a necklace of flutes he mounted the steps of the pyramid. At each step he broke one of the flutes and finally arrived at the summit, where the priests, knife in hand, awaited the naked man whose heart was to be offered to the very god he had impersonated. This ceremony is given only as an example, but it illustrates two characteristics found in several other Mexican sacrifices—namely: the paying of homage and honor to the person chosen for death; and secondly, the necessity of keeping the victim in good spirits and of inducing him to act voluntarily through the ritual. Where women were concerned deception was used, but with men an attempt to inspire a religious exaltation, triumphing completely over the weaknesses of the flesh, appears to have been practiced.

If a real connection between the concept of human sacrifice among the Pawnee and among the Mexicans should be proved by these facts, we

must remember that the extension to the north must have taken place before 1519—when the arrival of the Spaniards cut off abruptly the ancient religious rites of the Mexicans—and that it probably took place only shortly before this date since the Aztecs themselves seem to have acquired the rite no earlier than 1506.[1]

In a paper of later date Linton points out the resemblances and differences between the Pawnee and the Aztec ceremony, compares the sacrificial practices of tribes lying between the two regions, and suggests the direction from which Mexican influence may have reached the Pawnee indirectly through other tribes. From the evidence produced by Linton it may be inferred that some features of a prevalent Indian practice of torturing prisoners may have been transferred by the Pawnee to a religious ritual and that this pattern contained also features originally Mexican:

The sacrifice [he says] was performed only in years when Mars was morning star and usually originated in a dream in which the Morning Star appeared to some man and directed him to capture a suitable victim. The dreamer went to the keeper of the Morning Star bundle and received from him the warrior's costume kept in it. He then set out, accompanied by volunteers, and made a night attack upon an enemy village. As soon as a girl of suitable age was captured the attack ceased and the war party returned. The girl was dedicated to the Morning Star at the moment of her capture and was given into the care of the leader of the party who, on its return, turned her over to the chief of the Morning Star village. During the time preceding the sacrifice she was treated with kindness and respect, but it was forbidden to give her any article of clothing. Only the leader of the war party and the chief of the Morning Star village could touch her after her dedication. A man who broke this rule was thought to have offered himself in her place and if he died before the time of the sacrifice she would be released.

The ceremonies preceding the sacrifice occupied four days, the victim being killed on the morning of the fifth. The rites performed during the first three days are not fully known, but apparently consisted in the singing of songs relating the exploits of the Morning Star and in the offering of smoke and dried meat to the Morning Star bundle. At the beginning of the ceremony the girl was purified with smoke, painted red, and dressed in a black costume which was kept in the Morning Star bundle between sacrifices. Her captor was also dressed in a costume from this bundle and throughout the ceremony the two seem to have personified respectively the Evening and Morning Stars. A fire of four logs laid with their points together and their ends extending toward the four directions was kept burning during the four days. About sunset of the fourth day the spectators were excluded from the lodge while the

[1] Wissler, C., and H. J. Spinden, "The Pawnee Human Sacrifice to the Morning Star," *Amer. Mus. Jour.*, **16**: 49–55.

officiating priest drew four circles on the floor, one for each of the four world quarters. They were then readmitted and the priests sang a song descriptive of the journey of the Morning Star in search of the Evening Star while one of the priests danced about the lodge with a war club and obliterated the circles. The priests then began to sing a long series of songs believed to have been given by the Evening Star. As each song was finished a tally stick, taken from a bunch kept in the Morning Star bundle, was laid down. Dr. G. A. Dorsey concludes that the idea underlying this part of the ritual was that the girl at first belonged to the world of human affairs but that, as each song was sung, she became farther removed from it until, when the last tally was laid down, she had been won from the people like a stake in a game and belonged to the supernatural powers. When the songs were finished, one of the priests undressed the girl, painted the right half of her body red and the left half black, and redressed her. The whole assembly then set out for the place of sacrifice. At the place of sacrifice a scaffold had been erected on the afternoon of the fourth day, the selection of the site, cutting of the timber for the scaffold, etc., being attended by special ceremonies. The scaffold consisted of two uprights and five crosspieces, four below and one above. The two uprights symbolized night and day, the four lower bars the four directions, and the upper bar the sky. Below the scaffold was a pit lined with white feathers which symbolized the Evening Star's garden in the west, the source of all animal and plant life.

Two men led the girl from the lodge to the scaffold by thongs fastened around her wrists. She was kept in ignorance of her fate as long as possible and it was thought an especially good omen if she mounted the scaffold willingly. The men leading her removed her clothing and tied her hands to the upper bar and her feet to the highest of the four lower bars. The procession was timed so that she would be left alone on the scaffold at the moment the Morning Star rose. When the Morning Star appeared, two men came from the east with flaming brands and touched her lightly in the arm pits and groins. Four other men then touched her with war clubs. The man who had captured her then ran forward with the bow from the Skull bundle and a sacred arrow and shot her through the heart while another man struck her on the head with the war club from the Morning Star bundle. The officiating priest then opened her breast with a flint knife and smeared his face with the blood while her captor caught the falling blood on dried meat. All the male members of the tribe then pressed forward and shot arrows into the body. Then they circled the scaffold four times and dispersed. . . .

Wissler and Spinden have pointed out that the Morning Star sacrifice had a number of features in common with the human sacrifices of the Aztec and suggest that its presence among the Pawnee may be due to diffusion from Mexico. The principal resemblances to the Mexican practices lie in the association of the sacrifice with a worship of the heavenly bodies, the impersonation of a deity by the victim, and in parts of the actual procedure.

An analysis of the Pawnee ceremony shows that although some of its features were probably of foreign origin its underlying concepts and most of its ritual were in perfect accord with the general body of Skidi beliefs and practices. The Pawnee recognized a great number of both heavenly and earthly beings. The attributes and powers of these beings were more clearly defined than was usually the case among the Plains tribes and the most important of them deserve to be classed as gods. The earthly beings were primarily the guardians of the medicine men while the heavenly beings were the guardians of the whole people and the rivers of most of the village and tribal sacred bundles. Nearly all the heavenly beings were identified with stars. Although our data on the other Caddoan tribes are rather scanty, stars figure largely in the mythology of all those for which we have information and it seems probable that a worship of the heavenly bodies was common to all the peoples of this stock. It was such a basic feature of Pawnee religion that if its presence was due to diffusion from Mexico this diffusion must have occurred at a very ancient time.

The impersonation of a deity by the victim in the Morning Star ceremony is suggestive of one of the Mexican practices, but the resemblance is not very close. In the Mexican rites cited by Wissler and Spinden the victims were sacrificed to the deities whom they had impersonated. In the Pawnee rite there was a double impersonation, the captor taking the part of the Morning Star and the girl of the Evening Star. The victim was not offered to the deity whom she had impersonated but to another being who had conquered that deity. Impersonations of deities occurred in other Pawnee ceremonies as well. Dorsey says:

"A man who has offered seven eagles to the heavenly deities may furnish a robe and other accessories used in a certain ceremony when one of the greatest of the heavenly beings, Paruxti, becomes represented in the bundles. He then becomes the earthly representative of that deity for the season. During all this season he neither cuts his hair nor his nails; he wears only a buffalo robe; in short, conducts himself as Paruxti did when he visited the earth."

The Morning Star ceremony was plainly a reenactment of the conquest of the Evening Star by the Morning Star and, as such, was quite in agreement with the general pattern of Skidi ceremonies. Dorsey says:

"In theory the Skidi Pawnee ceremonies all have as their object the performance either through drama or through ritual of the acts which were performed in the mythologic age. The ritual is a formal method of restating the acts of the supernatural beings in early times, and by this recitation of a ritual the deities of the heavens have their attention redirected toward the people on the one hand; on the other hand, people are reminded of the deeds which were done for them by the heavenly beings. The relationship between man and the supernatural world is renewed with the result that the supernatural beings, being pleased at the

attention, which is usually in the form of sacrificial rites, bestowed upon them, continue their protection over the people."

The idea of sacrifice entered into practically all the Pawnee bundle ceremonies and the offering of sacrifices to the heavenly beings was one of the surest roads to the spiritual and social advancement of an individual. Dorsey says:

"The Morning Star told the people that he gave them bows and arrows with which to kill animals, telling them to get on the right side to shoot so that the arrow would go through the heart. As he had given them fire sticks the animal should be placed on the fire so that the smoke might ascend to the beings in the heavens. In these sacrifices by fire the blaze and smoke carry the prayers to the above, thus the smoke is the prayer bearer. This form of sacrifice was graded, the value ranging all the way from the sacrifice of the first bird shot by a boy with a toy bow to the sacrifice of a human maiden to the Morning Star. When about to make such a sacrifice to the heavens, it was customary before using the bow, the instrument of death, to pronounce the name of the Morning Star. This pronounced upon an animal or human being is the dooming to death, or it may be compared to a curse. Apart from the human being who was sacrificed to the Morning Star certain animals were especially sought after for sacrifice. These were various birds, culminating in the eagles, except the white eagle, which was never sacrificed, and certain animals such as the deer, antelope, wildcat, otter, and buffalo, culminating in the sacrifice of a human scalp or human maiden."

It is plain that no foreign origin need be sought for such features of the Morning Star ceremony as its association with a star cult, the impersonation of a deity by the victim, or the underlying idea of sacrifice. The killing of the victim with a single arrow through the heart was also in accordance with the tribal pattern, for animal victims were supposed to be killed in this way. There are, however, other features of the ceremony which seem at variance with the pattern. Thus, although human sacrifice was only the highest of a long series of graded offerings among the Skidi, there is no proof of its existence, except in the form of scalp sacrifice, among any of the other Pawnee. Animal offerings were brought in dead and offered through fire. The human sacrifice had to be taken alive and was not burned. Moreover, the use of a scaffold, the touching of the living victim with flaming brands and clubs, the opening of the thoracic cavity and offering of blood, and the final shooting with arrows by all the men present, find no parallel in the other tribal ceremonies.

It has often been stated that human sacrifices were rare among the Indians north of Mexico, but this seems to be true only in the sense that they were infrequent. There are recorded instances of the practice among many tribes and over a very wide area. Sacrifices on the death of chiefs are recorded from the Natchez and Taensa and at the burning of the Taensa temple. The Yuchi sacrificed captives to the sun on the second day of the Annual Town Ceremony, burning them at high noon at a stake in the southeast corner of the town square. Human sacrifices are also

recorded among the Iroquois and Nipissing and among the Cheyenne at the time of the Sun Dance. The formality, amounting almost to a ritual, which attended the torture of prisoners among most of the eastern tribes strongly suggests that the original idea underlying this practice was also a sacrificial one, and in view of the distribution of the recorded sacrifices it seems probable that human offerings were made at one time or another by most of the tribes of the eastern woodlands. Human sacrifice was also present in the Southwest and may have been important there in ancient times. Bourke says:

"In my journal of November, 1881, made at Zuñi, are the following jottings of a conversation with the old chief, Pedro Pino, who possessed a very complete knowledge of Spanish: 'In the days of long ago all the Pueblos, Moquis, Zuñis, Acoma, Laguna, Jemez, and others, had the religion of human sacrifice at the feast of fire, when the days are shortest. The victim had his throat cut and his breast opened, and his heart taken out by one of the *cochinos* (priests); that was their *oficio* (religion), their method of asking good fortune.'"

There are a number of features of Skidi culture which seem to indicate contact with the southeastern and southwestern areas, and as human sacrifice was present in both these regions it is unnecessary to seek farther for the source of the idea.

The use of a scaffold and the touching of the living victim with brands and clubs are clearly related to the method of prisoner torture in vogue among the tribes of the lower Mississippi Valley. Du Pratz says of the Natchez:

"On arriving near their nation they (a returning war party) make the war cry three times repeated and . . . go at once to hunt for the three poles which are necessary for the construction of the fatal instrument on which they are going to make the enemy they have taken die. I mean the frame (cadre) on which they cruelly immolate the unfortunate victim of their vengeance. . . . The one who has taken him gives a blow of his wooden war club below the back part of his head, making the death cry. Having thus stunned him he cuts the skin around his head . . . and makes the death cry while removing the scalp in the best manner he is able without tearing it. . . . From the time that they begin to take the scalp the young people go in search of dry canes, crush them, and make packages or bundles. . . . The one who took him is the first one to take a single crushed cane and burn the place he may choose. But he devotes himself especially to burning the arm with which he (the prisoner) had best defended himself. Another comes and burns another place. . . . All in fact, one after the other, revenge themselves on this victim. . . . "

The method of torture just described agrees with the procedure of the Skidi sacrifice in so many details that it seems highly probable that the scaffold and touching features of the latter were due to diffusion from the lower Mississippi Valley. The shooting with arrows may also be referable to that region, although its source is less clear. In the Skidi ceremony the shooting, aside from the first arrow through the heart, did

not take place until after the victim's breast had been opened and seems to have been intended merely as a sign of participation in the sacrifice by all the men present. The opening of the victim's breast and the offering of the blood agrees so closely with the Pueblo method of sacrifice as described by Bourke that it seems certain that this feature of the ceremony was due to diffusion from the Southwest.

It is evident that all the elements which enter into the Morning Star sacrifice, with the possible exception of the shooting with arrows, either are in accord with the tribal ceremonial pattern or can readily be explained by diffusion from neighboring areas. It seems very unlikely, therefore, that the Skidi received the rite directly from Mexico. At the same time, it can hardly be doubted that many of its features are really of Mexican origin.

A study of Mexican influence upon the cultures within the United States is beyond the scope of the present paper, but a superficial examination seems to show that both the Southeast and Southwest have been affected by the higher civilizations to the south. In the lower Mississippi Valley there were temples on pyramidal mounds, a rather well-developed cult of the heavenly bodies, scaffold torture (possibly as a development of scaffold sacrifice), and a number of pottery forms and art motives which are strongly reminiscent of the Mexican coast cultures, especially Huaxtec. In the Southwest we have stone construction, impersonation of deities by elaborately masked and costumed dancers, cardiac sacrifice, cotton and the true loom, mosaic jewelry, a maize complex closely patterned on that of Mexico, etc. Nearly all the specialized Mexican traits which are present in the Southeast are lacking in the Southwest and vice versa. I think that this fact can only be explained by the assumption that there were two centers of diffusion within Mexico one of which influenced the Southeast and the other the Southwest. One center was probably in the highlands and the other on the east coast. To judge from the traits which spread northward from them, the cultures of these two centers must have differed considerably.

The star cult and scaffold features of the Skidi rite probably originated in the coastal center and reached the Pawnee by way of the Mississippi Valley. The deity impersonation and cardiac features, on the other hand, probably originated in the highland center and reached the Pawnee by way of the Southwest. There is no record of the use of the scaffold in the Southwest or of the cardiac sacrifice in the Southeast, unless we include under that head the occasional offering of the hearts of slain enemies through fire. The Aztec do not seem to have adopted the scaffold sacrifice until 1506 and probably borrowed it from some other tribe in southern Mexico. It is doubtful whether they really combined it with the cardiac sacrifice, for none of the instances cited by Wissler and Spinden indicate that the scaffold victim's breast was opened. The similarity of the historic Aztec and Skidi rites seems to have been due to the fact that the same traits had been combined in much the same way in these two widely separated areas. The traits themselves probably

had the same origin in both cases, but their combination was, in each instance, an independent local development. There is no reason to suppose that either of the rites, as a whole, owed anything to the other.[1]

The ghost dance, culminating in the battle of Wounded Knee and the death of Sitting Bull in 1890, is notable for its rapid and wide diffusion among Indian tribes and for the mingling of native and Christian concepts in a messiah mania.

The Indians universally, with the disappearance of game, the encroachments of the whites, and the approach of extermination, had cherished ideas of a restoration, when the buffalo would be restored, the dead would return, and the white man would disappear, and there were widespread doctrines and cults of this character which we may first examine from the standpoint of origins.

The Indian state of mind in connection with centuries of conflict with the whites, their continuous removal from good lands to bad, a constant succession of broken treaties, and the exhaustion of game, can be imagined and had a despairing expression in the words of Chief Joseph of the Nez Percé when surrendering to General Miles, October 5, 1877:

I am tired of fighting. Our chiefs are killed. Looking Glass is dead. Toohulhulsote is dead. The old men are all dead. It is the young men who say yes or no. He who led the young men is dead. It is cold and we have no blankets. The little children are freezing to death. My people, some of them, have run away to the hills and have no blankets, no food. No one knows where they are—perhaps freezing to death. I want to have time to look for my children and see how many of them I can find. Maybe I shall find them among the dead. Hear me, my chiefs. I am tired. My heart is sick and sad. From where the sun now stands I will fight no more forever.[2]

In his report for 1891 the Commissioner of Indian Affairs enumerated twelve causes of the Sioux outbreak, among them the following:

Prior to the agreement of 1876 buffalo and deer were the main support of the Sioux. Food, tents, bedding were the direct outcome of hunting, and, with furs and pelts as articles of barter or exchange, it was easy for the Sioux to procure whatever constituted for them the necessaries, the comforts, or even the luxuries of life. Within eight years from the agreement of 1876, the buffalo had gone, and the Sioux had left to them alkali land and government rations. It is hard to overestimate the magnitude

[1] Linton, R., "The Origin of the Skidi Pawnee Sacrifice to the Morning Star," *Amer. Anth.*, N.S., **28**: 457–465.

[2] Mooney, J., "The Ghost-dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890," *Bur. Amer. Ethnol., Ann. Rep.*, **14**: 715.

of the calamity, as they viewed it, which happened to these people by the sudden disappearance of the buffalo and the large diminution in the numbers of deer and other wild animals. Suddenly, almost without warning, they were expected at once and without previous training to settle down to the pursuits of agriculture in a land largely unfitted for such use. The freedom of the chase was to be exchanged for the idleness of the camp. The boundless range was to be abandoned for the circumscribed reservation, and abundance of plenty to be supplanted by limited and decreasing government subsistence and supplies. Under these circumstances it is not in human nature not to be discontented and restless, even turbulent and violent.[1]

These were conditions under which a Messiah doctrine in one form or another would inevitably develop, and Spier has shown that among the Indians of the Northwest, below and above the Canadian line, features of the ghost dance of the Plains and of the Nevada cult from which the Plains pattern was directly derived had been developing for at least three quarters of a century:

It can be shown that among these peoples there was an old belief in the impending destruction and renewal of the world, when the dead would return, in conjunction with which there was a dance based on supposed imitation of the dances of the dead, and a conviction that intense preoccupation with the dance would hasten the happy day. From time to time men "died" and returned to life with renewed assurances of the truth of the doctrine; at intervals cataclysms of nature occurred which were taken as portents of the end. Each of these events led to the performance of the dance with renewed fervor, only to have it fall into abeyance again when their expectations remained unfulfilled. . . .

The northwestern cult appears in the ethnographic accounts under various names: dream dance, ghost dance, religious dance, praying dance, etc. In order to avoid duplicating a well-established terminology which reserves these names for complexes in other areas of North America, I have coined the name Prophet Dance for it.

The Prophet Dance complex was known to all the tribes of the northwest interior, without exception, from the Babine and Sekani on the north to the Paviotso of western Nevada far to the south. It had penetrated to the tribes of the lower Fraser River and had reverberations among the coastal peoples of British Columbia as far as the Tlingit of southern Alaska. Eastward it took root among the Athapascans of the upper Mackenzie basin, where, if the data are interpreted correctly, it may even now be spreading in a new form.[2]

The dance was at this time prominently connected with the dead and sometimes carried an element of the fear of the dead

[1] *Ibid.*, 829.

[2] Spier, L., *The Prophet Dance of the Northwest and its Derivatives: the Source of the Ghost Dance*, 5 (George Banta Publishing Co. By permission).

described in Chap. XI, in contrast with the object of the later ghost dance, which was to bring the dead to earth again. Mrs. George, an Indian woman, has described this dance or "dream song" among the Modoc of Oregon-California before the ghost dance reached this tribe from the Paviotso in 1870:

A long, long time ago men and women dreamed these songs, painted their faces, and danced what they dreamed. . . . All this was before the Modoc war. . . . They danced this way a long time ago. They did this when I [Mrs. George] was a little child [*i.e.*, about 1840–1850]. . . . The dream dance is no fun. People believe pretty strong and sometimes faint. If sick people dance this dream dance, they get well. Dead people live somewhere: they are going to come back some time. When people dream these songs they see the dead who talk and sing the songs and paint their faces. It is the dead who make people dream and sing these songs to them. That is why people faint: they hear the dead singing these songs, so they feel pretty weak and faint. They see and talk to the dead, afterward telling what they dreamed. . . . The reason they dance is that people are afraid of those dreams. If they do not dance, they believe they will be destroyed. People are afraid of the one who makes them dream: that one is "God" [*Kumukamts*]. If they do not dance they will be turned into rocks.[1]

Practically all the Indians of the northwest coast and neighboring interior were much preoccupied with stories of visits to the dead by shamans who went to secure souls whose loss had caused the sickness of their patients. Quoting Teit, Spier says:

"Occasionally prophets made their appearance among the tribe. They generally bore some message from the spirit world, which they claimed they had visited, and from which they said they had just returned. Some of these were people who had been sick and had been in a state of trance. When a person who had been in a trance revived, and related that he had been in the land of ghosts, dances similar to those before described were held by his friends and neighbors. These dances continued for several days. This was done particularly when the person claimed to have seen the chief of the land of the ghosts, and to have been sent back to this world with a message. Then he would travel throughout the country, escorted by Indians, and would be listened to with great respect. Wherever he went, religious dances were performed. If the message brought by such a person was considered a welcome one, the dancers offered prayers of thanks to the chief [of the dead]. If the message was one foreboding evil, they made supplications for mercy." These prophets, or others with similar visions, predicted the coming of the whites with their novel possessions and the extinction of the Indians. One such was a Lower Thompson chief, Pêlak, who about 1855 or earlier

[1] *Ibid.*, 10 (George Banta Publishing Company. By permission).

predicted the advent of white settlers. They in fact began to invade this region in numbers about 1858.

The prophets' relations with the dead are clear enough, but nothing is said in this connection of the return of the dead. Teit wrote elsewhere, however, "the souls will continue to stay in the country of the dead until the 'Old Man' and 'Coyote' shall return to this world. They will be preceded by messengers. They will come from the east [although 'the country of the souls is underneath us, toward sunset'], and bring the souls back on clouds of tobacco smoke; according to others, on red clouds or on the aurora." Several Thompson tales of Old Man and Coyote bear on their Doomsday promise. In two of these Old-one announces that he will return in this fashion at the end of the world; the accompanying dead are mentioned in a third. A significant parallel to the Southern Okanagon portents occurs here: the end will be prefaced by a series of unnatural events through a span of seven years, increasing in terror from the sudden appearance of buds on bare trees to earthquakes which at the end will level the mountains.[1]

There are also numerous stories in these regions of persons who have died, visited the dead, and returned to earth; and Spier suggests that these stories are most prevalent among tribes where the dead are buried hastily:

The stage was set for seeming resurrections on the coast, at least at its southern end, where premature burial seems to have been not at all uncommon. It is therefore not surprising that it is this very region which provides records of men having "died" and returned from the afterworld in precise parallel to the Plateau prophets. Several of these resurrections are known from western Washington. A Kathlamet informant dictated a tale of his grandfather's "death" and visit with the dead at the time of the smallpox epidemics (probably 1820–1840). From the Makah there is a similar historic tale of a man who died, visited the dead, and was sent back because he was still alive. This was said to have taken place about 1858. Swan wrote that it was Makah habit to be precipitous in binding up and even burying an individual on his seeming death, without making sure that no life remained. If this was so, a return from seeming death may not have been uncommon. On the other hand, the statement may only be a symptom of Swan's effort to make the Makah seem wholly barbarous. A statement concerning the Salish of southern Puget Sound would make it appear that cases of the same sort were by no means the exception: "A person may die and come to life again in a few days." One Snohomish shaman recounted that as a boy he died. He was wrapped for burial but was not buried. He went to the land of ghosts where he saw other children playing but was sent back. This incident too may be dated about the middle of the last century. It can be no accident that it was in a near-by group (Squaxin) that John Slocum,

[1] *Ibid.*, 59–60 (George Banta Publishing Company. By permission).

the founder of the Shaker religion, the pseudo-Christian Indian sect of the Northwest, suffered death and resurrection in 1882. It will be shown later that this was probably not a coincidence, but that the Shaker cult may have had its origin, in part at least, in the Prophet Dance complex.[1]

But at this stage there is not the idea of a general resurrection which became prominent in the ghost dance. The visitants report the manner of life of the dead and sometimes their desire to return:

> Such individuals, especially shamans, who believed they had actually visisted the land of the dead were apparently common among the Bella Coola. Boas mentioned two informants who asserted they had been there. In neither case did the visionary bring back any message: he merely acquired knowledge of the mode of existence led by the dead. Two Tlingit tales were recorded by Boas "which are told as adventures of shamans who lived about one hundred fifty or two hundred years ago." In both the heroes die and adventure in the land of the dead, on their recovery simply reporting on life there. In one there is a statement that the dead would like to return to the everyday world were it not for difficulties in their path. From the Tlingit Swanton obtained several tales couched as historical happenings but with mythical flavor. "In olden days a certain person died and thought it was so hard to walk up into the ghosts' country that he came back." When he was provided with necessities for travel he returned to the land of the dead. Other tales relate experiences of the same sort, from which the Tlingit have learned the nature of life in the hereafter. . . . [But from the Upper Chinook we have the statement of an individual that] about 1855–1860 he "died" and visited the land of the dead. There, on instruction from the dead, he learned their songs and dance that he might carry them back to the living, to whom he was to preach a righteous life.[2]

Among many of the tribes of the Northwest the native Indian beliefs became plainly patterned on Old and New Testament narratives derived from missionaries and missions, and probably diffused to that region by word of mouth. The idea that Mother Earth is old and will be transformed and reinvigorated is combined with the belief that there will be first a general cataclysm followed by the resurrection of the dead. The native transformers, who as we have seen above from Boas' treatment of tales, were tricksters and not very beneficent culture heroes are assimilated somewhat to God and Jesus. Coyote, one of the native transformers, is found as a forerunner, somewhat as John the Baptist was a forerunner of Christ, and aspects of the Apocalypse are incorporated:

[1] *Ibid.*, 13–14 (George Banta Publishing Company. By permission).
[2] *Ibid.*, 14, 17 (George Banta Publishing Company. By permission).

The common doctrinal background [says Spier] appears in a Nespelim tale collected by Teit. This relates to the preparation of the world for human occupation. At the end of this task, Old-one, the Chief, speaks:

"I will send messages to earth by the souls of people that reach me, but whose time to die has not yet come. They will carry messages to you from time to time; and when their souls return to their bodies, they will revive, and tell you their experiences. Coyote and myself will not be seen again until the Earth-woman is very old. Then we shall return to earth, for it will require a new change by that time. Coyote will precede me by some little time; and when you see him, you will know that the time is at hand. When I return, all of the spirits of the dead will accompany me and after that there will be no spirit land. All the people will live together. Then will the Earth-woman revert to her natural shape, and live as a mother among her children. Then will things he made right, and there will be much happiness.

"The Earth-woman is now very old, and even her bones [the rocks] are crumbling away. Therefore the time cannot be far away when the earth will be transformed again, and when the spirits of the dead will come back. The Chief has sent messages from time to time. The Indians have learned from these that to be good, speak good, pray, and dance will hasten the return of Coyote, and therefore the Indians in many places often danced; and when dancing, they prayed much."

Duplication of this doctrinal statement in all details is found in the accounts of the Thompson and Shuswap. The earth is personified as a woman whose life is definitely limited: Old-one, the creator, will return with the dead at the destruction of the world: Coyote will accompany him or, with other transformers, will make the advent known by a series of unnatural happenings: most significantly, messages will be sent through prophets who from time to time will visit the land of the dead. The specific Thompson detail that Old-one and the dead will return on clouds of smoke, red clouds, or the aurora, the Babine and Modoc notions that the world will be destroyed in fire and plague, may be derived from the Christian Apocolypse but the body of the doctrine appears to be aboriginal.

The Earth-woman concept is more narrowly limited in its distribution than the belief involved with it that the world has a definite life span. In addition to Northern Okanagon, Thompson, and Shuswap, it reappears repeatedly through the southern Plateau in statements of followers of the Smohalla cult at the time of the Nez Percé war (*circa* 1877).[1]

While the ghost dance of the Plains was derived directly from the Paviotso of Nevada, as will be shown below, practically all its elements were embodied between 1850 and 1883 in the Smohalla cult, located in Washington on the Columbia River. Smohalla was a dreamer prophet who had died and returned. He had frequented the Catholic mission of Atahnam among the Yakima in his youth and the ritual of his cult was patterned rather closely

[1] *Ibid.*, 11 (George Banta Publishing Company. By permission).

at points on the Catholic ceremonial, including a form of communion, vestments, bells, and instruction to neophytes. Some of its features were also derived from the trappings of the white military posts which he had visited,[1] but the doctrine was fundamentally nationalistic—the restoration of the land to the Indians and the destruction of the whites:

Doctrinally [says Spier] the Smohalla cult was good Prophet Dance. It was held that a terrible convulsion of nature would destroy the world, when the Creator would restore the halcyon days of long ago and bring the dead to earth. A strict adherence to Indian dress and modes of life, and an upright life was enjoined on all true believers, for only such would participate in the final resurrection. In this rendering of the ancient doctrine, however, emphasis was laid on active animus toward the whites and their ways. It is not merely that pristine conditions would be restored on Doomsday but the whole point of the event was the destruction of the whites. Even the Earth-woman doctrine was taken so literally that no interference with her was permitted: there should be no parceling of the land and above all no tilling of the soil. In the formulation reported by the commissioners sent to treat with the Nez Percé before the outbreak of warfare (November, 1876): "The dreamers, among other pernicious doctrines, teach that the earth being created by God complete, should not be disturbed by man, and that any cultivation of the soil or other improvements to interfere with its natural productions, any voluntary submission to the control of the government, any improvement in the way of schools, churches, etc., are crimes from which they shrink. This fanaticism is kept alive by the superstitions of these 'dreamers,' who industriously teach that if they continue steadfast in their present belief, a leader will be raised up in the East who will restore all the dead Indians to life, who will unite with them in expelling the whites from their country, when they will again enter upon and possess the lands of their ancestors." This animus is, as Mooney has pointed out, wholly intelligible as the result of the drastic interference with native life during the decades following 1850.[2]

The emphasis on the earth mother in this doctrine was especially related to the great gashes made in her bosom in laying down the Northern Pacific railroad, and in a conversation with Major MacMurray, who was advising the Indians to apply for homesteads and thus avoid conflicts with the white settlers who were pouring in, Smohalla expounded the Indian view:

"I will tell you about it. Once the world was all water and God lived alone. He was lonesome, he had no place to put his foot, so he scratched

[1] *Cf. ibid.*, 41–45.
[2] *Ibid.*, 41 (George Banta Publishing Company. By permission).

the sand up from the bottom and made the land, and he made the rocks, and he made trees, and he made a man; and the man had wings and could go anywhere. The man was lonesome, and God made a woman. They ate fish from the water, and God made the deer and other animals, and he sent the man to hunt and told the woman to cook the meat and to dress the skins. Many more men and women grew up, and they lived on the banks of the great river whose waters were full of salmon. The mountains contained much game and there were buffalo on the plains. There were so many people that the stronger ones sometimes oppressed the weak and drove them from the best fisheries, which they claimed as their own. They fought and nearly all were killed, and their bones are to be seen in the hills yet. God was very angry at this and he took away their wings and commanded that the lands and fisheries should be common to all who lived upon them; that they were never to be marked off or divided, but that the people should enjoy the fruits that God planted in the land, and the animals that lived upon it, and the fishes in the water. God said he was the father and the earth was the mother of mankind; that nature was the law; that the animals, and fish, and plants obeyed nature, and that man only was sinful. This is the old law.

"I know all kinds of men. First there were my people [the Indians]; God made them first. Then he made a Frenchman [referring to the Canadian voyagers of the Hudson Bay Company], and then he made a priest [priests accompanied these expeditions of the Hudson Bay Company]. A long time after that came Boston men [Americans are thus called in the Chinook jargon, because the first of our nation came into the Columbia River in 1796 in a ship from Boston], and then King George men [the English]. Later came black men, and last God made a Chinaman with a tail. He is of no account and has to work all the time like a woman. All these are new people. Only the Indians are of the old stock. After a while, when God is ready, he will drive away all the people except those who have obeyed his laws.

"Those who cut up the lands or sign papers for lands will be defrauded of their rights and will be punished by God's anger. Moses was bad. God did not love him. He sold his people's houses and the graves of their dead. It is a bad word that comes from Washington. It is not a good law that would take my people away from me to make them sin against the laws of God.

"You ask me to plow the ground! Shall I take a knife and tear my mother's bosom? Then when I die she will not take me to her bosom to rest.

"You ask me to dig for stone! Shall I dig under her skin for her bones? Then when I die I cannot enter her body to be born again.

"You ask me to cut grass and make hay and sell it, and be rich like white men! But how dare I cut off my mother's hair?

"It is a bad law, and my people cannot obey it. I want my people to stay with me here. All the dead men will come to life again. Their spirits will come to their bodies again. We must wait here in the homes

of our fathers and be ready to meet them in the bosom of our mother. . . ."

[Replying to another officer who pointed out that] even the Indians had to work hard during the fishing season to get food for winter, the prophet answered:

"This work lasts only for a few weeks. Besides it is natural work and does them no harm. But the work of the white man hardens soul and body. Nor is it right to tear up and mutilate the earth as white men do."

To the officer's assertion that the Indians also dug roots and were even then digging kamas in the mountains, he replied:

"We simply take the gifts that are freely offered. We no more harm the earth than would an infant's fingers harm its mother's breast. But the white man tears up large tracts of land, runs deep ditches, cuts down forests, and changes the whole face of the earth. You know very well this is not right. Every honest man," said he, looking at me searchingly, "knows in his heart that this is all wrong. But the white men are so greedy they do not consider these things."

He asserted that the Indians were now so helpless before the white men that they must cease to exist unless they had assistance from a higher power, but that if they heeded the sacred message they would receive strong and sudden help as surely as the spring comes after winter. When some doubt was expressed as to his own faith in these things, he asked pointedly:

"Do the white teachers believe what they teach?"[1]

In 1889, in northern Nevada, a Paiute Indian of the Paviotso tribe, named Wovoka, began to have recognition as a prophet and messiah. He was a son or kinsman of a prophet who had originated a restoration dance which had spread through northern California between 1871 and 1874, but had subsided. In 1889 several delegations from Siouan tribes (the Cheyenne, Arapaho, Kiowa, Shoshoni) visited Wovoka and reported, some favorably, others unfavorably, to their tribes. Sitting Bull was among these visitors. The distance between the Plains tribes and the Paviotso is about a thousand miles, but the visitors used the railways, and within a year, promoted by traveling agitators and by letters composed by Indian boys who had attended white schools, the excitement had reached approximately half the Indian population in the United States.

Wovoka was himself an ordinary trance medium. He had worked for whites and had some acquaintance with white theology. During a fever and at the time of an eclipse of the sun he visited God and brought back a message:

When the sun died I went up to heaven and saw God and all the people who had died long ago. God told me to come back and tell my people

[1] Mooney, *op. cit.*, 720–721, 724.

that they must be good and love one another, and not fight or steal or lie. He gave me this dance to give to my people.[1]

On a later visit the Cheyenne and Arapaho delegates took in writing a statement from Wovoka containing the following:

Grandfather [a universal title of reverence among Indians and here meaning the messiah] says, when your friends die you must not cry. You must not hurt anybody or do harm to anyone. You must not fight. Do right always. It will give you satisfaction in life. This young man has a good father and mother. [Possibly this refers to Casper Edson, the young Arapaho who wrote down this message of Wovoka for the delegation.]

Do not tell the white people about this. Jesus is now upon the earth. He appears like a cloud. The dead are all alive again. I do not know when they will be here; maybe this fall or in the spring. When the time comes there will be no more sickness and everyone will be young again.

Do not refuse to work for the whites and do not make any trouble with them until you leave them. When the earth shakes [at the coming of the new world] do not be afraid. It will not hurt you.

I want you to dance every six weeks. Make a feast at the dance and have food that everybody may eat. Then bathe in the water. That is all. You will receive good words again from me some time. Do not tell lies.[2]

In this form the teaching corresponded with and was apparently a reflection of Christian doctrine, but the delegations reported also his prediction of an early transformation of the earth, a restoration of game, and a "general resurrection of the dead in favor of the Indians." One of the best reports of the doctrine as circulated among the Indians was conveyed to a government official by a Paiute:

[Wovoka says] all Indians must dance, everywhere, keep on dancing. Pretty soon in next spring Big Man [Great Spirit] come. He bring back all game of every kind. The game be thick everywhere. All dead Indians come back and live again. They all be strong just like young men, be young again. Old blind Indian see again and get young and have fine time. When Old Man [God] comes this way, then all the Indians go to mountains, high up away from whites. Whites can't hurt Indians then. Then while Indians way up high, big flood comes like water and all white people die, get drowned. After that water go way and then nobody but Indians everywhere and game all kinds thick. Then medicine man tell Indians to send word to all Indians to keep up dancing and the good time will come. Indians who don't dance, who

[1] *Ibid.*, 765.
[2] *Ibid.*, 781.

don't believe in this word, will grow little, just about a foot high, and stay that way. Some of them will be turned into wood and be burned in fire.[1]

In another report by Porcupine, a Cheyenne who visited the prophet with several companions in 1889, Wovoka is represented as claiming that he is Christ returned in pity to the earth:

I found [he said] my children were bad, so I went back to heaven and left them. I told them that in so many hundred years I would come back to see my children. At the end of this time I was sent back to try to teach them. My father told me the earth was getting old and worn out and the people getting bad, and that I was to renew everything as it used to be and make it better.

He also told us that all our dead were to be resurrected; that they were all to come back to earth, and that, as the earth was too small for them and us, he would do away with heaven and make the earth itself large enough to contain us all; that we must tell all the people we met about these things. He spoke to us about fighting, and said that was bad and we must keep from it; that the earth was to be all good hereafter, and we must all be friends with one another. He said that in the fall of the year the youth of all good people would be renewed, so that nobody would be more than forty years old, and that if they behaved themselves well after this the youth of everyone would be renewed in the spring. He said if we were all good he would send people among us who could heal all our wounds and sickness by mere touch and that we would live forever. He told us not to quarrel or fight or strike each other, or shoot one another; that the whites and Indians were to be all one people. He said if any man disobeyed what he ordered his tribe would be wiped from the face of the earth; that we must believe everything he said, and we must not doubt him or say he lied; that if we did, he would know it; that he would know our thoughts and actions in no matter what part of the world we might be.[1]

Among the several Siouan tribes the doctrine took on a threatening attitude toward the whites, as described by Mooney in his classical study:

Among the powerful and warlike Sioux of the Dakotas, already restless under both old and recent grievances, and more lately brought to the edge of starvation by a reduction of rations, the doctrine speedily assumed a hostile meaning and developed some peculiar features, for which reason it deserves particular notice as concerns this tribe. The earliest rumors of the new messiah came to the Sioux from the more western tribes in the winter of 1888–1889, but the first definite account was brought by a delegation which crossed the mountains to visit the messiah in the fall of 1889, returning in the spring of 1890. On the report

[1] *Ibid.*, 784.

of these delegates the dance was at once inaugurated and spread so rapidly that in a few months the new religion had been accepted by the majority of the tribe.

Perhaps the best statement of the Sioux version is given by the veteran agent, James McLaughlin, of Standing Rock agency. In an official letter of October 17, 1890, he writes that the Sioux, under the influence of Sitting Bull, were greatly excited over the near approach of a predicted Indian millennium or "return of the ghosts," when the white man would be annihilated and the Indian again supreme, and which the medicine men had promised was to occur as soon as the grass was green in the spring. They were told that the Great Spirit had sent upon them the dominant race to punish them for their sins, and that their sins were now expiated and the time of deliverance was at hand. Their decimated ranks were to be reinforced by all the Indians who had ever died, and these spirits were already on their way to reinhabit the earth, which had originally belonged to the Indians, and were driving before them, as they advanced, immense herds of buffalo and fine ponies. The Great Spirit, who had so long deserted his red children, was now once more with them and against the whites, and the white man's gunpowder would no longer have power to drive a bullet through the skin of an Indian. The whites themselves would soon be overwhelmed and smothered under a deep landslide, held down by sod and timber, and the few who might escape would become the small fishes in the rivers. In order to bring about this happy result, the Indians must believe and organize the Ghost Dance.[1]

At a certain point Wovoka as messiah fell into the background and the Sioux leaders and medicine men began to formulate the doctrine as independent prophets. On Pine Ridge reservation, October 31, 1890, Short Bull, who had been among those selected to visit the messiah and who became later one of the leaders of the dance, delivered the following discourse, which seems to be a Christian sermon with an Indian content:

My friends and relations: I will soon start this thing in running order. I have told you that this would come to pass in two seasons, but since the whites are interfering so much, I will advance the time from what my father above told me to do, so the time will be shorter. Therefore you must not be afraid of anything. Some of my relations have no ears, so I will have them blown away.

Now, there will be a tree sprout up, and there all the members of our religion and the tribe must gather together. That will be the place where we will see our dead relations. But before this time we must dance the balance of the moon, at the end of which time the earth will shiver very hard. Whenever this thing occurs, I will start the wind to blow. We are the ones who will then see our fathers, mothers, and every-

[1] *Ibid.*, 787.

body. We, the tribe of Indians, are the ones who are living a sacred life. God, our father himself, has told and commanded and shown me to do these things.

Our father in heaven has placed a mark at each point of the four winds. First, a clay pipe, which lies at the setting of the sun and represents the Sioux tribe. Second, there is a holy arrow lying at the north, which represents the Cheyenne tribe. Third, at the rising of the sun there lies hail, representing the Arapaho tribe. Fourth, there lies a pipe and nice feather at the south, which represents the Crow tribe. My father has shown me these things, therefore we must continue this dance. If the soldiers surround you four deep, three of you, on whom I have put holy shirts, will sing a song, which I have taught you, around them, when some of them will drop dead. Then the rest will start to run, but their horses will sink into the earth. The riders will jump from their horses, but they will sink into the earth also. Then you can do as you desire with them. Now, you must know this, that all the soldiers and that race will be dead. There will only be five thousand of them left living on the earth. My friends and relations, this is straight and true.

Now, we must gather at Pass creek where the tree is sprouting. There we will go among our dead relations. You must not take any earthly things with you. Then the men must take off all their clothing and the women must do the same. No one shall be ashamed of exposing their persons. My father above has told us to do this, and we must do as he says. You must not be afraid of anything. The guns are the only things we are afraid of, but they belong to our father in heaven. He will see that they do no harm. Whatever white men may tell you, do not listen to them, my relations. This is all. I will now raise my hand up to my father and close what he has said to you through me.[1]

The dance was an important feature in all the versions of the messiah doctrine and its frenzy was designed to hasten the anticipated transformation and the return of the dead. Its performance among the Sioux is best described by Mrs. Parker, who witnessed it on the Pine Ridge reservation, June 20, 1890:

We drove to this spot about 10:30 o'clock on a delightful October day. We came upon tents scattered here and there in low, sheltered places long before reaching the dance ground. Presently we saw over three hundred tents placed in a circle, with a large pine tree in the center, which was covered with strips of cloth of various colors, eagle feathers, stuffed birds, claws, and horns—all offerings to the Great Spirit. The ceremonies had just begun. In the center, around the tree, were gathered their medicine men; also those who had been so fortunate as to have had visions and in them had seen and talked with friends who had died. A company of fifteen had started a chant and were marching abreast,

[1] *Ibid.*, 788–789.

others coming in behind as they marched. After marching around the circle of tents they turned to the center, where many had gathered and were seated on the ground.

I think they wore the ghost shirt or ghost dress for the first time that day. I noticed that these were all new and were worn by about seventy men and forty women. The wife of a man called Return-from-scout had seen in a vision that her friends all wore a similar robe, and on reviving from her trance she called the women together and they made a great number of the sacred garments. They were of white cotton cloth. The women's dress was cut like their ordinary dress, a loose robe with wide, flowing sleeves, painted blue in the neck, in the shape of a three-cornered handkerchief, with moon, stars, birds, etc., interspersed with real feathers, painted on the waist and sleeves. While dancing they wound their shawls about their waists, letting them fall to within three inches of the ground, the fringe at the bottom. In the hair, near the crown, a feather was tied. I noticed an absence of any manner of bead ornaments, and, as I knew their vanity and fondness for them, wondered why it was. Upon making inquiries I found they discarded everything they could which was made by white men.

The ghost shirt for the men was made of the same material—shirts and leggings painted in red. Some of the leggings were painted in stripes running up and down, others running around. The shirt was painted blue around the neck, and the whole garment was fantastically sprinkled with figures of birds, bow and arrows, sun, moon, and stars, and everything they saw in nature. Down the outside of the sleeve were rows of feathers tied by the quill ends and left to fly in the breeze, and also a row around the neck and up and down the outside of the leggings. I noticed that a number had stuffed birds, squirrel heads, etc., tied in their long hair. The faces of all were painted red with a black half-moon on the forehead or on one cheek.

As the crowd gathered about the tree the high priest, or master of ceremonies, began his address, giving them directions as to the chant and other matters. After he had spoken for about fifteen minutes they arose and formed in a circle. As nearly as I could count, there were between three and four hundred persons. One stood directly behind another, each with his hands on his neighbor's shoulders. After walking about a few times, chanting, "Father, I come," they stopped marching, but remained in the circle, and set up the most fearful, heart-piercing wails I ever heard—crying, moaning, groaning, and shrieking out their grief, and naming over their departed friends and relatives, at the same time taking up handfuls of dust at their feet, washing their hands in it, and throwing it over their heads. Finally, they raised their eyes to heaven, their hands clasped high above their heads, and stood straight and perfectly still, invoking the power of the Great Spirit to allow them to see and talk with their people who had died. This ceremony lasted about fifteen minutes, when they all sat down where they were and listened to another address, which I did not understand, but which I

afterwards learned were words of encouragement and assurance of the coming messiah.

When they arose again, they enlarged the circle by facing toward the center, taking hold of hands, and moving around in the manner of school-children in their play of "needle's eye." And now the most intense excitement began. They would go as fast as they could, their hands moving from side to side, their bodies swaying, their arms, with hands gripped tightly in their neighbors', swinging back and forth with all their might. If one, more weak and frail, came near falling, he would be jerked up and into position until tired nature gave way. The ground had been worked and worn by many feet, until the fine, flourlike dust lay light and loose to the depth of two or three inches. The wind, which had increased, would sometimes take it up, enveloping the dancers and hiding them from view. In the ring were men, women, and children; the strong and the robust, the weak consumptive, and those near to death's door. They believed those who were sick would be cured by joining in the dance and losing consciousness. From the beginning they chanted, to a monotonous tune, the words:

Father, I come;
Mother, I come;
Brother, I come;
Father, give us back our arrows.

All of which they would repeat over and over again until first one and then another would break from the ring and stagger away and fall down. One woman fell a few feet from me. She came towards us, her hair flying over her face, which was purple, looking as if the blood would burst through; her hands and arms moving wildly; every breath a pant and a groan; and she fell on her back, and went down like a log. I stepped up to her as she lay there motionless, but with every muscle twitching and quivering. She seemed to be perfectly unconscious. Some of the men and a few of the women would run, stepping high and pawing the air in a frightful manner. Some told me afterwards that they had a sensation as if the ground were rising toward them and would strike them in the face. Others would drop where they stood. One woman fell directly into the ring, and her husband stepped out and stood over her to prevent them from trampling upon her. No one ever disturbed those who fell or took any notice of them except to keep the crowd away.

They kept up dancing until fully one hundred persons were lying unconscious. Then they stopped and seated themselves in a circle, and as each one recovered from his trance he was brought to the center of the ring to relate his experience. Each told his story to the medicine man and he shouted it to the crowd. Not one in ten claimed that he saw anything. I asked one Indian—a tall, strong fellow, straight as an arrow—what his experience was. He said he saw an eagle coming toward him. It flew round and round, drawing nearer and nearer until he put out his hand to take it, when it was gone. I asked him what he thought of it.

"Big lie," he replied. I found by talking to them that not one in twenty believed it. After resting for a time they would go through the same performance, perhaps three times a day. They practiced fasting, and every morning those who joined in the dance were obliged to immerse themselves in the creek.[1]

The ghost shirt described above was originated by the Sioux. It emphasized the return of the dead who were supposed to reinforce the living in overwhelming the whites, and the "ghost dance" derives its name from this association. At the same time it was represented by the medicine men that the wearers of this shirt would be unharmed by the bullets of the whites. There is reason to believe, however, that, like so many other features of the doctrine, the shirt was derived from contact with the whites:

The protective idea in connection with the ghost shirt does not seem to be aboriginal. The Indian warrior habitually went into battle naked above the waist. His protecting "medicine" was a feather, a tiny bag of some sacred powder, the claw of an animal, the head of a bird, or some other small object which could be readily twisted into his hair or hidden between the covers of his shield without attracting attention. Its virtue depended entirely on the ceremony of consecration and not on size or texture. The war paint had the same magic power of protection. To cover the body in battle was not in accordance with Indian usage, which demanded that the warrior should be as free and unincumbered in movement as possible. The so-called "war shirt" was worn chiefly in ceremonial dress parades and only rarely on the warpath.

Dreams are but incoherent combinations of waking ideas, and there is a hint of recollection even in the wildest visions of sleep. The ghost shirt may easily have been an inspiration from a trance, while the trance vision itself was the result of ideas derived from previous observation or report. The author is strongly inclined to the opinion that the idea of an invulnerable sacred garment is not original with the Indians, but, like several other important points pertaining to the Ghost-dance doctrine, is a practical adaptation by them of ideas derived from contact with some sectarian body among the whites. It may have been suggested by the "endowment robe" of the Mormons, a seamless garment of white muslin adorned with symbolic figures, which is worn by their initiates as the most sacred badge of their faith, and by many of the believers is supposed to render the wearer invulnerable. The Mormons have always manifested a particular interest in the Indians, whom they regard as the Lamanites of their sacred writings, and hence have made special efforts for their evangelization, with the result that a considerable number of the neighboring tribes of Ute, Paiute, Bannock, and Shoshoni have been received into the Mormon church and invested with the endowment robe. (See the appendix to this chapter: "The Mormons and the Indians"; also

[1] *Ibid.*, 916–917.

"Tell It All," by Mrs. T. B. H. Stenhouse.) The Shoshoni and northern Arapaho occupy the same reservation in Wyoming, and anything which concerns one tribe is more or less talked of by the other. As the Sioux, Cheyenne, and other eastern tribes make frequent visits to the Arapaho, and as these Arapaho have been the great apostles of the Ghost Dance, it is easy to see how an idea borrowed by the Shoshoni from the Mormons could find its way through the Arapaho first to the Sioux and Cheyenne and afterward to more remote tribes. Wovoka himself expressly disclaimed any responsibility for the ghost shirt, and whites and Indians alike agreed that it formed no part of the dance costume in Mason Valley. When I first went among the Cheyenne and neighboring tribes of Oklahoma in January, 1891, the ghost shirt had not yet reached them. Soon afterward the first one was brought down from the Sioux country by a Cheyenne named White Buffalo, who had been a Carlisle student, but the Arapaho and Cheyenne, after debating the matter, refused to allow it to be worn in the dance, on the ground that the doctrine of the Ghost Dance was one of peace, whereas the Sioux had made the ghost shirt an auxiliary of war. In consequence of this decision such shirts have never been worn by the dancers among the southern tribes. Instead they wear in the dance their finest shirts and dresses of buckskin, covered with painted and beaded figures from the Ghost-dance mythology and the visions of the trance.[1]

About twenty-five years ago a peyote cult was developed among the Winnebago of Nebraska which represents the inextricable ceremonial blending of native and white traits. The eating of peyote was introduced from Oklahoma by John Rave, a prominent member of the Bear clan, as a new medicinal herb, and the ceremony connected with its use tended at first to conform with the Winnebago ceremonial pattern. Somewhat later, under the influence of a convert who was also a convert to Christianity, the cult incorporated Biblical teaching and church ritual so extensively that a meeting of the cult was hardly distinguishable from a Methodist prayer meeting. Radin has compared the native and Christian elements and distinguished their relation as far as possible:

The peyote cult has a rather definite organization at the present time. There is always a leader, and generally there are four principal participants. John Rave, the Winnebago who introduced the peyote, is always the leader whenever he is present. On other occasions leadership devolves upon some older member. The four other principal participants change from meeting to meeting, although there is a tendency to ask certain individuals whenever it is possible. As we have seen, the ritualistic unit is a very definite one, consisting of a number of speeches and songs and the passing of the regalia from one to the other.

[1] *Ibid.*, 790–791.

During the early hours, before the peyote has begun to have any appreciable effect, a number of apparently intrusive features are found. These, for the most part, consist of speeches by people in the audience, and the reading and explanation of parts of the Bible. After the peyote has begun to have an appreciable effect, however, the ceremony consists exclusively of the repetition of the ritualistic unit and confessions.

There is an initiation, consisting of a baptism, always performed by John Rave. It is of a very simple nature. Rave dips his fingers in a peyote infusion, and then passes them over the forehead of the new member, muttering the following prayer:

"God, His holiness."

This is what the Winnebago really means, although some of the newer members, with strong Christian leanings, translate the prayer into "God, the Son, and the Holy Ghost." . . . At about twelve the peyote begins to affect some people. These generally rise and deliver self-accusatory speeches, and make more or less formal confessions, after which they go around shaking hands with everyone, asking for forgiveness. . . .

To judge from Rave's words, his first belief in the peyote had nothing of the nature of a conversion to a new religion. It seems to have been similar to the average Winnebago attitude toward a medicinal herb obtained either as a gift or through purchase. There is only one new note—stimulation by a narcotic.

Rave goes on to say that the peyote cured him of a disease with which he had been afflicted for a long time, and that he begged his wife, who was afflicted with the same disease, to eat it. When she finally consented, he painted her face, took the rattle, and sang peyote songs while she ate peyote. Thus he cured her. Rave's attitude throughout, both from his own testimony and from that of others, seems to have been practically the old attitude of a Winnebago shaman. According to some informants, he even offered tobacco to the peyote before using it.

We have, then, at the beginning, apparently the introduction of only one new element, the peyote; with possibly a few Christian teachings. Everything else seems to be typically Winnebago, and in consonance with their shamanistic practices. On the whole, the extension of the Winnebago cultural background seems to have been so instantaneous that as far as the specific cultural traits of the Winnebago are concerned, there was no introduction of a new element. This view does not, of course, interfere in the least with the fact that to the Winnebago themselves the presence of the peyote represented the introduction of a new element.

The elaboration of the peyote practices at Rave's hands is the most difficult problem to trace, on account of lack of data. His attitude toward the old Winnebago life was certainly passive and unantagonistic for some time. Then it changed to one of violent hatred and antagonism. Why, and under what circumstances this took place, I do not know. It

seems idle to speculate upon the specific causes. It probably represented the interaction of many elements, the hostility of the tribe, the drawing of issues sharply around certain points, and the gradual assumption on the part of Rave of the role of a prophet who had solved the problem of the adjustment of the Winnebago to the surrounding white civilization. . . .

It was apparently at a time when this hostility was at its height that a new convert, Albert Hensley, revolutionized the entire cult by introducing the reading of the Bible and positing the dogma that the peyote opened the Bible to the understanding of the people; and by adding a number of Christian practices, such as, perhaps, the interpretation of giving public testimony and Bible interpretation. He too had been in Oklahoma for a long time. He brought with him many peyote songs, generally in other languages, and dealing with Christian ideas, upon which subsequently Winnebago songs were modeled. He introduced likewise either baptism itself, or an interpretation of baptism, and induced Rave to attempt a union with the Christian church. He seems to have been the only prominent man connected with the peyote who, to my knowledge, was subject to epileptic fits. He had the most glorious visions of heaven and hell while in his trance; and these he expounded afterwards in terms of Revelation and the mystical portions of the New Testament.

Hensley's additions represent a second stratum of borrowed elements, all of which are in the nature of accretions, as far as the peyote itself is concerned, not modifying its fundamental interpretation, but on the contrary explaining the Bible in its terms. Neither he nor his followers ever interpreted the peyote in terms of the Bible. He, his immediate followers, and even Rave himself, interpreted other elements of the old Winnebago culture in terms of the Bible. However, the elements so interpreted represented features that even in the old Winnebago cults exhibited a great variability in interpretation.

Rave's attitude toward the innovations of Hensley seems to have been that of benevolent acquiescence. He himself could neither read nor write. Yet he immediately accepted the Bible, and added it to his other regalia. As such it seems to have remained to him essentially. To Rave, after all, the peyote was the principal element; and if Hensley chose to insist that the Bible was only intelligible to those who partook of the peyote, why, that naturally fell within its magical powers. . . .

The first and foremost virtue predicted by Rave for the peyote was its curative power. He gives a number of instances in which hopeless venereal diseases and consumption were cured by its use; and this to the present day is the first thing one hears about it. In the early days of the peyote cult it appears that Rave relied principally for new converts upon the knowledge of this great curative virtue of the peyote. The main point apparently was to induce people to try it, and I hardly believe that any amount of preaching of its direct effects, such as the hyperstimulation induced, the glorious visions, and the feeling of relaxation following, would ever have induced prominent members of the medicine bands to

do so. For that reason, it is highly significant that all the older members of the peyote speak of the diseases of which it cured them. Along this line lay unquestionably its appeal for the first converts. Its spread subsequently was due to a large number of interacting factors. One informant claims that there was little religion connected with it at first, and that people drank the peyote on account of its peculiar effects.

The manner in which it spread at the beginning was quite simple and significant; *viz.*, along family lines. As soon as an individual had become a peyote eater, he devoted all his energies to converting other members of his family. From instances that have come to my notice, this lay in an insistent appeal to family ties and personal affection. He showed unusual courtesy, showered innumerable favors upon relatives he was anxious to convert, and thereby earned the gratitude of the recipient, who at some critical moment, let us say, such as illness or mental depression, showed it by partaking of the peyote. The same methods were employed in the more general propaganda. I have known peyote people to drive out many miles in order to be present at the bedside of some old conservative, who was ill, perhaps neglected by his relatives, bring him food, and spend the night with him in the most affectionate solicitude. They would not obtrude their peyote upon him. He generally knew how to draw the inference, however—that his gratitude was to be shown by trying it. . . .

What these converts introduced individually it is quite impossible to establish; nor is it really necessary to assume that they brought any specific additions to the cult. What they did bring were Winnebago; and with that, the emotional and cultural setting of the old pagan background. To one, the eating of the peyote gave the same magical powers as were formerly associated with membership in the Medicine Dance; to another, the visions were direct blessings from God, directing him to perform certain actions. To a third, faithfulness to the teachings of the peyote cult became associated with a certainty of reaching God, of being able to take the right road in the journey to the spirit land. Even a man so thoroughly saturated with Christian doctrines as Hensley himself felt it necessary to introduce an origin myth; and although I know that it was borrowed from some southern tribe, in Hensley's narrative it has already assumed all the characteristics of a Winnebago fasting experience and ritualistic myth, similar to those connected with the founders of the old Winnebago cult societies. In its totality, the atmosphere of the peyote cult became thus highly charged with the old Winnebago background. In 1911 it cannot be said that they had displaced the distinctively Christian elements introduced by Hensley. All that can be said is that the pagan background existed side by side with these Christian elements.

To understand correctly the relation of the peyote cult to the old cultural background of the Winnebago, it is essential first to know what part Rave played in the latter. He was a member of the Bear clan, and had participated actively in all the prominent ceremonies, with the exception of the Medicine Dance. He was thus thoroughly acquainted

with the ritualistic and organization units. What relation did this old knowledge bear to the new cult he founded? Was there, for instance, a conscious substitution of the type of ceremonial organization and of the ritualistic unit of the older ceremonies; or was there a subconscious continuation of the same? I think that we are probably dealing with the latter, and that none of the units of the ceremonial complex really arose into his consciousness. It is rather important to bear this in mind; for it has a fundamental bearing on the question of the older cultural units playing the role of conscious patterns. In the same way it is quite probable that Rave's extension to the peyote of all the associations grouped around the medicinal herbs was unconscious and instantaneous. The only really new thing that he brought back to the Winnebago for future assimilation was the peyote itself, its ceremonial eating, and its effects.

It would appear at first, that the fact that the peyote was not associated with various guardian spirits represented a new feature. But medicinal herbs, it must be remembered, were frequently purchased, and the borrowing of the peyote might belong to the same category. It is very likely that as in the case of the sacred shell of the Medicine Dance borrowed from the central Algonkin, the peyote would, under normal conditions of Indian life, have become associated with some deity. As a matter of fact, the origin myth introduced by Hensley shows a development in that direction even at the present time.

The last, and in some respects the most important, influence of the old cultural background shows itself in the gradual adoption of old observances and features. So, for example, a ceremonial circuit of the lodge was at one time associated with the peyote cult; one finds two sacred peyote, one interpreted as male, the other as female; the old sacred mound of the buffalo dance, interpreted as Mt. Sinai; the crossed lines drawn in the earth, etc. There are at the present time only a few old interpretations of the new features. However, it must be regarded as significant that some of the characteristics of the old religious experiences have become associated with the peyote—the hearing of voices, a visit to the home of God, the gift of song, etc. In a similar manner, the powers of a shaman, such as the foretelling of events, reading the thoughts of others, etc., have been connected with it.

There is also a marked influence of the new Christian upon the old Winnebago beliefs. Thus we have seen the mound interpreted as Mt. Sinai, the crossed lines as the cross with Christ upon it, and the ceremonial crook as the shepherd's crook, or as the rod with which Moses smote the rock. There seems to be, however, one marked difference between these interpretations and the older Winnebago ones. They differ from individual to individual, while the others seem to be more generally diffused.

There are a number of cases where it is impossible to determine whether we are dealing with a reinterpretation or with a substitution. As this is an exceedingly important question, I will enumerate a few examples: baptism; the crook; confessions; and the story of the two roads.

Dipping one's hand in water and drawing lines on the forehead of an individual sounds like the real Christian baptism, to be sure. Yet we know that painting the patient's face was a prominent feature in the shaman's treatment of disease; and that Rave speaks of it in connection with the conversion of his own wife. Are we then to regard the baptism here as a reinterpretation of the old Winnebago custom, or as a real substitution of Christian baptism? And if the latter alternative is accepted, what influence are we to ascribe to the older Winnebago belief in suggesting Christian baptism? The same question will have to be answered in connection with the crook, confessions, and the story of the two roads. The Bear clan had two ornamented sticks, of which Rave's family was the keeper. In general appearance there was not much difference between these and the Christian shepherd's crook. What is the relation of the two? In the ritualistic myth telling of the road to heaven, one finds the bifurcating road, one leading to Earthmaker, the other to the Bad Spirit. In the peyote cult we find the familiar Biblical story of the two roads, one leading to heaven, and the other to eternal damnation. Again, let us take the question of the confessions. In their present form, they certainly seem Christian, with a strong suggestion of the early Methodists. Yet giving testimony to the magical virtues of herbs in order to prove that one has been blessed by certain spirits, was characteristic of all Winnebagoes when first participating in a religious cult society. Granted even that all these things really are Christian elements, it is quite obvious that the fact that they were so readily accepted, suggests a relation between them and the older elements enumerated, and that just as in the case of ceremonial units, so here too there has been a selective borrowing, determined by the specific possessions of the recipient's cultural background.

It would seem, then, that even this very cursory sketch of the development of the peyote cult may be of use to us in the more definite formulation of what we are really to look for in cultural contact; and to the realization that there is little significance in saying that certain beliefs, myths, objects, etc., are borrowed, when they are found in two areas between which diffusion is possible. What we want to know is, what lies at the bottom of the facts that just these have been borrowed, and how they were borrowed. How did the recipient culture and the person or persons who were the actual transmitters of new features limit the elements borrowed? Was there an inert substitution of a new for an old feature; was there a reinterpretation of the old in terms of the new; or, lastly, a reinterpretation of the old in terms of its own culture, but due to stimulation from without? These are a few of the questions that must be answered in each specific case, before we can arrive at even a preliminary concept of what really constitutes the mechanism of borrowing.[1]

The rate of diffusion of cultural traits will depend largely on the preexisting values and attitudes of the group with which they

[1] Radin, P., "A Sketch of the Peyote Cult of the Winnebago: A Study in Borrowing," *Jour. Rel. Psych.*, 7: 1–22, *passim*.

come into contact. The diffusion of the alphabet, printing, and paper described above was out of the question for aboriginal America, while the horse culture spread from Mexico beyond the Canadian border in one hundred fifty years. The spread of ceremonials in North America was facilitated by the prevalence of the vision and the guardian-spirit concept, and we have just noticed the fusion of Christian elements in the ghost dance and the peyote cult. There are temporary resistances to all invasions of a general habit system, but material, aesthetic, and stimulating values, such as iron, cereals, songs, tales, beads, whisky, and tobacco will penetrate any culture without much resistance.

The New World provided a number of values previously unknown to other continents, among them plants and plant products. Laufer states that at least eighty plants of American origin are found in Africa, and Wissler lists about forty of the more important American contributions. Maize and tobacco are outstanding, and their history throws some light on the distance covered and the time involved in the dissemination of new and important values.

There was a wild native tobacco in New Guinea and Australia (smoked in New Guinea and chewed in Australia) but the dissemination of tobacco to all parts of the world followed the discovery of America:

> At the time of the discovery of America [says Linton], tobacco was in use over the greater part of the continent. It was not used in the subarctic regions of North America or in the extreme southern part of South America. On the west coast of South America and in the Andean highlands it was replaced by another narcotic, coca (*Erythroxylum coca*), from which the modern drug cocaine is extracted. The coca leaves were dried and chewed with powdered lime. Tobacco was smoked throughout most of its range, but the tribes of the northwest coast of North America mixed it with shell lime and made it into small pellets which were allowed to dissolve in the mouth. The tribes of Washington, Oregon, and a great part of California used it in the same way, but also smoked it. Along the eastern side of the Andean highlands in South America tobacco was both smoked and chewed. The chewing tobacco was prepared like the Andean coca, and the idea was probably borrowed from coca chewing.
>
> Although Europeans learned the custom of smoking from the Indians and even copied the Indian smoking appliances rather closely, the modern American custom of tobacco chewing may not be of Indian origin. None of the North American Indians east of the Rocky Mountains chewed tobacco, and the only point at which South American tobacco chewing reached the Atlantic coast was a small region in northern Colombia.

Modern chewing tobacco lacks the admixture of powdered lime, which was considered necessary by all Indian tobacco chewers and seems to have been an invention of the white frontiersmen. It is possible, however, that the idea of tobacco chewing was carried to the English colonies by the Spaniards, who may have learned it from the South American Indians.

The North American Indians used at least nine species of *Nicotiana*, most of which were cultivated. *Nicotiana tabacum*, the species to which practically all the modern commercial tobaccos belong, was grown throughout Mexico, the West Indies, and in northern and eastern South America. It was unknown north of Mexico until its introduction into Virginia by the English colonists. *Nicotiana rustica*, a much hardier species with a yellow flower, was grown by the Indians of the eastern United States and Canada as far west as the great plains and as far north as agriculture was possible. It was the first tobacco grown in Virginia for the European trade, but was soon supplanted there by *N. tabacum*. Small patches of it are still cultivated by some of the Central Algonquian tribes who use it in their ceremonies. *N. attenuata* was used over a larger area than any other species. It is found in its natural state in the southwestern United States and southern plains, and as a cultivated plant extends northward into western Canada and British Columbia. It was also cultivated on the lower Colorado, but the typical Pueblo tribes do not seem to have raised it. *N. multivalvis* was grown in Washington and Oregon, as well as by the Crow, who lived on the western edge of the plains. A related species (*N. quadrivalvis*) was grown by the settled tribes along the Missouri River. Still another species (*N. biglovii*) was used by the California tribes, and is known to have been cultivated by the Hupa. The three last-named species are rather closely related; it seems probable that *N. multivalvis* and *N. quadrivalvis* were brought into the Plains area from the west, displacing *N. attenuata*. . . . Three main methods of smoking were used by the American aborigines. The natives of northern and central South America and the West Indies were cigar smokers. The Central Americans and Mexicans were predominantly cigarette smokers, although some of the ancient Mexicans also used pipes. The North American Indians, with the exception of the Pueblo tribes of the Southwest, were exclusively pipe smokers. The distribution of these three methods in America has strongly influenced European smoking customs. The Mediterranean nations, who learned the use of tobacco from cigar- and cigarette-using Indians, still prefer to smoke it in these forms. The English, who came in contact with the pipe-smoking Indians of the eastern United States, are still predominantly pipe smokers. The custom of cigarette smoking did not become general in northern Europe and the United States until quite recent times, and the vigorous opposition which it has met here seems to be due quite as much to its novelty as to any proved injurious effects.[1]

[1] Linton, R., "Use of Tobacco among North American Indians," *Field. Mus. Nat. Hist., Anth. Leaflets*, **15**: 1–3, 8–9.

Among tribes north of Mexico, more especially east of the Rocky Mountains, tobacco was a sacred medicine related to their tendency to seek visions and guardian spirits. It was smoked moderately for pleasure but was an important feature of their ceremonials. The Crow and Blackfoot who cultivated no other plants grew patches of the sacred tobacco, and among the Crow only members of the Tobacco Society had this privilege:

Tobacco [says Lowie] is the most distinctive of Crow medicines, but the species ceremonially planted, *Nicotiana multivalvis*, or "Short Tobacco," . . . is not the species anciently smoked. This latter, derived from the Hidatsa, is in Crow called "Tall Tobacco," . . . and botanically *Nicotiana quadrivalvis*. Only *Nicotiana multivalvis* was considered holy, being mystically identified with the stars. In Medicine-crow's version of the Creation story, the Creator, or rather Transformer, walks about the newly shaped earth with his companions and catches sight of a person. "Look, yonder is a human being. . . . That one is one of the Stars above. He is down here now and standing on the ground. Come on, let us look at him." As they approach, the being has transformed himself into a plant, the Tobacco; "no other plant was growing yet." The Transformer decrees that the Crow shall plant it in the spring and dance with it; it shall be their "means of living," their mainstay. The Sun himself adopts a poor fasting boy and thus starts the Tobacco order. For sowing the sacred seed is a prerogative that can be secured only by due initiation into the *bacusua* (="soaking"=tobacco) organization.

The theory of its further development, borne out by recent history, is simple. The founder adopted novices, precisely as any visionary became ceremonial "father" to those who craved a share in his supernatural blessings. But newcomers might have independent visions supplementing the primary revelations, whence sanctions for adopting further novices. Thus, branches sprang up—each little group under its own leadership, with distinctive songs and emblems as defined in the visions. Though these divisions are called by the same term—*araxuatse* —as the independent military clubs, I prefer designating them as chapters of one order, for a strong bond unites together all *bacusua* initiates.

With Crow of both sexes constantly yearning for revelations, an indefinite number of chapters could arise, and actually I secured the names of about thirty subdivisions.[1]

Of the present practice among the Maricopa of Arizona, Spier says:

Smoking was an indulgence; its use but moderate. There was in addition considerable ceremonial usage, particularly on the part of shamans. With regard to everyday use, "they did not smoke all the time, but a little when at work, and when they gathered in the evening to

[1] Lowie, R. H., *The Crow Indians*, 274–275 (Farrar & Rinehart, Inc. By permission).

converse." Tobacco was carried to the evening gatherings in the meeting house, where each man smoked privately. The chief, when calling them to the meeting, shouted out a warning to bring a sufficient supply for those who might come unprovided. Women hardly ever smoked.

Smoking was also in the nature of a prayer. "When I puff it out, I think of someone I want helped, and I pray that I may linger for some years more." When old Kutox did this, he said, he did not address any particular spirit, but was speaking to his "relatives." (The implication is obscure.)[1]

In the West Indies, northern South America, and Mexico the use of tobacco differed in several ways from the pipe smoking of the tribes north of Mexico and the ramifications of the practice took different directions:

The first European contact with tobacco was, apparently, when Columbus with his little caravels, after making his first landfall on the small island of San Salvador or Watling's Island, steered again toward the southwest, meeting at sea an Indian canoe loaded, among other things, with dried leaves. The use of tobacco was, however, first observed by two messengers whom Columbus sent ashore in Cuba, or, according to other authorities, in Hispaniola (Santo Domingo). One of these men was a learned Jew who could speak Chaldean, Hebrew, and Arabic and who, Columbus felt sure, would therefore be able to speak with any deputy official of the Grand Khan of Cathay (China) whom he might encounter. They met many men carrying firebrands and packages of dried herbs rolled up in a dried leaf. Lighting one end of this, they sucked the smoke out of the other end, giving the information that it comforted the limbs, intoxicated them, made them sleepy, and lessened their weariness, and that the objects were called *tabacos*. Thus was the cigar first discovered in what still remains its principal stronghold, Cuba. . . . Mexico and Central America and some parts of northern South America were the regions in which the cigarette was the favored form of smoking tobacco, crushed tobacco leaves being rolled in a wrapper of corn husk or bark cloth. The cornhusk cigarette is at present the popular smoke of millions of Mexican Indians, and the cigarette, in fact as well as in popular belief, is the hallmark of the Mexican. Few cigars or pipes are smoked in Mexico today. . . . The use of snuff is common among many tribes of central and northern South America, particularly in the lowland regions of Colombia and Venezuela, and was probably also in vogue in the West Indies at the time of Columbus. The tribes of this region make a snuff in which pulverized seeds of an *Acacia* or *Mimosa*, *manioc* flour, and pulverized lime from a mollusk shell form the basic ingredients, though tobacco is apparently used in some localities. The mixture is blown or snuffed up the nostrils and produces a mild intoxication, presumably giving increased strength and courage. This snuff is most commonly known as *niopo* or *iopo*.

[1] Spier, L., *Yuman Tribes of the Gila River*, 332 (University of Chicago Press. By permission).

The ingredients are generally pulverized with a mortar and pestle. In Venezuela, where the custom seems to have reached its greatest development, the snuff is kept in a hollow jaguar bone which is permanently closed at the lower end with pitch or gum into which some object, such as a piece of glass, crystal, or shell is fixed as a decoration, and the other end kept closed by means of a stopper, generally of cloth. The snuff holder is generally further decorated with toucan feathers and incised designs. The snuff is taken by means of a special and ornate apparatus of a Y shape made of two hollow bird bones branching at the top, but meeting at the bottom, and wound with pitched cord. At the top, two hollow balls of wood or seeds are attached to the ends of the bones. The two balls are placed against the nostrils, and the lower end of the bifurcated tube placed in the snuff holder. A vigorous sniff then brings some of the powder up into the nose. . . . Tobacco in the form of snuff was also used both by the Incas of Peru and the Aztecs of Mexico at the time of the Conquest. . . . In the western part of the Amazonian forests, near the foot of the Andes, smoking is unknown, but tobacco is licked or, at times, chewed instead. This is, doubtless, due to the influence of the coca-chewing habit of the Andean highlands, many of these tobacco-licking tribes also chewing the coca leaf. Among these tribes a decoction is generally made by boiling down the tobacco leaves with water until a strong, thick residue of a tarry consistency and color is produced. Small quantities of this concentrated solution are placed on the tongue from time to time, and the desired narcotic effect thus secured.

The Arhuaco Indians of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta in northern Colombia, for instance, carry with them constantly a tiny hollow gourd containing a little of this thick dark decoction. When two men meet on the trail or a visit is made, the gourds are exchanged, and each man dips his finger into the other's gourd and touches the tobacco to his lips, or, more frequently, merely goes through the motions of so doing.[1]

In these regions tobacco was esteemed as a sovereign remedy for human ailments and was prominent in the healing practice of the medicine men, but without the serious religious and ceremonial features which marked the Indians farther north:

Tobacco . . . was regarded as a medicinal plant of wonderful power, a panacea and cure-all, endowed with magical properties. . . . Benzoni, who visited America about 1541, said, "See what a pestiferous and wicked poison from the devil this must be! It has happened several times to me that going through the provinces of Guatemala and Nicaragua I have entered the house of an Indian who had taken this herb, which in the Mexican language is called tobacco, and, immediately perceiving this sharp, fetid smell, I was obliged to go away in haste and seek some other place. . . . These leaves were strung together, hung in the shade and

[1] Mason, J. A., "The Use of Tobacco in Mexico and South America," *Field Mus. Nat. Hist., Anth. Leaflets*, **16**: 3–14, *passim*.

dried, and used whole or powdered, and were considered good for headaches, lockjaw, toothache, coughs, asthma, stomachache, obstructions, kidney troubles, diseases of the heart, rheumatism, the poisoning from arrows, carbuncles, polypus, consumption." Monardes, who wrote a treatise on medicinal plants in 1574, enumerates the following methods of using tobacco as a medicine: heating the leaves and applying them to the parts affected; rubbing the teeth with a rag dipped in the juice; wrapping a leaf into a pill and inserting it in the tooth; boiling the leaves; making decoctions of its leaves; making a syrup of it; smoking it by the mouth; reducing the leaves to ashes; pounding the green leaves and mixing them with oil or steeping them in vinegar; using the powder as a poultice if leaves are not to be had; making fomentations; smoking through the nose; rubbing the leaves on the afflicted parts; inserting the juice into the wound; applying bruised leaves to the wound.[1]

On the side of indulgence the old writers frequently speak of "drinking smoke" in these southern regions, and while this term was evidently used in general to describe smoking and inhaling it applies very well to the practice sometimes mentioned of congregating in a closed room and inhaling in common dense tobacco fumes. Wafer, for example, writing in 1680, reports the practice from a Panama tribe:

> The dried tobacco leaves are stripped from the stalk, and laying two or three leaves one upon another they roll all up sideways into a long roll, yet leaving a little hollow; round this they roll other leaves one after another in the same manner, but close and hard, till the roll is as big as one's wrist and two or three feet in length. Their way of smoking when they are in company together is thus: A boy lights one end of a roll and burns it to a coal, wetting the part next to it to keep it from wasting too fast; the end so lighted, he puts into his mouth, and blows the smoke through the whole length of the roll into the face of everyone of the company or council, though there be two or three hundred of them. Then they, sitting in their usual posture upon forms, make with their hands held together a kind of funnel around their mouths and noses; into this they receive the smoke as it is blown upon them, snuffing it up greedily and strongly, as long as ever they are able to hold their breath, and seeming to bless themselves as it were with the refreshment it gives them.[2]

It is a popular belief that tobacco was introduced into Europe in the form of pipe smoking by English colonists returning from the colony of Virginia, but in fact Virginia was not discovered until 1574 and the Virginia colonists did not return until 1586, whereas tobacco was smoked and cultivated in England as early as 1573

[1] *Ibid.*, 14–15 (rearranged).
[2] *Ibid.*, 4–5.

in a limited way and smoked as a medicine. Nevertheless the fashion of pipe smoking on a large scale may be dated from the return of the colonists and the example of Sir Walter Raleigh and other courtiers:

On the twenty-seventh of July, 1586, [says Laufer] the colonists settled in Virginia by Ralph Lane returned to England and disembarked at Plymouth. They offered their astounded countrymen the queer spectacle of smoking tobacco from pipes, which caused a general sensation. William Camden (1551–1623), the historiographer of Queen Elizabeth and a contemporary witness, reports this event as follows. . . .

"And these men who were thus brought back were the first that I know of that brought into England that Indian plant which they call Tabacca and Nicotia, or Tobacco, which they used against crudities being taught it by the Indians. Certainly from that time forward it began to grow into great request, and to be sold at an high rate, whilst in a short time many men every-where, some for wantonness, some for health sake, with insatiable desire and greediness sucked in the stinking smoak thereof through an earthen pipe, which presently they blew out again at their nostrils: insomuch as tobacco-shops are now as ordinary in most towns as tap-houses and taverns. So that the Englishmens bodies, (as one said wittily,) which are so delighted with this plant, seem as it were to be degenerated into the nature of Barbarians, since they are delighted, and think they may be cured, with the same things which the Barbarians use."

From what has been said above it is clear that the band returning from Virginia was not instrumental in introducing tobacco cultivation into England, for this was an established fact long before that time, neither were they the first smokers on British soil. It is solely popular imagination which has vividly retained this very event and which glorified Ralph Lane, Richard Grenville, or Walter Raleigh as the first smokers. . . . It is to Raleigh's merit that he made smoking fashionable and a gentlemanly art; his name became identified with the new national habit so thoroughly that later generations looked upon him as a kind of patron saint of the smokers. . . . The tradition that Raleigh smoked a pipe or two on the morning before his execution (October 29, 1618) appears to be well founded. The Dean of Westminster, who attended him on this morning, testifies that "he eate his breakfast hertily and tooke tobacco." Aubrey thus defends his action: "He took a pipe of tobacco a little before he went to the scaffolde, which some female (other reading: formal) persons were scandalized at; but I think 'twas well and properly donne to settle his spirits." No mention of tobacco has been discovered in any of Raleigh's printed works. His first testamentary note made shortly before his execution contains, as far as is yet known, his sole mention of tobacco and relates to that which remained on his ship after his ill-fated voyage: "Sir Lewis Stukeley sold all the tobacco at Plimouth of which, for the most part of it, I gave him a fift part of it, as also a roll

for my Lord Admirall and a roll for himself. I desire that hee give his account for the tobacco."

Raleigh's tobacco box was preserved at Leeds in Yorkshire, in the museum of Ralph Thoresby, an antiquary, who died in 1725. Soon afterwards, William Oldys saw it there, and in his life of Raleigh prefixed to "The History of the World" (1736), describes it thus: "From the best of my memory, I can resemble its outward appearance to nothing more nearly than one of our modern Muff-cases; about the same height and width, cover'd with red leather, and open'd at top (but with a hinge, I think) like one of those. In the inside, there was a cavity for a receiver of glass or metal, which might hold half a pound or a pound of tobacco; and from the edge of the receiver at top, to the edge of the box, a circular stay or collar, with holes in it, to plant the tobacco about, with six or eight pipes to smoke it in." R. Thoresby himself . . . gives the following, slightly different description: "Sir Walter Raleigh's tobacco-box, as it is called, but is rather the case for the glass wherein it was preserved, which was surrounded with small wax candles of various colours. This is of gilded leather, like a muff-case, about half a foot broad and thirteen inches high, and hath cases for sixteen pipes within it."[1]

Within the twenty-five years following the return of the colonists the tobacco habit spread enormously in England, not without violent opposition, and prices and import duties reached fantastic levels:

From the book *The Honestie of this Age, Prooving by Good Circumstance that the World was never Honest till now,* by Barnabee Rych "Gentleman, Servant to the Kings most Excellent Maiestie" (1614) we receive a good idea of the increased consumption of tobacco and its sale. "There is not so base a groome, that commes into an Alehouse to call for his pot, but he must have his pipe of tobacco, for it is a commoditie that is nowe as vendible in every Taverne, Inne, and Ale house, as eyther Wine, Ale, or Beare, and for Apothicaries Shops, Grosers Shops, Chaundlers Shops, they are (almost) never without company, that from morning till night are still taking of Tobacco, what a number are there besides, that doe keepe houses, set open shoppes, that have no other trade to live by, but by the selling of Tobacco. I have heard it tolde that now very lately, there hath bin a Cathalogue taken of all those new erected houses that have set uppe that Trade of selling Tobacco, in London and neare about London: and if a man may beleeve what is confidently reported, there are found to be upward of 7000 houses, that doth live by that trade. I cannot say whether they number Apothicaries shoppes, Grosers shops, and Chaundlers shops in this computation, but let it be that these were thrust in to make uppe the number: let us now looke a little into the *Vidimus* of the matter, and let us cast uppe but a sleight account, what the expence might be that is consumed in this smoakie vapoure.

[1] Laufer, B., "Introduction of Tobacco into Europe," *Field Mus. Nat. Hist., Anth. Leaflets,* **19**: 7–14, *passim.*

"If it be true that there be 7000 shops, in and about London, that doth vent Tobacco, as it is credibly reported that there be over and above that number: it may well bee supposed, to be but an ill customed shoppe, that taketh not five shillings a day, one day with another, throughout the whole yeare, or if one doth take lesse, two other may take more: but let us make our account, but after 2 shillings sixe pence a day, for he that taketh lesse than that, would be ill able to pay his rent, or to keepe open his Shop Windowes, neither would Tobacco houses make such a muster as they doe, and that almost in every Lane, and in every by-corner round about London. Let us then reckon thus, 7000 halfe Crowns a day, amounteth just to 319,375 poundes a yeare. *Summa totalis.* All spent in *smoake.*"

Tobacco then was an expensive pleasure. Aubrey informs us, "It was sold then for its wayte in silver, I have heard some of our old yeomen neighbours say, that when they went to Malmesbury or Chippenham Market, they culled out their biggest shillings to lay in the scales against the tobacco; now, the customes of it are the greatest his majestie hath."

. . .

C. T. published in 1615 *An Advice how to Plant Tobacco in England: and how to bring it to Colour and Perfection, to whom it may be Profitable, and to whom Harmfull. The Vertues of the Hearbe in Generall, as well in the outward Application as taken in Fume. With the Danger of the Spanish Tobacco.* The author's object is to instruct his countrymen in sowing, planting, and perfecting this drug, as he viewed with alarm the vast sums annually spent on imported tobacco. He heard it reported by men of good judgment that there is paid out of England and Ireland near the value of 200,000 pounds every year for tobacco, and that the greatest part thereof is bought for ready money. It was sold for ten times the value of pepper, and the best of it, weight for weight, for the finest silver; it was hard to find one pound weight in five hundred that was not sophisticated. . . . Under Queen Elizabeth there was an import duty of 2*d.* a pound on tobacco, raised by James in 1604 to 6*s.* 10*d.* (equal to 25*s.* present value), an advance of 4,000 per cent. This heavy tax nearly ruined Virginia, whose economic life was based on the cultivation of the plant. In 1611 the imports of tobacco from Virginia were reduced to 142,085 pounds, one-sixth of the quantity previously exported to England.[1]

Beginning in 1561, the French court gave a vogue to the use of tobacco in the form of snuff. Jean Nicot, French Ambassador to Portugal from 1559 to 1561, became interested in the medicinal properties of the plant, grown in Lisbon in gardens as an ornamental shrub. One account is that the keeper of the prisons first presented Nicot with an herb, saying it was a strange plant brought from Florida. Nicot experimented with tobacco as a remedy and believed he had made marvelous cures:

[1] *Ibid.*, 16–18, *passim.*

When [says Laufer] the success of his experiments was assured, he forwarded specimens, seeds and leaves, to King François II and Catherine de'Medici, the queen mother, with proper directions as to how to apply the drug. From 1560 tobacco cultivation began to spread in France. On his return to France in 1561 Nicot offered the queen a box of powdered tobacco which she employed as a remedy for headaches. . . . In honor of Nicot, tobacco was called "herb of Nicot, herb of the ambassador." As Catherine of Medici, queen of France, used tobacco powder for headaches and was instrumental in propagating the cultivation, such names as "herbe de la reine, herbe medicée, and catherinaire" were temporarily in vogue. . . . In France tobacco first assumed the form of snuff. The king, François II, was treated with snuff against severe headaches by the queen mother, and the courtiers hastened to imitate the practice. Snuff remained the only mode of taking tobacco on the part of gentlemen until the nineteenth century.[1]

The honor of introducing tobacco into France was claimed also by André Thevet, who made a voyage to Brazil as chaplain of an expedition and on his return published a volume, in 1557, in which he described the uses of tobacco under the name *petun*, but does not mention that he took the plant or its seeds to France. Much later, however (1575), he wrote:

I can boast of having been the first in France who brought the seed of this plant, who sowed it and named the plant in question *herbe Angoulmoisine* [after the place of his birth]. Since then, a certain individual (*un quidam*) who never made any voyage has given it his name, some ten years after my return.[2]

The *quidam* referred to was Jean Nicot. In this connection Laufer has shown that Thevet described correctly the Brazilian *petun*, which was *Nicotiana tabacum*, whereas the plant introduced by Nicot was *Nicotiana rustica*, and thinks the honor is about equally divided.

Laufer has also traced, in his learned way, the spread of tobacco in other European countries. It will be noted that the English were influential in circulating the pattern in the form of pipe smoking and that official resistance to the custom was in the beginning very severe in some cases:

Tobacco made its debut in Italy [as a medicinal plant] under the sponsorship of two churchmen. It was first introduced into Italy in 1561 by Prospero Santa Croce from Lisbon in Portugal, where he was engaged on a diplomatic mission as nuncio of the Pope, [but] it took an Englishman to teach Italians how to smoke. This distinction falls on

[1] *Ibid.*, 49, 53, 54.
[2] *Ibid.*, 48–49.

the shoulders of the Cardinal Crescenzio, who about 1610 acquired the gentle art of smoking in England or, according to another version, from an Englishman, which practically amounts to the same. In accordance with this precedent smoking and snuffing were readily adopted by the clergy and laity as well. When complaints reached the holy see from Sevilla that both ecclesiastics and seculars smoked and snuffed in the churches during service, Urban VIII issued a bill excommunicating all who would take tobacco in any form in the porches or interior of the churches. The Catholic Church, however, has always been wisely tolerant toward the use of tobacco. . . .

English students at the University of Leiden appear to have been responsible for the initiation of smoking in Holland. William van der Meer, physician at Delft, who cultivated three species of *Nicotiana* in his garden, wrote in 1621 to Dr. J. Neander at Bremen that he did not become acquainted with pipe smoking until the year 1590 when he studied medicine at Leiden and noticed the practice among English and French students; he tried to imitate them, but the experiment did not agree with him. At Hamburg which had commercial relations with England and Holland smoking was known at the end of the sixteenth century, and about 1650 the peasants smoked all over Germany. During the Thirty Years' War English soldiers propagated the habit as far as into Bohemia, whence it spread to Austria and Hungary. The older German form *toback* (in dialects still *tuback*) and Low German *smoken* (slang *schmockstock*, "smoking stick," for a cigar) are witnesses of this early English influence. The plant itself was known at a much earlier date, probably through Huguenots emigrating from France, and is referred to in the correspondence of Konrad Gesner of Zürich in 1565. . . .

The story of the early fate of tobacco in Russia is well told by J. Crull (*Ancient and Present State of Muscovy*, 1698, p. 145): "Formerly tobacco was so extravagantly taken, as the *aqua vitae*, and was the occasion of frequent mischiefs; forasmuch as not only the poorer sort, would rather lay out their money upon tobacco than bread, but also, when drunk, did set their houses on fire through their negligence. Besides (which made the Patriarch take a particular disgust at it) they used to appear before their images with their stinking and infectious breath; all which obliged the Great Duke, absolutely to forbid both the use and sale of tobacco, in the year 1634, under very rigorous punishments; to wit: For the transgressors to have their nostrils slit, or else to be severely whipt. Nevertheless, it is of late years more frequently used, than ever it was before since the time of the edict, the search being not now so strict against the takers, nor the punishment so rigorously executed. Foreigners having the liberty to use it, makes the Muscovites often venture upon it in their Company; they being so eager of tobacco, that the most ordinary sort, which formerly cost not above 9 or 10 pence per pound in England, they will buy at the rate of 14 and 15 shillings; and if they want money, they will struck their cloaths for it, to the very shirt. They take it after a most beastly manner, instead of pipes, they have an

engine made of a cows-horn, in the middle of which, there is a hole, where they place the vessel that holds the tobacco. The vessel is commonly made of wood, pretty wide, and indifferently deep; which, when they have filled with tobacco, they put water into the horn to temper the smoak.[1] They commonly light their pipe with a firebrand, sucking the smoak through the horn with so much greediness, that they empty the pipe at two or three sucks; when they whiff it out of the mouth, there rises such a cloud, that it hides both their faces and the standers by. . . . "

Better days came for Russian smokers under Peter the Great (1689–1725), who during his sojourn in England and on the Continent became an adept of smoking. He determined to introduce tobacco into his country for the sake of the revenue it would yield. The Marquis of Carmarthen on behalf of an English company offered £28,000 for the monopoly of the sale of tobacco in Russia. For this sum the syndicate was allowed to import one million and a half pounds of tobacco a year, and the czar agreed to permit its free use among his subjects, revoking all previous edicts and laws.

In 1698 Lefort and Golovin signed in London with Sir Thomas Osborne (1631–1712) a commercial treaty by virtue of which the latter was to receive the exclusive right to import tobacco into Siberia: up to 1699 he was to import three thousand tons, the following year five thousand, and from the third year onward six thousand and more, with the obligations to pay £12,000 on the first importation and to supply the court with a thousand pounds of tobacco of first quality annually.

It is generally asserted that tobacco was introduced into Turkey in 1605 under the reign of Sultan Akhmed I (1603–1617); but I have found a reference in J. T. Bent's *Early Voyages in the Levant* (p. 49) from which it follows that tobacco and smoking, at least from hearsay, must have been known to the Osmans several years before that time, at the end of the sixteenth century. John Dallam, the organ builder, when he traveled to Constantinople in 1599, tells a curious incident which happened at the time his ship met the Turkish navy not far from the Dardanelles. The Turkish captain of a galley boarded his ship and desired to receive as a present some tobacco and tobacco pipes which were promptly granted to him. The Turk accordingly anticipated to find tobacco on an English vessel, and must have had some previous experience with the weed, which in all probability had reached Constantinople through the trade of the Levant Company of London. Indeed it was from England that tobacco was first introduced into Turkey, as we learn from George Sandys (*Relation of a Journey begun* A.D. 1610. *Foure Bookes containing a Description of the Turkish Empire*, 1615, p. 66). Sandys visited Constantinople in 1610 and writes thus: "The Turkes are also incredible takers of Opium, whereof the lesser Asia affordeth them plenty: carrying it about them both in peace and in warre; which they say expelleth all feare, and makes them couragious: but I rather thinke giddy headed, and turbulent dreamers; by them, as should seeme by what hath bene said, religiously

[1] [This form of the water pipe was probably borrowed from Turkey.]

affected. And perhaps for the selfe same cause they also delight in Tobacco; they take it through reeds that have ioyned unto them great heads of wood to containe it: I doubt not but lately taught them, as brought them by the English: and were it not sometimes lookt into (for Morat Bassa not long since commanded a pipe to be thrust through the nose of a Turke, and so to be led in derision through the Citie,) no question but it would prove a principall commodity. Neverthelesse they will take it in corners, and are so ignorant therein, that that which in England is not saleable, doth pass here amongst them for most excellent. . . . "

De Thevenot (*Travels into the Levant*, Part I, 1687, p. 60) tells how at the time of his sojourn in Constantinople the Sultan used to walk through the city in disguise to see if his orders be punctually observed. "It was chiefly for tobacco that he made many heads fly. He caused two men in one day to be beheaded in the streets of Constantinople, because they were smoking tobacco. He had prohibited it some days before, because, as it was said, when he was passing along the street where Turks were smoking tobacco, the smoke had got up into his nose. But I rather think that it was in imitation of his uncle Sultan Amurat [Murad IV, 1623–1640], who did all he could to hinder it so long as he lived. He caused some to be hanged with a pipe through their nose, others with tobacco hanging about their neck, and never pardoned any for that. I believe that the chief reason why Sultan Amurath prohibited tobacco, was because of the fires, that do so much mischiefe in Constantinople when they happen, which most commonly are occasioned by people that fall asleep with a pipe in their mouth, that sets fire to the bed, or any combustible matter, as I said before. He used all the arts he could to discover those who sold tobacco, and went to those places where he was informed they did, where having offered several *chequins* for a pound of tobacco, made great entreaty, and promised secrecy, if they let him have it; he drew out a cimeter under his vest, and cut off the shopkeeper's head." From about 1655 the prohibition was relaxed, and smoking both from the dry pipe and water pipe became a general custom. In 1883 a government tobacco monopoly was introduced: the cultivation is free, but the crops must be sold to the government, which conducts the sale. . . .

The promoters of the cigar in Europe were the Spaniards, but they were exceedingly slow in making their product known to the other nations of Europe. The cigar spread in Europe only in the first part of last century. English authors of the eighteenth century, when using the word, feel obliged to explain to their readers what it means. Thus J. Cockburn, speaking in 1735 of three friars at Nicaragua, says, "These gentlemen gave us some Seegars to smoke. These are leaves of tobacco rolled up in such manner that they serve both for a pipe and tobacco itself; they know no other way here, for there is no such thing as a tobacco-pipe throughout New Spain." Victor Hugo (*Les Misérables*) describes a fellow "carrying in his hand a powerful cane worth two hundred francs, and as he could afford everything, carrying in his mouth a strange thing, called cigar." The first cigar factory after Spanish model

was established at Hamburg in 1788 by H. H. Schlottmann, and the cigar came into general use in Germany about 1793. Kant (*Anthropologie*, 1798) still uses the Spanish form *zigarro*. The Peninsular War was the occasion for both French and English adopting the cigar from the Spaniards. The importation of cigars into England was at first prohibited; after the peace of 1815, they were admitted at the duty of 18 shillings a pound. When the duty was reduced to 9 shillings, the import reached the figure of 253,882 pounds in 1830. Cigars then were strictly an aristocratic luxury. . . .

The cigarette was introduced into England by British officers who had served in the Crimean Campaign of 1854–1856 and had taken to the cigarette smoked by their French and Turkish allies. It first became fashionable among clubmen and in high social circles. Laurence Oliphant, both a man of letters and a man of fashion, is generally credited with the introduction into English society of the cigarette. At that time smokers made their own cigarettes as they needed them. About 1865 or 1866 their use had so spread that manufacturers began to cater for cigarette smokers. Even then they employed only a single man, usually a Pole or Russian, to make up cigarettes occasionally. They were perhaps in fashion by 1870, and the social history of smoking in later Victorian days is marked by the triumph of the cigarette. . . .

Of the manifold forms in which tobacco is consumed the custom of chewing it is the most striking and perhaps even the most primitive. The aborigines of Australia, we now know for certain, were in the habit of chewing the leaves of *Nicotiana suaveolens*, a species native to Australia, in times prior to their contact with the whites, but they were totally ignorant of smoking the leaves. This example demonstrates well that primitive man, in testing the properties of a vegetable product, will first exercise his sense of touch, smell, and taste. The Spanish conquerors came into contact with the habit of chewing tobacco in the West Indies (account of Amerigo Vespucci) and Mexico (early accounts of B. de Sahagun and F. Hernandez). Monardes (1571) describes it as follows: "The Indians use tobacco to remove thirst which in this case they will not suffer, and likewise to stand hunger and to be able to pass days without being compelled to eat or drink. When they have to travel across a desert or unpopulous region, where neither water nor food is to be found, they avail themselves of some pills made of tobacco in this manner: they take the leaves of the plant and chew them, and while chewing, they mix them with a powder prepared from burnt river-mussels; this they mix in their mouth together till it forms a mass which they shape into pills a bit larger than peas; these are placed in the shadow to dry, are then preserved, and used in this form. Whenever they travel through territories where they believe not to find water or victuals, they take one of these pills, placing it between their under lips and teeth, and keep on chewing it continually during their journey, and thus they go along for three or four days without having to eat or drink or feeling the pinch of hunger or thirst or fatigue." As Monardes was translated into Latin, French,

Italian, and English, Europeans might easily have copied his prescription, but the fact remains that they did not. Leaves may occasionally have been chewed for medicinal purposes, but no habit of chewing for pastime or pleasure was developed. . . .

As far as I am able to make out, it seems that tobacco chewing was taken up as a prophylactic against the plague which was epidemic in 1665. Samuel Pepys writes in his *Diary* under 7th June, 1665, "This day, much against my will, I did in Drury Lane see two or three houses marked with a red cross upon the doors, and 'Lord have mercy upon us' writ there; which was a sad sight to me, being the first of the kind that, to my remembrance, I ever saw. It put me into an ill conception of myself and my smell, so that I was forced to buy some roll-tobacco to smell to and chaw, which took away the apprehension." In the year of the plague appeared a quarto tract, entitled *A Brief Treatise of the Nature, Causes, Signs, Preservation from and Cure of the Pestilence*, by W. Kemp, "Mr. of Arts," who says in regard to tobacco, "It corrects the air by Fumigation, and it avoids corrupt humours by Salivation; for when one takes it either by Chewing it in the leaf, or Smoaking it in the pipe, the humours are drawn and brought from all parts of the body, to the stomach, and from thence rising up to the mouth of the Tobacconist, as to the helme of a Sublimatory, are voided and spitten out." Derby was visited by the plague in the same year, and at the "Headless-cross the market-people, having their mouths primed with tobacco as a preservative, brought their provisions. It was observed that this cruel affliction never attempted the premises of a tobacconist, a tanner, or a shoemaker" (W. Hutton, *History of Derby*, 1817, p. 194).

The belief in the efficacy of tobacco as warding off the plague acted also as a new incentive to the increase of smoking. Thomas Hearne (1721), the antiquary, gives the following curious information: "I have been told that in the last great plague at London none that kept tobaconist's shops had the plague. It is certain, that smoaking it was looked upon as a most excellent preservative, in so much, that even children were obliged to smoak. And I remember, that I heard formerly Tom Rogers, who was yeoman beadle, say, that when he was that year, when the plague raged, a schoolboy at Eaton, all the boys at that school were obliged to smoak in the school every morning, and that he was never whipped so much in his life as he was one morning for not smoaking." . . . According to Penn, the chewing of tobacco was common in the reign of James, when gentlemen carried about with them small silver basins as spittoons, and Monk, the principal factor in the restoration of the monarchy, brought it into fashion; but no documentary evidence is produced by him. Apperson comments, "General Monk, to whom Charles II owed so much, is said to have indulged in the unpleasant habit of chewing tobacco, and to have been imitated by others; but the practice can never have been common."

The *World* of 1754 pokes fun at the "pretty" young men who "take pains to appear manly; their chewing not only offends, but makes us

apprehensive at the same time that the poor things will be sick." E. Baillard (*Discours du tabac*, 1693, p. 92) refers to chewing tobacco (*tabac machicatoire*) as relieving hunger and thirst, but does not say that it was actually used in France. In the eighteenth century a common device of tobacconists was three figures representing a Dutchman, a Scotchman, and a sailor, explained by the accompanying rhyme:

> We three are engaged in one cause,
> I snuffs, I smokes, and I chaws![1]

There is no specific account of the introduction of tobacco into Africa, but, says Laufer,

this is not to be wondered at, as Africa is not simply a country, but a continent of vast extent. Moreover, the introduction was not just a single event; the plants or their seeds were deposited at many different localities of the north, west, south, and east coasts at different times by various nations—chiefly the Portuguese, Hollanders, and Arabs. From the coastal points the plant spread rapidly over various routes into the interior of the continent, penetrating to its very center.

One of the earliest accounts of tobacco smoking in Africa is due to William Finch, who visited Sierra Leone in 1607 (Purchas, IV, p. 4): "Tobacco is planted about every man's house, which seemeth half their food: the bowl of their tobacco-pipe is very large, and stands right upward, made of clay well burnt in the fire. In the lower end thereof they thrust in a small hollow cane, a foot and a half long, through which they suck it, both men and women drinking the most part down, each man carrying in his snap-sack a small purse (called *tuffio*) full of tobacco, and his pipe. The women do the like in their wrappers, carrying the pipe in their hands. . . .

Tobacco was extensively grown in Guinea at the end of the seventeenth century, as we learn from W. Bosman's account (*Voyage de Guinée*, p. 319, London, 1705). He describes the plant as being two feet high, with leaves a hand wide and two or three hands long, and white flowers. "The stench of this villainous herb," he writes, "was so horrible that it was impossible for a sensitive person to be near a smoking negro. All of them smoked, but those who lived in the Dutch territory and daily communicated with the whites, used Portuguese or rather Brazil tobacco (*Nicotiana tabacum*), which is a bit better and yet smells horribly. Some Negroes had pipes made of reeds more than six feet long, with bowls of stone or clay, in which they placed two or three handfuls of tobacco and had no difficulty in smoking out a pipe thus loaded without stopping. Men and women were so passionately fond of tobacco that they gladly sacrificed their last penny to get it, and would rather hunger than be without it."

It will be noticed that Bosman discriminates between the two species, *Nicotiana rustica* and *N. tabacum*. It appears that the former was intro-

[1] Laufer, *op. cit.*, 56–62; 42–47, *passim*.

duced at an earlier date, probably by the Portuguese, who cultivated it in Lisbon as early as 1558. This rustic species, owing to the extreme strength and intense narcotic qualities which it possesses, has always endeared itself to the negro. I am inclined to think that the latter was introduced by the Portuguese from Portugal in the latter part of the sixteenth century and that *N. tabacum* followed a little later from Brazil. . . .

In 1652 the Hollanders took possession of the Cape of Good Hope when Johann van Riebeck founded the first settlement there. Immediately the cultivation of tobacco was taken up there by the Hollanders. The Hottentots soon adopted the habit of smoking and took a great delight in it. W. Ten Rhyne (Churchill's *Collection*, IV, p. 768), who traveled in Capeland in 1673, saw men and women, children, and old men indulge in tobacco. Several eyewitnesses report that the love of a Hottentot woman could be obtained for a pipeful of tobacco . . . [and] La Loubere (*Du royaume de Siam*, 1691, II, p. 134) hints at the fact that the passion for tobacco and brandy induced the natives to admit the Hollanders into their country and made the Hottentots dance at their will (les fait danser tant qu'on veut). The Abbé de Choisy (*Journal du voyage de Siam*, 1687, p. 77), who stopped at the Cape in 1685, says not unjustly, "The Hollanders gradually advance into the country which they buy up with tobacco." For the sake of tobacco the poor and unsophisticated Hottentot was ready to do anything. For a handful of the leaves he was then willing to work a whole day. . . . Men of the Dutch Company purchased an ox or a sheep from the natives for tobacco in ropes or coils an inch thick by measuring with this rope, from the front of the beast to the end of the tail (Leguat, p. 161).

William Dampier (*A New Voyage Round the World*, 1697, Chap. XIX), who visited the Cape of Good Hope in 1691, gives this account: "I am told by my Dutch landlord that they kept sheep and bullocks here before the Dutch settled among them; and that the Inland Hottentots have still great stocks of cattle and sell them to the Dutch for rolls of tobacco: and that the price for which they sell a cow or sheep was as much twisted tobacco as would reach from the horns or head to the tail; for they are great lovers of tobacco and will do anything for it."

It is perfectly clear, therefore, that prior to the arrival of the Hollanders the Hottentot was not acquainted with tobacco.[1]

Of all the great populations the Africans seem most extravagantly devoted to tobacco and most inclined to use it as an intoxicant. In some cases the tobacco is mixed with hemp to increase its intoxicating effects, and with butter, lime, orris root, and, among the Ila, with the glands of the skunk, to give it a stronger flavor. There are local fashions in smoking, snuffing, and chewing, and sometimes all the practices are combined. Tobacco

[1] Laufer, B., "Tobacco and Its Use in Africa," *Field Mus. Nat. Hist., Anth. Leaflets*, **29**: 6–10, *passim*.

enters into customs of courtesy and definition of rank, and is among the offerings to dead ancesters. In addition to European forms, there are gourd water pipes and bamboo pipes, usually with pottery bowls. Very large and long pipes are met with, but in Dahomey "short clay pipes are popular among both sexes; the old women seem to prefer a filthy clay so short that they get as much smoke up their noses as they get into their mouths." A musket may also be used as a pipe (lighted at the breech and smoked at the muzzle), and in South Africa there is a practice of "earth smoking," in which the smoker lies at full length on the ground:

Examples of earth pipes from the vicinity of Victoria Falls on the Zambezi show that the bowl was formed by scraping together a quantity of moistened red earth to form a mound three inches in diameter and one inch high. The under surface is flat because of its attachment to the ground, and the upper surface is convex. A duct representing the stem of the pipe was formed by withdrawing a hollow grass stem which had been embedded in a wet mass of clay surrounding the bowl.[1]

Hambly refers to a number of curious forms of snuff taking:

Near the eastern shore of Lake Tanganyika the inhabitants take liquid snuff. Every man carries a little black earthenware pot from which he pours into his palm a quantity of water in which tobacco leaves have been steeped. This he sniffs into his nostrils, which are then closed with an iron or wooden clip, though the thumb and finger may be used. The liquid is so held for several minutes. [In Angola] ingenious porters allow a small stubby moustache to develop; this serves as an ever ready snuff-box from which a supply may be taken by curling up the lip, hence there is a saving of time when on the march with a load on the head. [Some natives of the eastern Congo] have broad turned-up noses from which the precious powder easily escapes. Native ingenuity has, however, risen to the occasion in the provision of a nose clip of wood which is applied when the snuff is taken. When not in use, the native carries the clip behind his ear. [In the Cameroon region] the habit of allowing the fingernails to grow to an excessive length as an indication that menial work is not done is known among the Balis; but this custom is distinct from that of the snuff takers, who allow just one nail to grow indefinitely so that it may serve as a snuff spoon.[2]

The practice of exchanging saliva as a courtesy and blessing has been mentioned, and the pattern is extended to the exchange of smoke:

[Among the Bali] the meeting of two men, one of whom is without his pipe, is an amusing incident. The more fortunate of the two inhales

[1] Hambly, W. D., "Tobacco and Its Use in Africa," *Field Mus. Nat. Hist., Anth. Leaflets*, **29**: 28.
[2] *Ibid.*, 33, 27, 22.

deeply several times, and at each expiration puffs the clouds into the widely opened mouth of the less fortunate. The two then separate without a word having been spoken. This complimentary greeting is permissible only when the men are social equals. Buttikofer . . . describes the way in which men, women, and children would gather round him when he smoked. The leader of these uninvited guests came close enough to inhale the smoke as it was ejected. For a few moments he retained it, then blew it into the mouth of a companion, the process being continued until each had received a puff, or the smoke was exhausted. [According to Skertchly, who was a prisoner at the court of the King of Dahomey] during ceremonial speeches, which were lengthy and tedious, the king's head smoker was prowling about with an immense wooden pipe from which he blew clouds of smoke in the faces of the guests. This may appear rude and aggressive; but, although Skertchly does not say so, the custom was probably a mark of favor. Instances of puffing smoke from the mouth of a headman to the mouth of a guest seated next to him have been recorded in recent times. The official smoker of the Dahoman king wore a robe of brown cloth sewn all over with long strips in imitation of tobacco leaves, while a necklace of pipe bowls completed his equipment.[1]

Tobacco reached the Far East in Portuguese ships about the close of the sixteenth century and within ten years was cultivated and smoked in pipes in Japan:

The earliest datable reference to the use of tobacco in the Far East occurs in an entry under August 7th, 1615, in the diary of Captain Richard Cocks, who was chief of the English Factory of Hirado in Japan from 1613 to 1621.

"Gonosco Dono came to the English house, and amongst other talk told me that the King [that is, the Daimyo of Hirado] had sent him word to burn all the tobacco, and to suffer none to be drunk in his government, it being the Emperor's pleasure it should be so; and the like order given throughout all Japan. And that he, for to begin, had burned four piculls or hundredweight this day, and had given orders to all others to do the like, and to pluck up all which was planted. It is strange to see how these Japons, men, women, and children, are besotted in drinking that herb; and, not ten years since it was in use first."[2]

China derived tobacco, not from the Portuguese directly nor from Japan, but from Luzon in the Philippines, where it had been introduced by the Portuguese before the Spanish occupation. It was planted first in the province of Fukien, in the first years of the seventeenth century, and gained great popularity as a remedy, especially among the men of the army:

The first author who has left an interesting account of tobacco is Chang Kiai-pin, a reputed physician from Shan-yin in the prefecture of

[1] *Ibid.*, 24, 21.
[2] Laufer, B., "Tobacco and Its Use in Asia," *Field Mus. Nat. Hist., Anth. Leaflets*, **18**: 1.

Ta-t'ung, Shan-si Province. He carefully studied the physiological effects of smoking and made a number of correct observations. He felt somewhat skeptical when he first came into possession of the plant, but several trial smokes convinced him of its usefulness and superior quality. He highly recommends it as a remedy in expelling colds, for malaria caused by mountain mists, for reducing the swellings brought about by dropsy, and for counteracting cholera. "In times of antiquity," he writes, "this plant was entirely unknown among us; only recently, during the period Wan-li (1573–1620) of our Ming dynasty, it was cultivated in Fu-kien and Kwang-tung, and from there spread into the northern provinces. Wherever it may be planted, it does not come up in quality to that of Fu-kien which is a bit yellow in color and so fine that it has received the name 'gold silk smoke'; it is very strong and of superior aroma. Inquiring for the beginnings of tobacco smoking, we find that it is connected with the subjugation of Yünnan Province. When our forces entered this malaria-infested region, almost everyone was infected by this disease, with the exception of a single battalion. To the question why they had kept well, these men replied that they all indulged in tobacco. For this reason it was diffused into all parts of the country. Everyone in the southwest, old and young without exception, is at present addicted to smoking by day and night."

No species of the genus *Nicotiana* is a native of China; in fact, none is indigenous in any other part of Asia. Nor can there be any doubt that the species first introduced into China from Luzon was *Nicotiana tabacum*, the typical species of America, the species with large cabbage-like leaves and purple flowers.[1]

The Portuguese introduced tobacco into India about 1605 and it appeared almost simultaneously in Java, Ceylon, and Persia, but the Chinese were responsible for its wide and rapid distribution. Laufer has described its penetration of the arctic region and the encounter of the two streams of its diffusion westward from China and eastward from Russia:

The Chinese with their mercantile instinct became the most active propagators of tobacco and smoking all over Asia. As distributors of the product they played the same role in Asia as the English in Europe, and covered a larger territory than any modern tobacco trust could ever hope for. Chinese tobacco and smoking utensils are still ubiquitous among all native tribes of the Amur country in eastern Siberia, in Mongolia, Turkestan, and Tibet. As in so many other things, the Chinese set the model for all peoples with whom they came into contact. Wherever the Russians advanced into Siberia in the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, they found tobacco already cultivated under Chinese influence and the practice of smoking it well established. When Ysbrants Ides, envoy of the Russian czar to the court of China, reached

[1] *Ibid.*, 2–3, 4.

Tsitsikar, a mart of Manchuria, in 1693, he found the Dauri, a tribe of Tungusian stock, in the possession of tobacco cultures. They transmitted it to the tribes of the lower Amur and finally to the Gilyak living at the estuary of the river and on Saghalin Island. The words for tobacco and the pipe in the languages of all these peoples are based on the Chinese prototypes. They smoke, but do not snuff or chew. From the middle of the nineteenth century onward Russian tobacco also reached the Amur tribes through the medium of Cossacks, hunters, and merchants, but Chinese tobacco has always held its ground among them. At the time of my travels in the Amur country in 1898–1899 the long Manchurian tobacco leaf tied up in bundles was the favorite medium of barter.

The Ostyak on the Ob are known to have smoked tobacco in the latter part of the seventeenth century, and did so with a peculiar method of their own. They first filled their mouth with water, and lighting a pipe, swallowed the smoke together with this water. An observer of that time relates that, when they had their first pipe in the morning, they fell to the ground as though attacked by an epileptic fit, as the smoke they had swallowed took their breath away. They were in the habit of smoking only when seated. Their pipes were made of a wretched kind of wood, and when tobacco failed them, they smoked the shavings from the pipe wood. They preferred Chinese to Russian tobacco.

In 1697 the Russians instituted a tobacco monopoly in Siberia which in the following year was ceded to Sir Thomas Osborne. The English tobacco thus introduced had to struggle with the formidable competition of the Chinese product, so much so that the sale of the latter was finally prohibited in 1701 under penalty of fine and confiscation, to which in 1704 capital punishment for officials was added. The interesting point is that at that moment tobacco had completed its encircling of the globe and that the tobacco having crossed the Atlantic to England and Russia clashed in Siberia with the tobacco having traversed the Pacific to the Philippines and to China, as it were, in a head-on collision.

There are, accordingly, three movements of the tobacco plant into Asia to be distinguished: one from Mexico to the Philippines continued into Formosa and China and from China into the adjacent territories; another from Europe over the maritime route chiefly fostered by the Portuguese, who transmitted the plant to India, Java, and Japan; and a third sponsored by the Russians during their advance into Siberia.

The curious fact may be pointed out that there is but one people in Asia who does not make use of tobacco in any form, and this is the Yami who inhabit to the number of about 1,700 the small island of Botel Tobago thirty-five miles east of Formosa. They do not cultivate the plant, nor will they accept tobacco as a gift. Not being acquainted with the preparation of any alcoholic beverage, they are complete prohibitionists.[1]

Another curious point is that the Eskimo on the American northwest coast and in Alaska, unable to grow tobacco and not

[1] *Ibid.*, 15–17, 18.

in communication with American tribes farther south, secured it from the tribes of Siberia to whom it was distributed by the Chinese:

Their best pipes are made from walrus tusks, and are often elaborately etched. The tusk is usually split lengthwise and the halves joined in such a way that they can be taken apart to obtain the juice distilled in smoking. The juice was mixed with fungus ashes for chewing or with the smoking tobacco. Poorly made pipes of Eskimo form were used by the Athapascan tribes of interior Alaska, who were taught to smoke by the Eskimo.[1]

The forms of employment of tobacco in China and the Far East were influenced by local customs and historical circumstances. Chewing is practiced only in the betel-chewing regions; the use of the water pipe (possibly invented in Persia) led to the use of nicotine water; the fashionable use of snuff at the French court was introduced into aristocratic Chinese circles by French Jesuit missionaries; opium smoking in China was derived from the practice of tobacco smoking:

Tobacco chewing is not practiced in China, Tibet, Korea, and Japan. It is wholly confined to the zone of the betel chewers, which includes India, certain portions of Farther India like Siam and Indo-China, and the Malay Archipelago. In this region tobacco leaves are added to the ingredients chewed with the nut of the areca palm, or tobacco alone is chewed together with lime, while smoking tobacco is reduced to a minimum; cigars and cigarettes prevail in this area over the pipe. Among some tribes, as, for instance, the Karen of Upper Burma, smoking is almost as prevalent as betel chewing. It is interesting to learn from a Japanese author, who wrote in 1708, that at that time Siamese and other foreigners at Nagasaki were observed to chew tobacco—a practice unknown to the Japanese.

In connection with the water pipe, a curious custom has developed among some tribes of Assam and Upper Burma, and this is the use of nicotine water. The women of the Chin smoke the hubble-bubble largely for the benefit of the men. When the water in the water receptacle is sufficiently saturated with nicotine, it is poured into a gourd. This liquid, however, is not swallowed; the men merely retain it in their mouths for a time and then spit it out. Sir J. George Scott characterizes the process as "merely a lazy form of chewing," though chewing is apparently not involved. The nicotine gourds of the men are often ornamented with ivory stoppers and painted with vermilion. This juice is said to act as a tonic, and traveling Kuki who eat nothing all day keep their strength up by constant sips of this juice which they retain in the mouth not more than three minutes at a time.

[1] Linton, "Use of Tobacco among . . . Indians," 20–21.

In Asia, snuff is taken by the Chinese, the Japanese, the Tibetans, and the Brahmans of India; it is unknown in Persia. In China snuff taking has developed into a fine art. The impetus to the practice was doubtless given by the Jesuit missionaries at a time when they wielded a powerful influence at the court of the Manchu emperors. In 1715 the emperor K'ang-hi celebrated his sixtieth birthday, and the festivities held in commemoration of this event and the homages paid to the sovereign are minutely set forth in a voluminous Chinese work. In the list of presents made to the emperor on this occasion figure also two bottles of snuff as the gift of the Jesuits Stumpf, Suarez, Bouvet, and Parrenin. It is no wonder that France, where snuff taking was an established custom of the elegant world, should have communicated it to China. Snuff was imported from France in packages bearing three lilies as a coat of arms, and this design was adopted by the snuff dealers in Peking as their emblem. The *fleur-de-lis* still forms the insignia of a snuff shop in Peking, and it is even asserted that to this day the chief sellers of snuff are Roman Catholic converts. The largest snuff business in Shanghai, however, where I obtained last summer ten samples of the principal varieties of the article, is in the hands of Mohammedans from Lan-chou.

As early as 1685 snuff occurs in a customs tariff among the foreign imports of Canton. It was believed to dispel colds and act as a sudorific. Soon afterwards it was manufactured in the capital, as we read in the *Hiang tsu pi ki*, a Chinese work written in the early years of the eighteenth century: "Recently they make in Peking a kind of snuff which brightens the eyes and which has the merit of preventing infection. It is put up in glass bottles, and is sniffed into the nostrils with small ivory ladles. This brand is made exclusively for the Palace, not for sale among the populace. There is also a kind of snuff which has recently come from Canton and which surpasses that made for the Palace. It is manufactured in five different colors, that of apple color taking the first rank." Finally we hear that various kinds of snuff are used in the Palace—snuff imported from abroad, snuff made at Canton, and several other grades made of native tobaccos. That of duck-green color was esteemed most highly, that of rose color ranked next, and that of soy color came third. Mint, camphor, and jasmine were (and still are) the principal aromatic ingredients; essence of rose was also mixed with it. In the eighteenth century good qualities were sold for their weight in silver, and were a favorite gift among friends. The Portuguese distributed snuff from their settlement at Macao.

An interesting problem is presented by the interrelation of opium and tobacco smoking. A new investigation of this subject which I made on the basis of Chinese sources has led me to the conclusion that opium smoking sprang up as a sequel of tobacco smoking not earlier than the beginning of the eighteenth century. Before tobacco became known in Asia, opium was taken internally, either in the form of pills, or was drunk as a liquid. The Hollanders, who exported large quantities of opium from India to Java, were the first who prepared a mixture of opium with

tobacco by diluting opium in water, and who offered this compound for smoking to the natives of Java. This fact is stated in perfect agreement by E. Kaempfer, a physician in the service of the Dutch East India Company, who visited Batavia in 1689, and by contemporaneous Chinese documents. A Chinese author, who wrote a history of the island of Formosa, which was under Dutch rule from 1624 to 1655, even intimates that the inhabitants of Batavia, who were originally excellent fighters and had never lost a battle, were enervated and conquered by the Hollanders by means of opium prepared by the latter for smoking purposes. Be this as it may, the custom was soon imitated by Chinese settlers on Formosa, and smoking opium was smuggled into that country from Batavia despite prohibitory regulations of the Chinese authorities. Opium was then boiled in copper kettles, and the mass was invariably blended with tobacco; the price for this product was several times greater than that for tobacco alone. It was a much later development to smoke opium in its pure state. The opium pipe, as it still exists, was invented by Chinese on Formosa in the first part of the eighteenth century. We have several descriptions of the opium pipe written by authors of that period, which leave no doubt of the fact that in principle the instrument was then identical with the modern one. . . . This is not the place to go into the details of opium smoking; it is mentioned here merely in order to show that the opium pipe is based on the tobacco pipe, and that opium smoking has grown out of tobacco smoking.[1]

Because of its sensuous appeal and the possibility of carrying it everywhere as an article of trade tobacco has penetrated more corners of the earth than maize, but as to China, at least, Laufer claims that maize outdistanced tobacco and all other American products and that its progress from western Europe was faster by land than by sea:

No share is due either to Portuguese or to Spaniards in connection with the introduction of maize into China, and probably, also into further India and other parts of eastern Asia. With regard to India, the question has not yet been investigated, but the introduction there through the Portuguese has some probability.

Maize did not reach China from the seacoast, but came overland from Tibet, first into Ssech'uan and other parts of western China, whence it rapidly spread to the north, south, and east. The year 1540 might well be conjectured as that of the first introduction, and from 1560 to 1570 maize had reached the eastern parts of China in the province of Fukien.

In concluding these notes, I may be allowed to come back to the proposition advanced in the introductory remarks, that the history of maize is an instructive historical example which might be fruitfully applied to the prehistoric dissemination of ancient cereals, giving an idea, at least, of how cereals might have traveled in prehistoric days. Of all

[1] Laufer, "Tobacco and Its Use in Asia," 23–32, *passim*.

the manifold gifts of the New World, maize spread the most rapidly; and the most interesting result of the previous investigation seems to be the fact that maize traveled with much greater speed than the ships of the European nations which then shared in the universal trade, for, long before the arrival of Europeans in China, maize was known there as an overland arrival, so that the idea of a European origin of it never struck the Chinese; and [more rapidly] than the other cultural plants of America, like the potato, tobacco, groundnut, pineapple, custard apple, etc.; and, last but not least, it is worth while adding, that maize traveled even faster than syphilis, which, after the discovery of America, so quickly spread in Europe. This latter circumstance is also remarkable as showing that maize and syphilis, which seem to have started from America at about the same time, were not each other's equal in rapidity of movement, in which maize was doubtless superior, although, a priori, the reverse, perhaps, might be expected. If it is allowable to draw a general conclusion or law from the preceding, I should venture to say something like the following:

It seems that the rapidity with which cereals are disseminated vies with that of all other objects connected with human culture; that a land route is preferred over a sea route as their way of propagation, and that overland propagation is effected in a shorter space of time than marine propagation; and that cereals spread more rapidly than all other cultural plants, or even, perhaps, than infectious diseases. Counting a generation as, on an average, thirty years, we might well say that, during the first generation after the discovery of America, maize became known and planted in Europe; at the end of this period it must have reached India; and during the second generation it spread over all China, so that, after about seventy or eighty years, its wanderings to the farthest East were completed.[1]

This review of the directions and extent of the diffusion of culture elements makes it appear that no opportunity was lost to appropriate foreign traits when insuperable barriers did not intervene. This seems at first quite contrary to the emphasis placed on the weight of habit systems and the stubborn resistance to change in any single item of the behavior code emphasized in Chap. III. It was there pointed out, however, and exemplified, that, following a period of habituation or inductance, attitudes may be completely reversed by new exposures to influence. The immediate resistance to change in habits is not a singular trait of savage societies but a characteristic of all organisms possessing nervous systems.

Up to recent years in white society no important or trivial noticeable cultural trait or divergent view was introduced without strong and often violent resistance. This was true in the case

[1] Laufer, B., "The Introduction of Maize into Eastern Asia," *Congrès International des Américanistes*, Quinzième Session, 1: 250–252.

of medicine (anesthetics, vaccination), railroads, new varieties of foods, illuminating gas, stoves in churches, chimneys, sawmills, iron plows, silk hats, umbrellas, etc., not to mention the "warfare of science with theology" over the relation of the earth to the sun and man's place in nature.

There was a bitter fight in Europe against the introduction of potatoes on the ground that they were "injurious to society," and against tomatoes as injurious to health. The first bananas sent to London could not be given away even in the slums. Sir Walter Scott called coal gas "a pestilential innovation," Napoleon called it "une grande folie" and Byron satirized it.[1] In Berlin street lighting was opposed on a number of counts:

on theological grounds as being a presumptuous thwarting of Providence, which had appointed darkness for the hours of night; on the ground of objections to taxation in any form; on medical grounds, gas and oil being unwholesome and it being a bad thing to encourage people to wander after dark and catch cold; on moral grounds, people's ethical standard of conduct being lowered by gas lighting in the streets, for the drunkard would feel there was no hurry to go home, and late sweethearting would be encouraged, whereas black darkness sent people home early and thus preserved them from a multitude of sins; on police grounds, as the lighting would make horses shy and thieves alert; on political grounds, having in view the money which would have to go out of the country for coal and oil; and on the patriotic ground that national illuminations would lose their stimulating effect if there was a quasi-illumination every night of the year, year in and year out.[2]

Iron plows were opposed because they thwarted the will of God and poisoned the soil; and lightning rods because they "flew in the face of providence." The first man appearing on the streets of Philadelphia with an umbrella was arrested, and the *Hatter's Gazette* has reproduced the following description of the agitation produced by the wearing of the first silk hat in London:

John Hetherington, haberdasher, of the Strand, was arraigned before the Lord Mayor yesterday [January 15, 1797] on a charge of breach of the peace and inciting to riot, and was required to give bonds in the sum of £500. It was in evidence that Mr. Hetherington, who is well connected, appeared on the public highway wearing upon his head what he called a silk hat (which was offered in evidence), a tall structure having a shiny lustre and calculated to frighten timid people. As a matter of fact, the officers of the Crown stated that several women fainted at the unusual sight, while children screamed, dogs yelped, and a younger son of Cordwainer Thomas, who was returning from a chandler's shop, was thrown

[1] Slossen, E. E., "The Progress of Science," *Sci. Monthly*, **16**: 448.
[2] Fassett, C. M., *Proceedings of the League of Pacific Northwest Municipalities*, 1912.

down by the crowd which had collected and had his right arm broken. For these reasons the defendant was seized by the guards and taken before the Lord Mayor. In extenuation of his crime the defendant claimed that he had not violated any law of the kingdom, but was merely exercising a right to appear in a headdress of his own design—a right not denied to any Englishman.

A German resident of Galicia describes the opposition to the introduction of chimneys in that country some eighty years ago:

There are landholders, especially Germans, who wish to accustom the peasants to better living, especially to more healthful houses, and they first urge them to provide their huts with chimneys, which they offer to have put up at their own expense. They thought they could do this first with the houses of the soldiers home on furlough, who as soldiers were acquainted with the German and Italian provinces. But they beg them with tears in their eyes not to make them so unhappy, for they would then be shunned and avoided by the rest of the inhabitants as innovators. The landlord who did not yield to this would forthwith be complained of to the authorities, and such an opposition would be raised against him in the community that for the sake of peace he would have to give up his well-meant resolution.[1]

In the 1840's the newspapers in the United States attacked the introduction of bathtubs as extravagant and undemocratic. Doctors denounced them as dangerous to health, and the government was called upon to restrict or suppress them. In 1843 Virginia put a tax of $30 a year on bathtubs and in 1845 a Boston municipal ordinance made bathing unlawful except on medical advice.[2] In 1848, replying to a request from citizens to use the schoolhouse for a debate on the question of railroads, the School Board of Lancaster, Ohio, sent the following reply:

You are welcome to the use of the schoolhouse to debate all proper questions in, but such things as railroads and telegraphs are impossibilities and rank infidelity. There is nothing in the Word of God about them. If God had designed that His intelligent creatures should travel at the frightful speed of fifteen miles an hour by steam He would clearly have foretold it through His holy prophets. It is a device of Satan to lead immortal souls down to hell.[3]

In 1847 James Simpson, a Scottish physician, advocated the use of chloroform in obstetrical cases. A storm of protest arose on the ground that to mitigate the pains of childbirth was "to avoid one part of the primeval curse on woman." Simpson pointed

[1] Anonymous, *Aus Galizien*, 268, 1850.
[2] Slossen, *loc. cit.*
[3] Ickes, H. L., *New Republic*, **35**: 154.

out that the first employment of an anesthetic was in the garden of Eden when the Lord caused a deep sleep to fall on Adam before extracting the rib from which Eve was created. Against this his opponents argued that this incident was before pain had been introduced into the world:

> This hostility [says White] flowed from an ancient and time-honored belief in Scotland. As far back as the year 1591 Eufame Macalyane, a lady of rank, being charged with seeking the aid of Agnes Sampson for the relief of pain at the time of the birth of her two sons, was burned alive on the Castle Hill of Edinburgh.[1]

Relating his experiences in the Massachusetts legislature (1880–1881), Higginson has described the resistance of rural members of that body to measures tending to disturb the traditional patternings:

> There existed among the members certain vast and inscrutable undercurrents of prejudice; as, for instance, those relating to the rights of towns, or the public school system, or the law of settlement, or perhaps only questions of roads and navigable streams, or of the breadth of wheels or the close time of fishing points which could never be comprehended by academic minds or even city-bred minds, and which yet might at any moment create a current formidable to encounter and usually impossible to resist. Every good debater in the House and every one of its recognized legal authorities might be on one side and yet the smallest contest with one of these latent prejudices would land them in a minority.[2]

These attitudes are hardly less uncompromising than those mentioned for savages in the chapter on habit systems. They differ not in the perserverative tendency but in the direction of attention and the relation of the patterns to the specific cultures. The rapidity of modern change arises from the fact that, owing to the many rival definitions of the situation, no exposure to an influence is constant, and change itself becomes a feature of the habit system.

There is thus always an immediate resistance to any change whatever in the habit system, but after a period of inductance, which may cover years, any new value tends to be appropriated.

Before leaving the subject of diffusion it seems desirable to examine two theories claiming that all or many of the important cultural traits had an origin at a remote point of time and were carried by migrations in pre-Columbian days to America and

[1] White, A. D., *A History of the Warfare of Science with Theology*, **2**: 62 (D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc.).

[2] Higginson, T. W., "On the Outskirts of Public Life," *Atlantic Monthly*, **81**: 192.

throughout the world, either from Egypt or from Asia through Polynesia.

These theories have no standing among American anthropologists but, like the claim of Nordic supremacy and the Freudian system of psychoanalysis, they have provoked extensive discussion, and like these theories they have the merit of defining a situation in terms of error and thus stimulating more scientific investigation.

Around the year 1911 Elliot Smith and his associates in England[1] began to elaborate a theory that all important cultural traits originated in one center, or were at any rate collected there, and were carried from that point around the world by voyagers. In a review of one of the volumes of Smith, Balfour has defined this theory as follows:

> Professor Elliot Smith . . . has endeavored to bring together a mass of facts calculated by their *cumulative* effect to indicate very strongly, or, as he thinks, prove that the essential elements of the ancient civilizations of India, further Asia, the Malay Archipelago, Oceania, and America were brought in succession to each of these places by mariners, whose oriental migrations (on an extensive scale) began as trading intercourse between the eastern Mediterranean and India some time after 800 B.C. He believes that the evidence proves that an elaborate culture complex, associated with heliolithic ritual and practices, originating in the main in Egypt, was disseminated over an enormous area chiefly through the agency of the maritime trading enterprises of the Phoenicians, and that by easterly dispersal this culture complex eventually reached the New World.[2]

Smith is an anatomist distinguished for his study of Egyptian mummies, and the origin of his theory, as indicated by Rivers in a sympathetic review, seems to have been in the comparison of a Papuan mummy with his Egyptian specimens.

> The present monograph [says Rivers] is the outcome of the chance examination of a Papuan mummy by one with an intimate knowledge of the history of Egyptian mummification. During a visit to his old medical school last year Professor Elliot Smith examined a mummy from Torres Straits and found evidence of processes, such as openings in flank or perineum, mode of suture, extraction of brain substance by the foramen magnum, and incisions on the extremities, which correspond with the technique of an advanced stage of Egyptian mummification. The view that these details of technique were discovered independently would make it necessary to believe that, in a climate most unfavorable for such experiments, the rude savages of Torres Straits discovered technical

[1] *Cf.* Smith, G. E., *The Migrations of Early Culture*; Perry, W. J., *The Children of the Sun.*
[2] Balfour, H., *Jour. Egypt. Archaeol.*, **3**: 225.

procedures which cost the highly civilized Egyptian many centuries of patient research. We have evidence from this mummy of the spread of Egyptian culture to a region so remote and inaccessible that it remained wholly unknown to our own civilization till the seventeenth century.

Having by the examination of this and other Papuan mummies established the Egyptian origin of the practice, the next step was to study the distribution of the practice of mummification. This study, carried out with the assistance of Mr. W. J. Perry, has shown a close agreement with the distribution of megalithic monuments and other uses of stone, of cult of sun and serpent, of divine kingship, and of such elements of culture as circumcision, tattooing, ear piercing, massage, head deformation, the swastika, and myths of flood and petrifaction. Moreover, the correspondence of the details of Papuan mummification with those of one period of Egyptian history have led Elliot Smith to regard a time about 800 B.C. as the approximate date at which this group of customs was carried over the world.[1]

With mummification Smith associated the large stone tombs and the stone images of Egypt as a nucleus of the complex (beginning to be formed about 3000 B.C.), and to these traits were added others (agriculture, metallurgy, writing, sun worship, political organization, irrigation, circumcision, tattooing, etc.), some of which did not originate in Egypt but were incorporated there before the voyages were begun which carried them to India, across the Pacific and to North and South America.

This "heliolithic" theory, so-called because of the prominence of megalithic monuments and sun worship in the complex, thus admits the borrowing of traits by the Egyptians and associates with them any neighboring adventurers (*e.g.*, the Phoenicians) who may, conjecturally, have participated in the voyages disseminating the complex. In this connection, Smith's position with reference to independent origin and diffusion is that no invention is ever made more than once:

> As to the possibility [he says] of any invention originating wholly independently in more than one center, the facts of history no less than the common sense of mankind are fatal to any such hypothesis. . . . In the case of every real invention, however simple and obvious it may appear after it was made, history records the fact that it happened only once.[2]

Dixon, with his remarkable command of comparative data, has subjected this theory to a searching examination and finds no evidence that it is anything more than a daring and unverified

[1] Rivers, W. H. R., *Jour. Egypt. Archaeol.*, **2**: 256–257 (review of Smith, *The Migrations of Early Culture*).

[2] "A Note on Megalithic Monuments," *Man*, **15**: 163.

speculation. Of this process of mummification, for example, he says:

> The process or various processes of embalming employed in Egypt have been studied and described by Smith with great ability, the literary sources, such as Herodotus, being amplified by detailed investigation of a large number of Egyptian mummies of different periods. Especial emphasis is laid on the features of the process which are fundamental, in particular the evisceration either through a flank cut or by the perineum; the throwing of the viscera into water; the removal of the brain through an occipital incision; the brine soaking of the body; the rubbing with oil; the use of aromatic substances in the body cavity; painting the body red; inserting artificial eyes; incisions in or between the toes, fingers, and at the elbows and knees for draining the fluids of decomposition; drying by heat; the removal of the epidermis except that at the tips of the fingers and toes, etc., etc. The complexity and ultimate uniformity of the Egyptian process are stressed, and the point insisted on that it is the reappearance of this complex throughout the long chain reaching from Egypt to Peru and Alaska, which supplies the conclusive evidence of the unity of the custom, the impossibility of independent invention, and therefore the necessity of explaining its wide distribution as due to diffusion.
>
> What are the concrete facts on which this staggering claim is based? For the Canary Islands we can be certain only of the anointing of the body, evisceration through a flank cut, sun drying, and probably of the use of aromatic substances in the body cavity. There is no evidence from the mummies themselves of the extraction of the brain, and the only literary reference speaks of its removal through the nose, a method specifically stated by Elliot Smith to be a late development in Egypt, in use only after the supposed departure of the culture carriers for the ends of the earth. So far as the flank cut is concerned, of which Smith makes so much, it is pertinent to note that there would appear to be but three practical ways of evisceration, *i.e.*, by a flank cut, by a median cut, or by the perineum. The first and the last were employed in Egypt, and in the Canaries we have the selection of one out of a possible three methods. It may be surmised that the flank cut has been found by experiment to be the most efficient. In the Canary Islands we have, then, a probable four out of the twelve features characteristic of the Egyptian practice.
>
> If we now turn eastward, we find the traits parallel to the Egyptian process rapidly reduced to a minimum. For India we have only more or less doubtful ascription of the practice of mummification to the early historical period; it has not been used by the Hindus apparently for a thousand or two years. All the evidence suggests the rarity of the practice, and we have no evidence for any of the various features of procedure except the anointment and use of aromatic substances. The Todas, in the extreme south, are reported formerly to have preserved the

body temporarily, using evisceration through the flank and occipital removal of the brain, the body being then smoke-dried. Since the usual treatment of the dead is cremation, and the temporary preservation is employed only in case the burning had to be delayed, the example is not very convincing, since mummification in the ordinary sense is designed to preserve the body permanently. In Assam and Upper Burma we know only that some of the wilder tribes sometimes smoke-dried the body. In Ceylon and Burma the bodies of Buddhist priests were sometimes preserved temporarily, by evisceration through the flank and then total immersion in honey. Cremation always followed after a time. In none of these cases have we more than three elements of the Egyptian process present, and sometimes nothing but the artificial drying.

In Indonesia and Melanesia we have scattering indications either of mere exposure to natural desiccation and decay on a platform or in trees, or of smoke-drying with or without evisceration for which no details are given. In some of the islands of Torres Straits and on the adjacent coast of northern Queensland, and here only, do we find any considerable recrudescence of the elaborate procedure in Egypt. Here we have the flank or perineal cut, the throwing of the viscera into the sea, occipital removal of the brain, painting the body red, artificial eyes, incision for drainage, oiling and removal of the epidermis with cuts at finger ends, a total of nine out of the twelve Egyptian features. A great deal is made of these resemblances among this very primitive, tiny, and isolated group of black-skinned savages, hidden away where even the adventurous Malay pirates rarely if ever penetrated. At first sight the parallel is undoubtedly striking, but further consideration makes the analogy somewhat less significant.

The use, for example, of both flank and perineal cuts is an employment of two out of a possible three methods, while the occipital removal of the brain is admittedly the only easy method. The disposal of the viscera in the sea (in Egypt they were thrown into the Nile) is, after all, the most handy means of getting rid of refuse. The reddening of the body is a custom widely employed by many peoples all over the world who have no knowledge of mummification at all. Drainage incisions are a logical and natural expedient to hasten the drying out of the body, and might well have been thought of by people anywhere. Lastly, the striking parallel of the finger cuts, whereby the skin of the ends of the fingers and toes was removed together with the nails and given to the widow, is the direct opposite of the practice in Egypt, where they were left on the body. The Torres Straits practice may well be explained as due to the dislike felt by many primitive peoples of having their nail parings get into the hands of enemies, who might use them magically to work harm to a person. By giving them to the widow all such danger would be eliminated. Or it may even more likely be a modification of the custom, widespread in Australia, for the widow to carry about with her parts of the body of her deceased husband (sometimes specifically the finger bones). What we have in this case appears to be a case of convergent evolution,

in which, to the normal procedure of any practical method of mummification—evisceration, removal of brain, drainage incisions, drying—have been added, for reasons and purposes wholly different from those in Egypt, such additional details as the painting of the body, throwing the viscera into the sea, and cutting and removing the skin of the finger and toe tips.

In speaking in the previous chapter of trait complexes, we saw that traits lost from the complex can never come back into it except as wholly new incorporations. The total absence of these particular traits in all the region between Egypt and Australia shows that even if there was diffusion of the mummification complex, these factors were lost in transit or have been lost everywhere else, and their reappearance in this single remote locality among a very primitive folk is thus purely accidental and probably has nothing whatever to do with any Egyptian origin. They do not then actually make the parallel any more striking.

Polynesia affords nothing that is significant in the way of real parallels. In Tonga the practice of mummification was unknown; in Samoa it was practiced only by a single family in the same form as used farther east, in the Society and Marquesas groups, *i.e.*, perineal evisceration, drainage incisions, oiling, and drying. In Samoa the viscera were burned or buried. Of the presence of the other features of Egyptian practice there is no evidence. In Hawaii there was no true mummification at all, only occasionally a filling of the body cavity with salt. In other words, the whole Polynesian area lacked, so far as known, two-thirds of the characteristic Egyptian procedure, and used only the natural and obvious means any people would be forced to devise if they made any attempt to preserve the body.

For the New World the evidence of any Egyptian procedure is even worse. In Peru, where mummies are often referred to, there was, so far as any concrete evidence goes, no actual mummification in the true sense at all, for the bodies were merely desiccated by the dry air, without artificial preparation. We have specific reference to the occasional use of evisceration, as in the case of the Inca rulers, where the viscera were preserved in golden receptacles in a special temple. Where the incision was made, however, the accounts do not state, and the only reported data on actual mummies examined (in this case by Elliot Smith himself) show a direct transverse abdominal cut, quite unlike either Egyptian or Oceanic practice. Hrdlička reports some skulls stuffed with cotton, but does not make clear whether these were merely severed crania or not. If they were, they may well have been trophy heads. It may be noted, also, that in Peru, although we get none of the series of Egyptian practices *selected by Smith as significant for his theory*, we do find, and for the first time, several features which are strikingly analogous to Egyptian usage. I refer to the careful individual wrapping of toes, fingers, and the whole body, and the attachment of face masks. Here, if you will, *are* analogies, but analogies which are lacking completely in all the intervening area, and so to be explained as due to convergent evolution, as, indeed, the as

yet only roughly outlined history of burial methods in Peru would suggest. For Mexico the evidence for any sort of preservation of the body is precarious.

Neither Smith nor Perry, curiously, appear to have noticed the wide practice of mummification and preservation of the body in Ecuador and Colombia. For Ecuador, among the Caras, our information comes mainly from Velasco, of whose veracity there are serious doubts, but for Colombia we are on safe ground. Here several methods were employed by neighboring peoples. Some of the lower cultured merely smoke-dried the body, others, like the Chibcha, eviscerated in some fashion and employed aromatic substances. For the whole area, thus, from Colombia to Peru, we find the occasional or general practice of preserving the bodies of the dead, using various methods, from smoke-drying and simple exposure to dry air, to evisceration and the use of aromatic preservatives. There was thus a general background of desire to preserve the body, which took on local, specialized forms. Throughout this region smoke-drying and drying of meat was known, so there is nothing to require the calling in of any *deus ex machina,* in the shape of Egyptian adventurers, to account for the phenomenon.

Further north there is no evidence whatever of the use of mummification except among the Aleuts, in Alaska, where there was no artificial preparation except evisceration, for which details are not given, the body being then merely wrapped in skins and placed in a cave to dry. Dall, however, explicitly states that the whole custom was very modern, assigning it, on the basis of evidence and tradition, an age of only one or two centuries. Smith refers to mummification among the Indians of Virginia, Carolina, and Florida, but the actual practice was quite unknown. What was done was to flay the bodies of chiefs and remove all flesh from the bones, which were then replaced in the skin, which was stuffed with sand, beads, etc., and finally wrapped in skins. This is, in essence, only a more elaborate form of the practice of cleaning and preserving the bones of the dead, widely in use in the southeastern portion of the continent.

Perry, in his amplification of Smith's theory, refers to mound-builder and cliff-dweller mummies. As a matter of fact, neither ever existed, so far as we know. In Kentucky and Tennessee desiccated bodies, in part preserved by nitrous deposits, have been found in caves, but they evidence no artificial preparation at all, and are similar to the large number of similar "mummies" found in Coahuila, in Mexico. The same is true of the occasional cliff-dweller or more common basketmaker burials in Arizona and New Mexico. Here the bodies have merely desiccated in the very dry climate, and show no trace of any artificial preparation.

This long and tedious enumeration of the actual facts has been necessary to demonstrate (1) that the statements that mummification was in use over so vast a range are in part erroneous, (2) that the general absence, even where mummification was practiced, of the majority of

the significant Egyptian details, is noticeable, and (3) that the deductions drawn from the actual facts are quite unwarranted. The claim is made that mummification was invented in Egypt; that the process was so complex that it could not have been independently invented elsewhere; that wherever mummification is found it must therefore be due to diffusion from Egypt; and that the proof of this conclusion lay in the continuity of the record and the recurrence of the significant details. The *facts* are that artificial preservation of the body employing any of the practices listed by Smith was of very limited distribution in the New World, and that nowhere in the whole area from Polynesia to Egypt, with the single exception of Torres Straits, is any significant recurrence of Egyptian procedure known. The actual methods employed were everywhere simple, wholly natural, comparable to those used in preserving meat, and only what must have been done were any attempt made to keep the body. Numerous other methods, such as packing the body in lime, sealing it in a coffin, etc., are not mentioned by Smith or Perry, but are examples of the fact that a number of ways were tried out. The only instance of significant analogy with Egyptian procedure is among a very primitive folk, so far removed from all known lines of cultural diffusion that they had remained practically untouched by all the widespreading cultural drifts from the West, which influenced the Oceanic lands. The features added here, which were analogous to Egyptian practice, were practically all in vogue among other peoples in neighboring areas in other connections, so that convergence is amply competent to account for the observed facts, and there is no need to seek for a bizarre and inherently improbable explanation.

The theory fails because the culture parallels on which it is supposed to rest really do not exist; they are spurious, in that of the hypothetical parent complex only a few traits are actually present, and these primarily those underlying general traits which could not fail to be present whether the practice were of independent origin or diffused. The *distinctively* Egyptian features do not, as a rule, recur, and when they do, do so erratically in such fashion as to be quite adequately explained by convergence. But, it may be objected, have we not seen that diffusion normally leads to a sifting out of traits in a complex, so that we ought not to expect the whole Egyptian complex to survive. Is not the partial representation of the trait complex, by its most basic and universal features, exactly what we should look for on the basis of concentric zonal diffusion?

The answer must, I believe, be no, and for the following reasons. Firstly, because a roughly concentric zonal distribution of traits presupposes a continuous diffusion where the trait complex is free to spread as and if it can. In this case we have unbridged gaps of from two to four thousand miles; *the only proof of whose crossing by the trait lies in the acceptance of the very fact of the diffusion which the theory seeks to prove!* The occurrence, thus, of widely separated examples of the simplest form of the trait indicates independent invention, not diffusion, as its *raison*

d'être. Secondly, because the distribution, after all, is not zoned even in the asymmetrical, erratic form that we have found it to assume in cases of undoubted diffusion. We pass from the full complex in Egypt to evisceration, brain removal, and smoke-drying in southern India; to smoke-drying alone in Assam; to honey immersion in Burma; to smoke-drying and evisceration or mere exposure in Indonesia; then to a half dozen or more of the traits in Torres Straits, and so on. There is no gradual falling off as we recede from the supposed originating center; there is merely an erratic wavering up and down, which is meaningless if we are looking for evidence of diffusion, but normal and expectable if we are dealing with the scattered attempts of people in a series of unconnected cultures, to devise some means of preserving the bodies of the dead. That what some might call the "laws" of diffusion are elastic enough, we have seen, and it is precisely because this case of mummification cannot meet them, even when they are stretched to their limits, that one is forced to conclude that, from the evidence available, the theory of diffusion of the practice of mummification from Egypt is completely lacking in proof.[1]

Moreover there is no evidence that Egyptian influence in any form reached America either directly across the Atlantic or indirectly from Asia through Polynesian voyagers or drifters. No single cultural trait has been found indicating early Egyptian migration to America—no single grain of rice or wheat carried to America, and no grain of maize, no tobacco seed, no syphilis carried back to Europe before Columbus.[2] In this connection Dixon concludes:

> If the dissemination took place in either of the ways which seem physically possible, then either the original group and its immediate descendants or the successive bands of colonists, must have stayed long enough here and there along the way to have left remains which should show not degenerate or crude copies of the traits, which their barbarous imitators might be expected to achieve, but full, clear examples of their Egyptian heritage. Somewhere in all this vast area one ought to find a real mastaba tomb, a pylon, a lotus capital, a typical hieroglyphic inscription, a single glass bead, or bit of characteristic jewelry. Yet nowhere has anything whatever of Egyptian type or origin been found.[3]

At an earlier date (1905) an even more imaginative hypothesis of diffusion had been developed by Graebner in Germany which was supported by Father Schmidt (in Austria), Ankermann, and others, and adopted by Rivers in England as to method but not as a whole. Known as the "culture-strata" hypothesis, the assump-

[1] Dixon, *op. cit.*, 212–222 (Charles Scribner's Sons. By permission).
[2] Maudslay, A. R., "Some American Problems," *Jour. Anth. Inst.*, **42**: 12.
[3] Dixon, *op. cit.*, 255 (Charles Scribner's Sons. By permission).

tion is that in prehistoric times a number of discrete culture complexes or blocks of culture of different degrees of complexity were developed and that these were carried by migrations from the region of origin, the oldest and simplest cultures traveling first and farthest. The successive migrations moved as blocks, single traits not traveling alone, and as a result any somewhat complex culture would be found to consist of culture strata representing the deposits of successive waves of migration. Graebner examined the cultures of Australia, Melanesia, and Polynesia in this connection, made a classification of lower and higher stages of culture, conceived that successive waves of migration from that general region were discernible, that crossing Bering Strait, immigrants had eventually penetrated South America, and, in the other direction, Asia, Europe, and Africa, and left cultural deposits in the order of their coming.

In this scheme the following features may be distinguished. The immigrants to America crossed by way of Bering Strait, not by transpacific voyages, as in Smith's hypothesis, and the time involved reached back toward the paleolithic period. The argument does not reject independent origins but neglects them in favor of diffusion through migrations. Graebner explicitly rejects psychological explanations and search for causation other than historical sequence, and the adherents of the movement have therefore termed themselves the "culture-historical" school.

Under the influence of the Graebner school Rivers made a formulation of the historical approach, which however emphasizes psychological as well as historical factors—in fact advocates the historical method as essential to the examination of causation. He says:

> [The adherents of the historical movement claim] that there has been no such isolation of one part of the earth from another as has been assumed by the advocates of independent evolution, but that the means of navigation have been capable, for far longer periods than has been supposed, of carrying man to any part of the earth. The widespread similarities of culture are, it is held, due in the main, if not wholly, to the spread of customs and institutions from some center in which local conditions especially favored their development.
>
> If there has been such spread of culture, it is evident that the process of development must have been far more complicated than is supposed by the advocates of the older evolutionary view. There is reason to believe, indeed, that the process has been exceedingly complex: that when customs are carried from their original home to other parts of the world, few of them survive unchanged, but suffer profound modification, some

in the direction of progress, some in the direction of degeneration, and some in a direction which can hardly be described in terms either of progress or decay. We of this movement believe that many customs which were once supposed to be the products of a simple process of evolution among an isolated people have in fact behind them a long and tortuous history. It is held that the first task of the ethnologist is to unravel this history, and in consequence the name we have chosen for our school and for our methods is that of "historical." We speak of the movement as belonging to the historical school of ethnology, and of our method as the historical method, in place of the older school and method, which are often styled evolutionary. This latter term is not satisfactory, for it is far from necessary that a follower of the historical method should be an opponent of evolution. The German historical school are such opponents of evolution, but this is very far from the position of English ethnologists. Our quarrel with the older school is that it regarded as simple what is very complex, and tried to reach by a short cut a goal which will only be attained when we have learnt the mutual interrelations of a vast number of separate paths along which man and his culture have traveled. Put briefly, we believe that it is necessary to determine what has happened before we proceed to the task of trying to discover how it has happened and to formulate the laws which have determined the course which the social activity of man has followed. The relations between "the what" and "the how" are often complex, and speculations about "the how" may often be useful in deciding "what" has happened, but the adherents of the new movement style their method historical because the discovery of what has happened in the past to the various peoples of the earth is their primary aim and a necessary preliminary to the further task of discovering the laws, and especially the psychological laws, by which the historical process has been directed.[1]

Actually Rivers' great work on Melanesian society was undertaken with a view to testing the culture-strata hypothesis, and in that work (which may be said to have brought no results in this direction) he emphasizes particularly what he interprets as cultural traits deposited by superior migrants. His program on this expedition, which in fact follows Graebner rather closely, has considerable methodological value, regardless of its connection with the culture-strata idea:

It will be well to mention certain principles which guided my work in Melanesia, and have also been used in ethnological analysis elsewhere,

[1] Rivers, W. H. R., *History and Ethnology*, 5–6 (The Macmillan Company. By permission).

[Rivers and Graebner are not quoted here as representing the origin of the historical standpoint. On the contrary, this point of view had long been prevalent in America. Graebner began to write in this line in 1905, Rivers about ten years later, whereas the following statement by Boas (quoted in this chapter above) was written in 1896: "In order to investigate the psychical laws of the human mind which we are seeing now instinctively because our material is crude and unsifted, we must treat the culture of primitive peoples by strict historical methods. We must understand the process by which the individual culture grew before we can undertake to lay down the laws by which the culture of mankind grew."]

especially in the work of W. J. Perry in Indonesia [*The Megalithic Culture of Indonesia*, Manchester, 1918]. The first of these principles is that of common distribution. When certain elements of culture are found in association with one another in several localities, we regard this as a ground for assigning the associated customs, institutions, and material objects to one culture, and if the associated elements have no necessary connection with one another, as, for instance, is the case with megalithic architecture and sun cult, we assume that this association, which is meaningless in its present area of distribution, came into existence elsewhere, and reached its present home by transmission.

A second principle is that of organic connection. When two elements of culture are found to be so closely associated with one another that they form constituent parts of one organization, it is assumed that they belong to the same culture. Thus, if megalithic monuments and sun cult are found to occur together as elements in the ritual of a great society, this is regarded as evidence that they belong to one culture, and if the formulas of the ritual of the society are in a language different from that of ordinary life, we have a case in which the principle of organic connection points, not only to transmission, but also to the original home of the language as the region from which the transmission has taken place.

A third principle is only a special case of the second, but it is so important that it deserves special mention. I have called this principle that of "class association." In many parts of the world there is reason to believe that certain social classes or sections of the community represent, and are descended from, settlers from outside. In Polynesia, Melanesia, and Indonesia there is reason to believe that the ruling classes are the descendants of immigrants, while the general mass of the population represent the inhabitants of the country before these settlers came. If an element of culture is found to be especially associated with one or other class, it is, according to the principle I am now considering, assigned to the people whose culture is represented by the class in question. Thus, when I find that the chiefs of Polynesia practice desiccation or other form of preservation of the dead, while the commoners inter their dead in the sitting position, I infer that these forms of disposal of the dead belong to two different peoples. In this case I infer that the desiccation of the chiefs is the later, and interment in the sitting position the earlier, practice. Mr. Perry has found this principle also to hold good in Indonesia, where the association of the cultural use of stone and the sun cult with the chiefs has been held greatly to strengthen the argument based on common distribution that these two elements of culture were introduced by one and the same people.

Each of these three principles standing alone may be subject to exceptions, but when all three lead in the same direction, it is possible to assume, with a high degree of confidence, that associated elements of culture were introduced by one and the same people.[1]

[1] *Ibid.*, 11–13.

In 1920 Kroeber and Holt published a paper in which they examined the evidence in North America relating to one of the specific Graebnerian claims, and the following is from their report:

The sequence of cultures recognized is Tasmanian Nigritic, Southeast Australian Nigritic, West Papuan or Patrilineal Totemic, East Papuan or Matrilineal Two-class, Melanesian or Bow, Proto-Polynesian, Late or North Polynesian, Indonesian. Each of these culture strata is characterized by a combination or complex of certain elements. Some of the principal of these distinguishing components of the several culture complexes are:

Tasmanian: cremation, windbreak, throwing sticks, scarification.

Southeast Australian: boomerang, beehive huts, parrying shield, coiled basketry, knocking out of teeth.

West Papuan: patrilineal and totemic local groups, totem increase rites, scaffold burial, circumcision, spear thrower, conical hut, bark or dugout canoe.

East Papuan: matrilineal moieties, secret societies with masks, skull worship, gabled houses and tree houses, carpentered canoe of planks, fire saw, panpipe, knobbed clubs.

Melanesian: flat self-bow, crutch paddle, bamboo comb, pile dwellings, skin drum, hammock, head-hunting, pig, betel, sago, spiral ornamentation.

Proto-Polynesian: canoe with single outrigger, triangular sail, composite fishhook, flattened clubs, fire-plow, caste and taboo system.

North Polynesian: sail attached to mast, shark-tooth weapons.

Indonesian: double outrigger, square sail, blowgun.

Under the Graebnerian hypothesis, the foregoing elements, in whatever part of the world they may now be found, go back to a migration of people or a stream of influence emanating from the culture that first evolved the elements in question.

The present study was undertaken at the personal suggestion of Foy (of the Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum, Cologne) to test a portion of the hypothesis, as a sample of the validity of the whole, against the facts as they are available in North American ethnography. If for instance moieties and masks were really associated as integral members of the "East Papuan" culture, and this culture spread as a unit from Oceania or Asia to America, then those American Indian tribes that were seriously affected by this East Papuan culture should normally possess both moieties and masks, while those that remained uninfluenced should lack both. In other words, two elements associated in one of Graebner's cultures should show a positive correlation in their distribution. If the correlation proved negligible or absent, the elements must have developed independently or have been introduced separately. In the latter case the history of the diffusion of each element might still be traced from one

continent to another, but the unified or integrated culture complexes that Graebner posits as origins would be proved unreal.

The assemblage and analysis of the data that follow has been the work of Holt, while Kroeber is responsible for the methodological discussion.

A review of the literature for America North of Mexico . . . [1] [shows that] there are 72 groups or tribes for which the fact was definitely established whether or not they used masks and whether or not they had moieties. These classify into—

Masks and moieties (exogamous)	5	
Masks and moieties (nonexogamous)	5	
		10
Masks but no moieties	35	
Moieties but no masks	6	
Neither masks nor moieties	21	
		72

That is, there are 41 instances where the Graebner theory fails as against 31 where it holds true. But out of these 31 "favorable" instances, 21 are negative. If moieties were of more general occurrence, or masks less general, and if the two occurred together more often than not, then the absence of the one feature when the other is absent might be significant. But as it is, the scarcity of positive cases would seem to render the negative ones of less value.

The case can also be put thus: 45 tribes out of 72 use masks, or 5 out of every 8 of the total examined. If a true correlation existed between the two traits, then the 16 moiety-divided tribes ought to use masks in a heavy preponderance of cases while the moietyless tribes would rather tend to be also maskless. But of the 16 tribes with moieties, 10 have masks, 6 are maskless, giving a ratio of 5:3; and of the 56 moietyless tribes 35 have masks, 21 have not, giving the identical ratio of 5:3. That is, a tribe is equally likely to have masks whether or not it possesses moieties. In short, the occurrence of the two traits in relation to each other comes out exactly according to the laws of random chance; the correlation is zero.

Further, the Graebner theory assumes as a matter of method that a culture trait never develops twice. All cases of geographically isolated occurrences of a trait must be laid to migration or diffusion and subsequent loss of the trait in the intervening regions. A culture wave characterized by two traits is established as having affected a people even if only one of the two traits is now found among them. On this basis, the majority of North American tribes, perhaps all of them, would have been reached by the East Papuan or "Two-class" culture; 10 have both masks and moieties, 35 masks only, 6 moieties only, or a total of 51 out of 72. Even the remaining 21 might have come under this cultural wave and then have happened to lose both traits. But of the 51 concern-

[1] [The sources consulted are here omitted.]

ing which the theory would be positive, only 10 now show both traits. For four-fifths of the tribes the theory is forced to assume that the evidence for coupling once existed, but can no longer be brought.

This is not so very different from the old methodology of survivals; where you found a survival, it proved your case, but when you failed to find it, something had happened to cause a change instead of a survival.

So much for the "criterion of quantity" as applied to the Graebner theory in a particular region.

The Graebner method as it has been used in practice possesses several critical virtues:

1. It represents an honest and important endeavor to free culture history from the ban of being resolved directly into psychology, and attempts instead to explain it in terms of culture.

2. It does not resolve culture phenomena directly or principally into factors of geographical environment.

3. It attempts, professedly at least, to explain the history not only of discrete culture elements, but also of the culture wholes or organisms in which these elements occur.

4. It aims to introduce the time factor into data which come to us in momentary section. That is, it tries to convert ethnography into history.

On the other hand, this method is open to criticism at the following points:

1. It denies the possibility of parallel independent invention or convergence, instead of delimiting apparent cases by critical examination. It is true that "converged" culture traits are rarely identical; but neither are the several occurrences of traits which we know to have had a single origin ever quite identical. What is needed in *every* instance is analysis, not a ruling out of anything.

2. The method wipes out, practically, the space factor, from which the time element can best be reconstructed when it is not given by the data. Of course, knowledge of geographical distributions alone will not answer all problems even of relative chronology. But to disregard spatial continuities and discontinuities is a gratuituous renunciation of perhaps the most productive of all mediums of sure attack. This fault the method shares with the old psychologico-evolutionistic method of ethnology.

3. While there undoubtedly are not only isolated culture traits but complexes of culture traits that spread from people to people, the Graebner scheme posits elaborate complexes, entire cultures, in fact, to operate with. Except where the diffusion of such complete cultures is historically documented, an explanation in terms of them is obviously less sound—more hypothetical, and more summary—than explanations in terms of single elements, or of small complexes that have been determined on the basis of what is known about the single elements.

4. Essentially the Graebner reconstruction of the history of civilization is only partly inductive. In the main, it is not the outcome of a gradual synthesis of investigations of narrower scope. It emerged without preliminaries and virtually complete from the first. The detailed evidence in its behalf has been nearly all presented subsequently, in

ratification or expansion of the ready-made theory. Very largely this has been the genesis also of the migration hypothesis of Elliot Smith, Rivers, and Perry, which agrees with the Graebner-Ankermann-Schmidt theory in certain of its methodological assumptions, even though its concrete content is different. Essentially, therefore, in spite of their greater modernity, these theories pursue the same method of preconception and subsequent substantiation by selected evidence as the unilinear evolutionistic explanations of the older orthodox anthropology.

The Graebner method then is not "the method of culture history"; it is only one special form of this method, characterized by the outright denial of possible value to the principles of convergence and distributional coherence and by the assumption that cultures can be adequately resolved into mixtures of a few large units. In this last assumption lies the fundamental methodological quality. Graebner and his supporters work with factors that are themselves nothing but undocumented composites—much like the earth, air, fire, and water with which the ancients saved themselves the determination of the elements with which scientific chemistry operates. In other words, the Graebner method leaps at synthesis before it has pursued exhaustive analysis. In this it differs, to name only one example, from Wissler's "American Indian," the method of which is also that of thoroughly nonevolutionistic and nonpsychological culture history. It is much easier and more sensational, when one is confronted by hundreds of culture elements, to weld these rapidly into less than a dozen great masses and then to manipulate these blocks, than to follow out in detail the intricate history of the elements.

While the Graebner plan of operating with a few large, composite units of hypothesis results in a plausible scheme as long as one remains on a level of merely outlining culture history in wide sweeps, most of his detailed discussions, and those of Schmidt, it will be noted, refer after all to single culture elements and not to whole cultures as they actually exist as entities. As soon as such real cultures are examined by his method, an interminable tangle results which would require an ever increasing number of special hypotheses to fit the facts. With such special hypotheses, it is true, Graebner is chary; but at the cost of not having really elucidated the course of development of any single actual culture. Two examples will illustrate.

The Chumash and Luiseño are two groups belonging to the southern subculture of the California area. The Chumash had beehive houses and coiled basketry—features of the "Australian" complex; the spear thrower—West Papuan; the plank canoe—East Papuan; the double-bladed paddle, which they share with the Eskimo but which does not appear in any of the complexes postulated by Graebner, and would therefore belong to still another culture or migration wave. Their social organization has been lost but may have been based on moieties. The Luiseño practice "Tasmanian" cremation; throw a sort of boomerang, which would be "Australian"; are divided into patrilineal local groups—West Papuan; have a secret society (though without masks) and a death

cult (though without particular reference to skulls)—both East Papuan traits; make pottery which would be due to the Melanesian or a later complex; and practice the Mediterranean bow release, which in America has been reported only from the Eskimo, and from its distribution would seem to be Eurasian in origin and post-Polynesian. This makes a sufficiently complicated resolution of the culture mass of each of the two tribes by the Graebner method.

But we are only beginning. The two tribes live almost in geographical juxtaposition, and have without dissent been looked upon as similar. Yet the Luiseño lack these traits of the Chumash: the Australian beehive house; the West Papuan spear thrower; and the East Papuan moieties which the Chumash may have had (they are extinct now). The Chumash, on the other hand, lack these Luiseño traits: the Tasmanian cremation; the Melanesian or subsequent pottery; and perhaps the Australian boomerang, the West Papuan local exogamic groups, the East Papuan secret society, the post-Polynesian bow release. Now an explanation of these differences would necessarily be intricate, because it would have to account for the particular traits which the Luiseño and Chumash respectively retained and lost, or failed to acquire from the half-dozen great culture complexes which reached both of them. That is, a number of special subsidiary hypotheses would have to be devised to explain the differences. If on the other hand these differences are not accounted for, Luiseño and Chumash culture as such is really not explained at all.

The contention is not that Oceanic and Asiatic influences failed to reach these Californian tribes, or that it is unsound to try to trace them. But it does seem a fair point that there is something arbitrary about a method which correlates two Californian cultures with Oceania, but cannot correlate them with each other.

The second example may also be initiated in California. There are in this region peoples with exogamous totemic moieties without local groups, and with local groups; with nonexogamous moieties; with totemic unlocalized groups and with nontotemic localized groups. All these are patrilineal. Besides there are peoples without totems, groups, moieties, or exogamy, but with some inclination to recognize matrilineal descent. A similar variability obtains in the contiguous Southwest. There are tribes that are patrilineal (Pima), matrilineal (Hopi), totemic (Keres), nontotemic (Navaho), dually divided (Tewa), and moietyless (Zuñi). In the quite separate area of the northwest coast there are similar conditions; descent is matrilineal (Haida), patrilineal (Salish), and compromised (Kwakiutl); moieties obtain (Tlingit) or fail (Tsimshian). And so in eastern North America, in an area which is again geographically discrete, we find matrilineal and patrilineal reckoning, clans alone or moieties, totemic and nontotemic groups, among adjacent and otherwise similar tribes.

All this sounds like Australia, where Graebner accounts for the analogous variability in social organization as the result of colliding and intermingling of two chronologically separate strata of migrants or

cultures, the West Papuan and East Papuan. The same sort of collision should then account for the phenomena in the Southwest-California, northwest coast, and Atlantic-Mississippi regions. But how then about the arctic, Mackenzie, Columbia, Great Basin, and Texas areas, in which moieties, clans, totems, and exogamy are altogether lacking? Either the West and East Papuan cultures never reached these tracts, or they did reach them and were subsequently wholly obliterated, while in the three first-mentioned areas both of them entered, collided, and were both preserved. There is a lot here that is unexplained and difficult to explain, without piling new assumptions on the original Graebnerian ones.

The most general fact in the welter is that in three separate areas in North America, and a fourth in Australia-Melanesia, we find the supposed hallmarks of West Papuan and East Papuan social organization, not only among contiguous tribes, but actually blended among single tribes, whereas in intervening areas both are wanting. That is, we have a definite correlation for the "West Papuan" and "East Papuan" complexes, both as to occurrence and nonoccurrence. So far as social organization is concerned, the two alleged culture complexes or migrational streams are not two but one.

In fact, there is no compelling reason for assuming any Graebnerian complex or migration or diffusion at all. For the three North American areas of totemic exogamy such diffusion from a single origin may seem likely, though it is as yet supported neither by documents nor by serious internal evidence. But to derive the North American block and the Australian-Melanesian block from a single source in the face of all the intervening masses of peoples that have remained unaffected by this source, is as purely speculative as any assumption ever made by a psychological evolutionist.

That the matrilineate is a mere episode in the history of human civilization, as the Graebnerians claim, does seem extremely likely. But its episodic character can be established with economy of hypothesis on the basis of the distribution of the matrilineate and equivalent or analogous features of social organization. That is, the matrilineate evidently tended to develop where and when definite patrilineal reckoning, totems, clans, and moieties developed, and usually only in association with them or some of them. What the Graebner scheme superadds is the assertion that the episode did not possibly occur two or three or four times in human history, but that it happened only once as the consequence of the development of a single culture which originated under unknown circumstances in an unknown region, spread for unknown reasons, and survived or died out in this and that place from unknown causes.

There are undoubtedly many particular affirmations in the Graebner scheme that will prove true or that possess stimulative value. As a whole, however, the conception is a fabric of the imagination; as appears from its failure to correlate with any anthropological conclusions but its own. It almost wholly disregards physiographic and climatic environment. It makes no serious attempt to localize the beginnings or specify

the spread of its culture complexes. It does not explain the origin of their diversity. And it makes no provision for reintegrating the results of culture history, after they have been attained by purely cultural means, with the psychology that underlies cultural phenomena. In short, it condenses the history of a large part of the world into a sort of formula, forgetting that so far as formulas can be used in history at all, they are obviously applicable to its mechanisms and not to its events.[1]

It would seem that the professional anthropologists have devoted a superfluous amount of attention and space to the formulations of Graebner and Smith but in this they have pursued the prudent course recommended by Osler to his medical graduates, that on reaching the bedside of a patient and finding a concoction prepared by a neighborhood granny they should promptly throw it out. "But," he added, "I advise you first to smell it."

It will be understood, however, that even if the theories of Smith and Graebner in their precise form are completely discredited the question of possible American culture contacts with other continents and islands is not closed. Dixon, in a paper closing with the following words, raises the question of the introduction of the sweet potato into Polynesia from America, and promises a further discussion which owing to his death has never appeared:

In Polynesia I have tried to show that a diffusion of the sweet potato from a purely hypothetical introduction in the Marquesas was incompatible with the facts and physically impossible. In Melanesia, I have, I believe, brought forward enough evidence to show that a Spanish origin for the plant is also inadmissible. With a Spanish source of introduction in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries thus eliminated, we are brought face to face with the problem of pre-Columbian contacts between South America and Polynesia, and must explain the presence of the sweet potato in the Pacific as due either to Polynesian voyagers who, reaching American shores, brought back the plant with them on their return to their homeland, or to Peruvian or other American Indians who sailed westward and carried the sweet potato with them to Polynesia thousands of miles away. In either case the similarity of name for the plant in Polynesian and Kechua speech is a striking fact and one upon which great stress has been laid. In a later article I hope to discuss this, as well as some other aspects of the problem thus raised.[2]

[1] Kroeber, A. L., and C. Holt, "Masks and Moieties as a Culture Complex," *Jour. Anth. Inst.*, **50**: 452–460.

[2] Dixon, R. B., "The Problem of the Sweet Potato in Polynesia," *Amer. Anth.*, N.S., **34**: 59.

Chapter XVII

EXEMPLIFICATION OF BANTU CULTURE

The method of examining the varieties of behavior patterns by taking examples here and there has the insuperable disadvantage of presenting no picture of the total configuration of any single culture. The African Bantu tribes and the American tribes of the Plains have been copiously represented in the preceding chapters for the sake of some concentration and because of the superior character of the reports. At this point a more organized sketch of the way of life of the Bantu Chagga will be added, supplementing the frequent preceding references to this tribe. It will be noted that life continuity in the individual and the sib is the leading concept and that while the tribe is patrilineal and patrilocal the importance of blood in the mother's line is only less than among the Ashanti as reported by Rattray in the chapter on government.

It will be understood that this "exemplification" of Bantu life as seen among the Chagga is from a single standpoint, that of life continuity, and consequently does not reflect the whole culture complex, but only the dominant concept. Furthermore the term "Bantu" is a linguistic term, like "Indo-European," applied to many groups speaking many related languages. It is estimated that there are about 182 Bantu languages plus 119 dialects.[1] Consequently this characterization of the Chagga is not of general Bantu application. Nevertheless the concept of life continuity is prominent in Bantu tribes, as can be gathered from the references to the Venda, Ila, Zulu, Thonga, Bushongo, etc., in the preceding chapters.

All the citations in the following discussion are from Gutmann's volume,[2] and the pages are indicated after each quotation.

The Chagga see, or formerly saw, in every birth the return of an ancestor, and their explanation of the birth of children is assimilated to the conception that life is not merely the result of impregnation but represents also the reappearance or participation of ancestral spirits. For this reason the word for physiological birth is tabu:

[1] Werner, A., *The Language-families of Africa*, 25.

[2] *Das Recht der Dschagga* (C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung. By permission).

When a Chagga wishes to be excused from his service on the land of the chief because of a childbirth at home, he says, "A mother is sick at my house." The messenger understands that a birth is involved but must ask, "Is it your wife or a cow?" The tabu of the word for birth is easy to understand as will appear later. It is the fear of naming an event, whether connected with a woman or a cow, which is more closely connected with sib unity than any other. In former times if a married man in conversation with a youth were asked where children came from and replied that they were born, he made a public scandal and was taken before the court of the chief. As one who had betrayed marriage secrets he was fined three oxen, one for the child, one for the old men, and one for his age class (2–3).

Nevertheless they have a strong appreciation of a good mother type in both women and cattle and emphasize the transmission of the life continuity through the female line. While the sibs are now patrilocal and patrilineal, the genealogies are carefully observed with reference to the peculiar efficacy of any individual whose descent through a line of mothers is known:

In every household they honor him as "our grandfather on the left side," "the one from whom we had our beginning" . . . and beg him to rub them with spittle. He does this with many good wishes for their prosperity and many children. This feeling persists only along the female line and ceases where only sons are born. The reverence for the life-giving and character-determining ancestress who is their origin runs like a hidden thread through many sibs. And in a sib of this kind the ancestral bones will be the last resort in case of the desperate sickness of a child (7).

The shedding of sib blood is symbolic of the weakening of the life continuity and this feeling is emphasized in the relation between the brother and the son of a woman:

A sister's child is extraordinarily well cared for when in the house of an uncle. The children of the house may not play roughly with him as with other children, for if he should have the slightest hurt bringing blood misfortune will come to the house. His blood will bring sickness or suffering to his uncle. He must sacrifice a sheep and give the wounded child an amulet. A nephew who wounds his mother's brother atones immediately with the sacrifice of a sheep and the gift of an amulet (10).

Death by loss of blood, either in battle or in a fight or by murder, is viewed as a critical situation for the life continuity in the sib:

They think that a soul that has lost its blood through a wound received in battle cannot be united in the spirit world with those who died of

sickness or old age. For that reason such spirits are restless and dangerous. They remain long above the earth and hide in hedges and bushes. The goat sacrificed for such a man is offered to his ancestors with the request to find for him a companion who has fallen in the same way so that they may associate and form a household. They count with these, the spirits of those ostracized by society and also the left-handed. Fundamentally the belief is in a blood soul which hovers around the spot which soaked it up (244–245).

In another direction the symbolic and sacred character of mother blood and of the functions of motherhood in transmitting sib blood is shown in the reprobation of disgust or levity in this connection:

If a drunken man became soiled with menstrual blood and scolded his wife and showed disgust she left and went to her own people. The rumor of an insult of this kind caused an uproar among both women and men in the whole community [penalties were imposed by the chief and if the woman did not return the man could find no other wife]. They were very sensitive about any ridicule of a woman soiled by a nursing child. [The word *sikoko* ("bark skirt") came to be used contemptuously in this way and for any derogation of women's work.] A complaint about the use of this word by young people aroused universal indignation. The matter was handled according to the saying, "If one fly infects the meat the whole is spoiled." . . . All the young people were brought before a tribunal, the offenders were locked in a house for three days until they were weak with hunger. Then each was fined an ox or a goat, so that the council ground was full of animals. The chief took four oxen and the others were eaten by the men in the course of the day.

If a girl laughed at a woman wearing a skirt soiled by a child her father was called before the chief and must pay an ox. . . . Exceptionally the chief placed the punishment in the hands of the insulted community. This was done under Chief Rindi in the case of a girl Matsohoro. . . . She had ridiculed the school for brides, which she had just completed, in the presence of uncircumcised girls, calling the teaching lies and nonsense. The report of this spread from mouth to mouth among women and finally reached the chief. He called the women together and gave them permission to destroy the banana groves of her nearest relatives. Four banana groves were destroyed to the last sprout while a song was sung on the theme of the insult. The women then sat on the desolated spot and spoke a united curse against anyone who should ever again betray or deride the bride instruction. The owners did not dare to live again on the desecrated ground and moved elsewhere and the unfortunate girl died soon, unmarried (186; 252–253).

There is a further symbolism of the continuity of life as connected with the continuity of blood, associated with the concept

that the process must go on in an inviolable order, shown in the practice of punishing a father whose daughter menstruates before she is circumcised, in the requirement that a daughter may not be married while her mother is still bearing children, in the prohibition of marriage to a wife's sister so long as the wife is living and in the obligation of a man to enter an older age class when a daughter is circumcised. It is as if the unity of the blood stream would be disturbed if reproduction went on simultaneously in two generations of the same family or were carried simultaneously by two wives. Death and complication of the life process would follow:

> Nothing more unfortunate could happen to a father than to delay the circumcision of his daughter beyond the proper time. If she menstruated before the rite was performed the whole community was stirred up. It was not only an expression of contempt but brought calamity on everybody. The circumcision which was immediately ordered must be performed outside the country in a desert spot by an old woman who had never borne a child. The father had to pay her three goats, one to protect her life, one for her purification, and one for her assistants. In addition he furnished a sheep for the purification of the whole country . . . To his age class, which was especially insulted, he paid two oxen, and two to the chief for his warriors (56–562).
>
> As long as a mother is still bearing children her daughter may not marry. They try to delay her puberty with amulets. When the restraint of a daughter is no longer possible or advisable the following device is employed. The bride gifts are not received at the house of her father but of his brother and everything is arranged as if the girl were his daughter. . . . She also has the marriage discipline in the house of her uncle and is held in readiness there for removal to the house of her mother-in-law (133).
>
> The circumcision of boys could be postponed and a whole generation was circumcised at the same time. This would have brought about the retirement of all fathers from their age class at the same time. But the circumcision of girls had to be at the beginning of puberty, and this fell at different times in different families. This could compel a man to retire from his age class while he was still in charge of the community council. . . . [He belongs to] a procreation association and his membership lasts until the first-born of his line has been consecrated for the continuity of the association. Therefore the man retires, just as the woman may no longer bear children after her daughter is married. "If you are overtaken by your child you will die." "Overtaken by your child" means to be in the procreation association when your child enters it (357–358).
>
> A man is also forbidden to marry the sister of his wife so long as his wife is alive. Whoever marries two sisters causes the death of one of them. But after the death of a wife it is not only proper to marry her

sister but also desirable, for the sake of preserving a consistent familial type (74).

The inviolability of the order of events relating to the life line is also illustrated by the requirement that children must be married in the order of their birth:

> Younger sisters may not be married as long as older sisters remain unmarried. This rule was quite positive for the first-born in relation to all those following. This regulation was inconvenient only when for some reason the first-born daughter was unfit for a normal marriage. In that case they induced an old man to go through a make-believe marriage ceremony with her or to marry her in addition to his other wives, in order to open the way out of the house to her sister.
>
> This rule held not only for a household but also for the relation of the households in a sib branch to one another. The sons of a second brother could not marry before the sons of the first brother. If it happened that the first-born had late born sons or that his sons were noticeably behind the sons of his brother in development then the latter could not marry until they had permission from the oldest son of the older brother. At a beer gathering the permission was formally requested and granted on the condition that the wife should pass as the wife of the son of the first-born brother and the children as procreated by him. This condition has long become an empty form but it is nevertheless still made (74–75).

The concern for the regularity of the birth process is shown also with respect to abnormalities in the course of pregnancy, in the delivery of the child, and in deformities or birthmarks characterizing it: The child is killed if the mother menstruated during pregnancy, or if it was imagined that the child's voice was heard within the mother, or if it was a foot delivery, if a finger protruded first, if the breast of the child was red and the back black, etc. If the father had a dream that the child was born dead it was allowed to perish at the first illness. If a woman was barren during her first marriage and marries again the first child born must be killed. If the child is normal above and hairy below the chief must intervene with sacrifice and if the hair does not disappear within two years the child is killed.

The specific interpretations given by the native represent some form of symbolism. In the case of foot delivery it is said that the child will kill its father as soon as it is old enough to say "papa," and the same idea attaches to the protruding finger and the prenatal voice. The child is too "forward," and a menace to the father. At the same time there are more ethical levels of interpretation of some birth defects. They do not kill the deformed—those with clubfeet, web-fingers, supernumerary digits, crooked

legs, etc. These they reckon with the *matondo*, the "foolish," and they say that if you kill the stupid ones the ancestral spirits will cause the wise ones to die also. If the matondo bears the burden of a crippled existence he will appease the disaffected spirits and mediate the way to a continuity of physically sound individuals. Boys born with one testicle are also highly prized because, as Dr. Gutmann has explained to me, the heavenly powers, who confer fertility, have placed a distinguished fertility sign and promise on this representative of the sib (212–216).

There are among Chagga associations for guarding the blood on a large scale—agreements between related sibs to intermarry continuously and thus preserve the blood stream and life unity as derived from a line of female ancestors. "To bring mother home again" is an expression used to describe a marriage which preserves the mother type. The associations seem to have been originally a protest against exogamy, but the type of organization is decaying, and the practice is now sometimes rationalized as a plan to prevent the *ngosa* (bride gifts) from going to strangers.

In the following critical situation involving the preservation of the life of the whole group it is notable that the purity of blood, the original ancestral blood which had suffered no loss by wounding, is essential to the efficacy of the ceremony.

Nothing was more important for the Chagga than timely warning of an attack by neighbors bent on plunder. For a long time the most reliable precaution seemed to them to bury small children alive at the points of entrance to the country and on the council ground at the court of the chief. They expected warning noises from the children, a humming and droning in the earth before every hostile attack. Two children were invariably buried, a boy and a girl, but apart, on different spots.

Such a child was called "*mana ofunga orunka*," "child to make fast the country." Only a child was suitable which had never had a cut of any kind on its body and which had no physical defect. It could be taken only from one of the old sibs whose feeling of descent was firmly rooted in the ground of the land. These sibs of earliest settlement were called "grove sibs" because they possessed groves where they sacrificed to their first ancestor. . . .

This sacrifice of blood for the protection of the land could not be demanded outright, but the child was taken without the knowledge of its relatives and in their absence, not secretly but as an open transaction arranged between the council of elders and the chief.

When the parents of the child returned they found four cattle in the yard and a strange child guarding them. An old man who had been left to represent the chief met them with outstretched hands and supplicated them to compose themselves and consent to the sacrifice of their child

for the safety of the whole land. The strange child was a protégé of the chief, of the same sex as their child, but older, and sent by the chief to replace it.

The cows and the child are given not precisely out of sympathy but to recompense the parents and restrain them from emigrating, for that would invalidate the whole proceeding because in that case the child would make no warning noises. The child would also be silent as long as the parents were in a resentful state of mind, and the gifts were intended as a consolation. Therefore if several hostile raids were made without any warning sounds the chief called the father before him, gave him a cow or ox and a goat and begged him to stop mourning for the child so that it might act as sentinel for the whole land. To the gifts he added the threat if the father would not cooperate he would have the curse pot swung over him, which would rob him of all his children, or he might even be obliged to kill him.

The father of such a child was also exempt from every kind of tax and they did not dare to collect taxes forcibly from his son.

Before its burial the child was supplicated for forgiveness and begged to undertake the duty of guarding the land. The men who buried the child supplicated it each in turn, pulled out some hairs from its head and cut off its finger nails which they kept as protection against its vengeance. These remnants were also necessary for the complete adoption of the substitute child at the time of its circumcision.

At the circumcision of the substitute child the chief or his representative is present, along with the father of the buried child. When the substitute child . . . is on the ground prepared for the operation the hair and nails of the buried child are placed between his lips. A budding banana blossom is placed on his body as a substitute for the sexual organ of that child and is circumcised along with his own sexual organ. The old man who operates gives him the name of the buried child and the chief or his representative declares to the father that this is his own son (395–396).

The history of Kilimanjaro, where the Chagga live, is one of continuous warfare between tribes but it is remarkable that the initiation ceremonies have little to do with personal bravery or the art of war but are devoted mainly to the promotion and validation of the reproductive process. Prominent in the ceremonies was the selection of a youth regarded as a good risk to lead the way in reproduction and symbolize the age level of his group:

The first marriage in an age class was made symbolic of the fortunes of the whole class. [For this purpose a youth was selected before the circumcision ceremonies as their exponent.] No member of the class could be married before him, not even the son of the chief. The whole age class took the girl he wished [a mock capture] and carried her to him. [Contrary to custom] the bride gifts were delivered only after this event,

and the chief contributed to them. The associates of the youth could not be married until the breasts of the bride had been covered, that is, before her advanced pregnancy. They say of this trial of fate, "*aumbuja ngasi*," and they expand the word "*yumbuja*" in the sentence, "He unites in his body the ill fortunes of all the boys" (345, cf. 318).

The idea of vicarious functioning is widespread in religion and magic and has taken on two aspects, the one represented by the concept of a savior in the New Testament and the other by a scapegoat in the Old Testament. The youth above plays to some extent the role of savior in the ceremony, while the barren woman in the following passage is used as a scape. That is to say, there are two scapes, a greater and a lesser:

> To placate the supernatural powers which demanded the firstborn of men as an offering or otherwise visited them with disasters, the Chagga did inhuman things. The chief permitted the whole age class to cohabit with a barren woman that she might take upon herself the "*mo*," that is, all the bad effects which might cling to them from the circumcision and the later residence in a [very filthy] camp, which otherwise might spoil the first impregnation. This frightful practice was called "*ikumba sombo*," and it is said that the poor creature usually perished (345).

Another prominent and unparalleled feature of the initiation ceremonies (called "*ngoso*") was the indoctrination of the initiates in the fiction that at this time some stitches were taken in their bodies closing them up below so that food taken into the body was continuously digested and not eliminated. It was explained to the boys that while this was a fiction it was a plausible claim to superiority over the women and that they must stand by the claim throughout life. If a girl disputed this "manhood" of a boy she could never marry in that community, and a woman who said in a quarrel with her husband, "Name me something that a man cannot do but the birds do right along," she was taken before the chief for slandering the warriors, unless she apologized, sacrificed a goat, and brewed beer. When a man was old and perhaps incontinent, so that the fraud might be discovered, there was formerly another fiction of opening him again, and he was smeared behind with the blood of a goat, to give the impression of bleeding from the operation. Incidentally, one of the consequences of this fiction was that the men spent a considerable portion of their time in concealing their natural functions from the women and the efforts of the German officials to check the native diseases by the introduction of toilets were baffled to some extent because the men would not use them.

This ngoso claim seems however to have originated in the fact that in the ceremonies the main interest was the promotion of life continuity. The ceremonies as a whole represented being born again and the ngoso fiction was one item in the effort to assimilate the rebirth to the reproductive cycle of women:

> If it is true that the puberty ceremonies had in view a better adaptation of mankind to the function of reproduction and that this transformation was conceived at first as a new birth, the idea naturally followed that the period of preparation for membership in a procreative association should correspond with the period a child is carried in its mother's body, that is, nine months. The recovery and care after the operation lasted from two to three months, the stay in the camp lasted six months, and the whole period would thus be reckoned as nine months. The most definite sign of pregnancy had also aroused their attention. They describe pregnancy in terms of this, saying, "The woman closes up." The *ngoso* may have represented originally a comparison of the activity of men and women favorable to the men, namely that the man of procreative age was continuously closed and digested his food continuously. From this standpoint we can understand one saying among the bride instructions, when the women cover the breast of a girl during the fifth month of her pregnancy, that the ngoso was really their right and distinction but the men stole it from them (364–365).

Preparations for marriage are long and elaborate and may be said to represent a eugenic program as conceived by the Chagga. It will be noticed later that an evil state of mind may, it is thought, work harm in a mystic or magical way, and the feast and gifts to the house of the bride before her removal to the sib of the groom are intended to reconcile the minds of the girl and her relatives. The native word for gifts is "*ngosa*," meaning, not "bride price," but "means of winning one over." There are as many as sixteen of these ngosa transactions (mainly the slaughtering of animals) with conciliatory and complimentary speeches before the removal of the bride, and a number afterward.

Formerly the groom was associated with the bride in this regimen and in a course of instruction on marriage for a period of about five months, before the consummation of the marriage, but the chief forbade this sequestration of fighting men, for political reasons:

> With the removal of the bride to the home of the mother-in-law the marriage is by no means completed but there now begins an important part of the preparation for marriage called "*yalika*" which can be compared with a modern feeding cure. The girl does no work, does not leave the house, has a small girl to wait on her and chaperone her, and is nour-

ished plentifully with the best foods. . . . The day after her arrival her mother sends a pot of the best food and a calabash of rich milk. . . . During the whole time the groom was under strict control by his *mngari* [best man] who also slept with him. . . . The main object of this solicitude was to make the two very stout and strong. The relatives on both sides competed in the preparation of foods (113; 117).

This period of rest and feeding in the house of the mother-in-law of the bride gave an opportunity to observe whether the girl was ripe for childbearing, but there was also a belief that the milk of badly nourished mothers was "bitter" and bad for the child, and another belief that thick blood and fat were important in childbearing. At one point in the cycle of ceremonies the women examine the loin leather of the bride:

The first menstruation in the house of the mother-in-law is called "greeting the home." The groom's mother announces it to the whole household by jokingly blowing water on one of the children and exclaiming, "Pfui! It is raining." Or she lets the daughter-in-law do this herself. . . . The mother-in-law then sends the loin leather, with the sign of the event on it, to the home of the bride as a symbol and seal of her complete assimilation to her new home. The overjoyed mother [calls together her sib sisters and they prepare food in which meal from the mother's home is mixed with rich milk from the home of the mother-in-law] but before eating they inspect and conjure the loin leather. They unfold it and test the consistency of the blood. If it is thick and sticky they shout with joy since they regard this as the sign of its fitness to be impregnated (114–115).

At one point in this ritual the mother of the bride expresses the wish that the children of the marriage shall represent the continuity of her blood through the form and features of the offspring. Wrapping the loin leather around her own body (which has a magical meaning) she addresses her daughter, who is in fact not present:

My child, bear children as I did, uninjured and with no bad signs on them. May your blood be thick like mine. And may the fruit of your body be of my form and type, the type which I inherited from my mother and she from my grandmother. May the fruit of your body be not like the type of others even if you unconsciously after pregnancy should derive from them some qualities of a bad kind. May the child nevertheless be of my type (116).

During her stay with the mother-in-law the girl is also under observation for any peculiarities or traits which would indicate that she is not a suitable person to carry on the line of life. If

the girl wishes to escape the marriage, she will, for example, wet the mother-in-law while sleeping beside her, gnash her teeth during sleep, or smear her face with ashes in a distracted way. The engagement will then be broken and the girl returned to her parents.

In case the bride should become pregnant by the groom at any point in the long cycle of ceremonies and negotiations, the ceremony of a "shame marriage" must be performed by an old woman who had suffered the same fate. The young pair must then retire to a lonely spot, accompanied only by the old woman, build a hut, and remain until the birth of the child, which must be at once killed by the mother and father in common, the old woman taking no part. The steps toward marriage may then be resumed but the lost virginity of the bride must be symbolically and vicariously restored by borrowing a virginity from another girl:

> With the child out of the way the way was not yet open for the resumption of the delivery of the marriage gifts. The most important item remained—the restoration of the bride to a state of virginity, or as they express it, the removal of the state of unvirginity [using a word, "*mloworu*," applied to a bride impregnated before marriage].
>
> The removal of unvirginity is accomplished through a second marriage. It was apparently not so easy to persuade a sib to give a girl for this purpose, and following the development of political chiefs the shortest way was taken. [A girl was kidnaped with the consent and help of the chief] and taken to the home of the mother of the groom. Nothing was said to her father until she had been taken to the home of the mother of the groom. Her father could then do nothing but wait until the son-in-law thus forced on him sent an intermediary. Shortly afterwards the major course of marriage instruction was begun with this second bride. The groom and the virgin bride were handled as though they were the original pair and the original bride went through the whole instruction hanging on the back of the virgin bride (136–138). [The preliminary "bride instruction" must then be repeated at the home of the deflowered bride where she again received it hanging on the back of the virgin.]

The interest in children is indicated by the fact that there are medicine men who are specialists in promoting pregnancy in difficult cases. If successful they claim a share in the child and the payment is arranged with a view to retaining the services of the practitioner in producing more children and of preserving the life of the first child for a certain period:

> The husband agrees with the doctor to give him a goat with kids, or two goats or a cow and calf after the child bargained for has been followed by another. Or, if the agreement is not conditioned on the birth

of a second child the date of payment is fixed at the time the expected child is old enough to tend the goats of the household (493).

Or, a barren woman may propose to her husband that she leave him conditionally and prove whether she is able to bear a child by another man. At the same time she requests him not to demand back the ngosa gifts from her parents. If she does bear a child in this way it is killed and she returns. It may be that since the way is opened up she will continue to bear. At any rate the fault is not hers and if she chooses to remain she will be treated with great consideration.

In spite of this absorbing interest in the continuity of life it may happen that a man attempts to destroy a pregnant wife by magic, but the community makes believe that such a thing has never been heard of before and presumably can never happen again. They call in the oldest man in the whole country:

He has all the details narrated to him and his expression of amazement and his questions give the situation a dramatic character calculated to increase the horror of the crime. This is increased also by his inquiry about the occasion of the crime: "Did he do this to his own child or was it begotten by someone else?" "He did this to his own child." "What was the temptation to kill his wife?" "He wanted to marry someone else." After a period of puzzled reflection the old man says confidently: "Nothing of the sort ever happened before" (564–565).

It is reported that selection in marriage among the Chagga was determined not so much by riches and poverty as by the good or bad habits of the individual or the sib, and that sibs were avoided in which diseases were prevalent. There are, in fact, in the sibs specially informed advisers on these points.

As long as the sib advisers exercised an unweakened control a certain number of questionable marriages could be handled in such a decisive way as to make them out of the question. Among these was the repudiation of any marriage with sibs in which an incurable blood disease was present, such as elephantiasis, exostosis, herpes. The consequence was that families afflicted in this way could marry only among themselves. That relatively so small a percentage of elephantiasis is found in the poulation is to be explained in this way. A sickness called "*kifuwa*" was also a disqualification for marriage and this, according to all descriptions, was tuberculosis. It is possible that the disregard of the old sib rule has contributed to the deplorable increase of this disease among the Chagga.

The probable direction taken by fate in a sib was also important in the eyes of those who had the guardianship of marriage. They

warned against marriage into a violent sib which increased its possessions through open or secret evil deeds. Such marriage would involve the ultimate fate of extinction through the vengeance of ancestors.

Marriages into sibs where magic was known or thought to be practiced were also discouraged. This evil would inevitably be transplanted to one's own sib. They said, "A sorcerer's daughter splits the house."

They adhered most emphatically to the principle that no sib son should bring home a daughter from a thieving or lazy sib. The saying, "They teach their children laziness" was enough to terminate an engagement. And a good sib would not allow a daughter to marry into a lazy household.

But not all industrious girls were recommended for marriage. It must be known whether they were *ngula*, gormandizers, who would store no foods and hardly wait until they were ripe. Whether a girl would become a *mngula* was recognized from her mother. If the mother was a mngula the daughter was sure to be one.

Only the old sib advisers could determine the choice of a bride to the advantage and continuity of the sib, and since irresistible modern factors have unconsciously undermined to a large degree their influence marriage is left more and more to the individual pairing instinct which is concerned almost exclusively with externals and contributes in only a secondary way to the maintenance of the health and particularly the moral qualities of the race (75–76).

It seems probable that this extraordinary interest of a primitive people in practical eugenics is related to their peculiar interest in the preservation of the original ancestral line.

It is noticeable that in their attention to blood the Chagga do not employ freely the device of blood brotherhood. The symbolism of life unity through exchange of blood which is widely employed in Africa is most frequently a pact between individuals made, for example, by sucking blood from a cut in the arm of each by the other. The blood bond may thus unite total strangers, serving as an impressive and magical form of introduction and life insurance.

This practice is secretly employed among the Chagga as a union of the life interests of two individuals, but the dominant concept relating to blood is not that of a bond between individuals but of a continuous blood bond between generations. A blood bond with a stranger is thus a misuse of blood.

Among the Chagga at present this blood symbolism has taken two main directions—blood bonds between two sibs with a view to self-protection and aggrandizement against other sibs, and blood bonds between separate tribes and chiefs. (The ceremonies in this connection are described in Chap. VI.)

Life unity and continuity are further symbolized through the employment of two other bodily fluids, milk and saliva, and this involves the same magical concept as in the case of blood transfusion:

> "To suck the mother's breast" is the most emphatic and sacred form of asseveration, with symbolic applications in different directions. The adoption of a child into a household is completed by giving the mother's breast. Blood brotherhood is sealed by adding some drops of mother's milk. . . . "I suck your breast" is a form of apology and supplication between men (10).

Numerous African explorers have been outraged by having their hands and faces spit upon when greeted by old men or chiefs. This is, however, one form of that "sympathetic magic" which, as in blood brotherhood, assumes the transference and absorption of the quality and personality of the giver. In Chagga practice saliva is prominent as a symbol and promoter of unity and continuity:

> Saliva . . . transfers the life principle of the sib from one member to another. Down to the present the exchange of saliva is an independent subsidiary form of blood brotherhood. In the Malisa sib saliva is exchanged between the bridal pair at every wedding. First the groom expectorates in a vessel of milk which is given to the bride to drink, and in turn receives the vessel with milk and saliva of the bride and empties it. Life unity within the sib is thus represented and the bride is thus incorporated. . . .
>
> One who spits on his father or father's brother in anger offends as greatly as one who causes a sib member to bleed. On the contrary the spittle of a sib father has power to remedy the ills of sib life. This is most clearly expressed in the person of the *wasidu* (mother's brother) [who represents the older matrilineal system] . . . For a sick child this uncle's spittle is a remedy of the greatest importance. The child asks his help with the words, "Wasidu, I beg you, put spittle on me." The uncle answers, "Bring beer. My throat is too dry." The petitioner gets the beer and returns with its mother and siblings (12–13). [The uncle pours a drink offering to the ancestors, turns the child's face toward Mount Kibo, rubs it first with butter and then with spittle.]

Cattle are carriers of the continuity of the family and sib through their milk, as women are carriers of it through their milk and blood. A model heifer and a model girl are viewed from much the same standpoint. The heifer selected as a part of the bride gifts, and to live in the bride's house, must have a good social record, that is, not acquired in war or through any fraud but through labor. When a cow has calved she is treated

like a woman in childbed and elaborate ceremonies are undertaken to convince the calf that it is a member of the household and is not to be embittered because it is robbed of a portion of its mother's milk:

Even today the Chagga look on a woman and a cow from much the same standpoint and many Europeans, including many missionaries, take this as the best example of the degradation of woman among this people. The truth is that they express the peculiar sanctity of the young woman as a source of life precisely by this comparison and by placing her together with a cow. A young cow is placed in her hut. She may not curse any animal, especially a bull or a bull calf, or this would strike her husband in the animal. . . .

When a cow has calved she has much the same attention as a woman in childbed. The hut may not be entered unceremoniously. Food is solemnly placed before the cow with blessings. A banana stalk is added which is beginning to put forth a cluster of fruit. This is a very unusual action justified only in this case where life is in need of a renewal of strength, and this invigoration is represented by a plant at the point of gathering its strength for the ripening of its fruit. . . . This offering of food is called "*yambya mbe*," "greeting the cow," and she is addressed with the words, "Welcome, young mother. Bring offspring as numerous as bees."

The cow is now milked for a whole month without any of the milk being drunk. It is kept in calabashes which in this connection are called not by the ordinary name (*sisaha*) but by an ancient name (*maturi*). The calabashes are then carried to all the sib households. The neglect of any household would be felt as the deepest insult. . . .

Before the members of the family drink the milk of their cow a boy from four to six years old who has no physical defect and no scar on his body must take the first drink. At sunset the boy is taken to the hut and some milk is poured into a vessel from the calabash first filled. . . . The boy closes his eyes, puts it to his mouth and takes a sip. He holds this in his mouth and lets it ooze upon the muzzle of the calf, and while his lips are touching the calf's muzzle he must pronounce benedictions on it. . . . Then he dips certain grasses in the milk and gives them to the calf to eat. Finally he puts the vessel to his mouth again and says to the calf, "I taste your milk." At this moment, while the boy is emptying the vessel with closed eyes, the old ones call to the calf, "Don't be offended. We, the grown-ups, are not robbing you. . . . it is the boy, one of your own age, who is taking your milk" (10–12).

With the development of a political state and the social changes following contact with white civilization and administration the sib organization was inevitably weakened. There are at present sibs which, in the language of the native, "scatter blood spots around," that is, disregard blood bonds. In this situation

two types of specialists, a venerable ritualist (intermediary with ancestors) and a legal adviser ("the wise one of the sib"), have the function of preserving unity and continuity. The legal adviser is called also "the post for tying cattle" because he prevents the loss of property through lawsuits. He represents the interests of the people before the chief, feeds the poor by appointing them as cooks at public festivals, and arranges marriages for orphans in order to continue the blood line. The feeble-minded also have a particular consideration because heredity is a long-run matter through generations. They say: "Even if your sib brother is an idiot don't hit him too hard; he might create clever children, and you, clever one, might create stupid ones, so that the tables would be turned."

A difficult situation arose when it became necessary to get rid of an unruly or dangerous member of the sib. It involved the banishment of a bit of the ancestral blood:

> It was the duty of the legal adviser to remove injurious individuals from the sib. This was done before all the sib members and in the presence of the chief. The instrument of separation and banishment was the yellow fruit of the solaceous plant (the size of a plum) which infests all the waste land of Kilimanjaro. It is named "*nduo*," and therefore the whole proceeding is called "*ikapa na nduo*," "to strike with the solanum fruit." Under the eyes of the chief they take one of these fruits and pass it from hand to hand. Everyone spits on it. Finally it reaches the hand of the leader. He lifts it on high and says that the sib is ridding itself of this member and leaving him free to go where he will. While he still has his hand raised to throw, the chief interrupts and asks whether the banishment is final and no way is open for his return. If this is emphatically denied the question is raised whether the sib waives its claim to the man's land and house. When that is settled the fruit may be cast away as symbol of a decision which no human power can revoke. And no descendant of the banished man may ever be taken into the sib. Such a banishment is therefore extremely rare. Even if such a sib brother has caused them great losses through debts and lawsuits the reflection that with him they separate forever all his descendants from the sib deters them from taking the final step and casting away the nduo. The concept of blood unity dominates their minds to that degree (19).

It was forbidden to speak to a banished man forever after, but the survival of a sentiment of unity was shown in a form of *oratio obliqua*. Upon meeting, the sib member might address perhaps a tree, saying, "Good morning, *msesewe* tree," and the other would reply, "The msesewe tree thanks you." In an emergency also a banished man may be rescued but without direct contact:

On perhaps a war expedition someone says, "Your banished sibman is lying back there and dying." The man notified goes and finds him. Within seeing distance he opens his bag, ceremoniously divides his food and leaves half on the roadside. On leaving he sings . . . "*Kirie* bird, kindness continues in hunger." . . . To speak of this action is not appropriate on either side, but the rescued man will express gratitude. He slaughters an animal and wraps a hindquarter in banana leaves. During the night he carries it to the hut of his rescuer and leaves it before the door. When some distance away he sings a song closing with the words, "Listen, *lelele*, it is I who am speaking" (237–238).

Children taken in war and refugees or others from a distance, whose descent was unknown, could be adopted into the sib but a banished man could become a member of no other sib nor be buried there. Such a man went into the service of the chief and was perhaps quartered by him with another sib, but he retained his sib name and must eventually be buried by his sib, because no other sib would undertake to bury him.

A banished man may have lived for years in another sib but when it comes to death no one will bury him and his body may not be put in the ground. His blood sib is informed through the chief that it has a corpse on alien ground and must remove it. . . . But whenever possible a death on strange ground was avoided. A youth was banished from the Wamari sib because he had for revenge on some sib members informed the chief about the number of their cattle and had invented stories to deprive them of their property. But when the chief heard that his informant had been banished from his sib he took advantage of the first slight sickness of the youth to send an order to his sib to remove him to their own ground. He wanted by all means to avoid his death on his own ground and he could find no sib willing to receive him. The Wamari sib came and took away their banished member but said some unmistakable words to the chief: "If we kill a dog that bites us you won't make any trouble for us, O chief." The next morning he was not alive, and the chief and the whole land thought this quite all right (236–237).

The blood sib buried the man outside its borders, because his body would curse the ground and its owners, as will be noticed later.

The most dreaded threat against individual and community continuity was the evil wish. One aspect of magical theory is that an evil state of mind may work evil by wishing it. The wish is usually accompanied by an imitative performance as when the waxen effigy of a man is punctured with thorns or melted over a fire and his death wished at the same time. Or the plain wish unassisted by bewitching may work destruction. Thus,

among the Chagga if a man said to another, "After a year you will drink no beer and there will be orphans in your house," this would be proof that the speaker was anticipating the death of the other and he would be fined at least two goats, one as an "apology" and one as a "safeguard of life." Or if a man lost a tooth through violence the threat that this enraged tooth would be buried in the land of the offender was sufficient to exact a penalty of several animals and the tribute of an ox and a goat in alternate years as long as he lived:

If a man had a tooth knocked out by another he calmly picked it up, tied it in a corner of his clothing, took it to the chief, and started a lawsuit. He also took a goat along as initial fee. A suit over a tooth was conducted neither by the chief nor his usual mouthpieces but a conference of the oldest men was called [who had lost their teeth or were losing them].

The accused must pay the old men a goat before the trial began. This was called "the walking-stick goat" because the old men could go to the court of the chief only with the assistance of walking sticks.

[The goat was sacrificed and an "atonement water" was prepared in which blood, excrement and hairs of the goat were placed, and the plaintiff, dipping the tooth in the mixture, threatened to bury it in the land of the offender if justice was not done, and conjured it to ruin his crops and cattle.] The old men then pronounced their sentence: "The accused is guilty and shall pay to the plaintiff an ox and a goat and the costs of the suit, in so far as he has borne them, and to the chief whatever he requires. In addition he is sentenced to pay the plaintiff damages every year, as long as he lives, to wit, an ox and a goat in alternation." The injured man demanded this annuity every year at the same time showing the tooth as proof that he had not buried it.

If a man knocked a tooth out of his wife in anger or accidentally he must pay her annually either a goat or provide blood to be drunk for her health. But if she left the man on this account her father arranged the settlement by returning the marriage gifts and substituting this annuity.

Many emigrated rather than submit to this. In that case all their property went to the injured person—house, land, and water. If such a man left a sister behind she had to do frond service for the damaged person.

[The extraordinary importance attached to the tooth was related to their belief that it contained the soul and carried the essence of life in a peculiar way. They had been impressed by the peculiarities in the development of the teeth, their appearance after birth, the loss and restoration of some of them, and their eventual loss in old age] (560–561).

But in Chagga life the most frequent and highly developed form of the evil wish was the curse. Cursings were not infrequent, for example, in domestic quarrels, a favorite curse being,

"Lose your blood," and if a pregnant woman was cursed by her husband and died before or during childbirth, the penalty was as follows:

> Seven oxen and seven goats to the father of the wife, four oxen and four goats to her maternal uncle, two oxen to the chief "because his cup was knocked over," that is, the murder deprived him of a source of service. . . . In addition the man pays two oxen, two goats, and one sheep as cost of the process. . . . In case the wife died but not the child they did not dare to prosecute, for they thought the child would surely die as soon as a suit was begun. In that case all the payments the man made to the household of the wife to cause his guilt to be forgotten went under the name of "marriage gifts."
>
> If mother and child both die but the mother leaves other children her father is urgently advised against a complaint to the chief, and they use the proverb, "Don't burn the tree with the branches." . . . They also refer to the continuation of her life and existence in the children, and say, "She left her head outside," that is, she is not all buried (565).

The curse of the dead was particularly dreaded because the dead remained spiritually alive and acted as judges and executioners. A man might prevent forever the marriage of his descendants within a sib with which he had quarreled, and marriage negotiations would be broken off if it was discovered that the ancestors had at some time been involved in a bitter lawsuit, even though there had been no cursing.

The preparations for marriage mentioned above were partly to reconcile the girl and domesticate her blood, so to speak, to the sib of her husband and at one point in the cycle of ceremonies precautions were taken against her dying with a curse on her lips. Her father says:

> "Is it true that you love this man? We have an ancient warning from our ancestors: Do not give your daughter forcibly to a man in marriage. If she is badly treated she might die with a curse upon her lips against her brothers. But if she goes to the man of her own free will the curse will do no harm" (89).

The more prosperous Chagga carry on a business of putting out cows with the poorer families, who use the milk and turn over the calves to the owner of the cow. When the cow is old she is returned also. It sometimes happens, however, that the owner dies without informing his heirs about a certain cow. The borrower will seldom return the cow, but he is in a difficult situation, because the dead man knows everything and may curse and destroy him and his house. In this case he may either make blood

brotherhood with the son of the dead man or arrange a marriage of his son to the dead man's daughter. The cow is then returned to the house of the owner as part of the bride gifts.

A banished man is sometimes restored to his sib, with as much ceremony as when he was banished, unless he had explicitly cursed the sib.

But a restoration to the sib is possible only for one who has not answered the banishment with a curse. There were men who cursed themselves publicly and swung the curse pot, with the words: "May the pot kill me if I ever return. May it kill my son and grandson and great grandson if they ever unite with you." In such a case a restoration was completely out of the question (239).

If there is "bad blood" between two of the wives of a chief, one of them must be sent away or the chief would die, but in the following case the threat of cursing restored a wife banished in this way to at least residence at the court of the chief:

Chief Salema of Moshi had a wife named Temu, from Kilema. One day she quarreled with another of the wives about an oxhide for drying corn. They fought, tore off each other's clothes, fell naked to the ground, and bit each other until they were bloody. It was now evident that they could not both remain at the court. One of them must be sent away or the chief would die. The chief's mother insisted that Temu, who was the guilty one, should be banished. She swore not to appear at the court of the chief as long as Temu was there, and she threatened to strike all the men of the land with her apron, that is, incite them to demand the removal of Temu. Thereupon the chief sent her away but without giving her an escort home. Temu went back to Kilema, was married to the chief there, and bore him a son. The child died and otherwise things did not go well with her. She sent her father with a fine ox to Salema and begged him to take her back. Salema declined to do this. Then Temu went herself, rushed into the house of the chief's mother, and threatened to curse her if she was sent away. She is now under the protection of the chief's mother and leads her own life but the chief takes no notice of her (198–199).

There is also a picturesque threat of cursing for the purpose of "compelling the chief," resorted to by a desperate man faced with a heavy fine. With an uncastrated black ram and an uncircumcised girl covered with magical plants and berries, the man broke his way into the hut of the chief's mother and threatened the chief with his curse if he was not treated mercifully. In this connection the unmutilated sex organ of the ram was supposed also to carry a magical power which the chief did not dare to oppose:

Usually the chief kept this episode quiet and the men on the assembly ground could make their inferences only from his altered behavior. The chief then did not try to have a change of sentence or seek to conceal the facts but proposed reduction of the penalty in the interest of the country, suggesting that a heavy penalty might drive the man to emigration (609–610).

It appears that the curse of a congregation of young girls is peculiarly potent and is sometimes used in tribal wars to exterminate a rival chief and his line. One of these incidents illustrates strikingly the confirmation of the efficacy of cursing as viewed by the Chagga. In 1855 or thereabouts Ndalio, chief of the Marangu, incited the girls of this tribe to curse Masaki and his son Sehya of the Kilema tribe:

He taught them every detail of the curse, the words and gestures. Masaki heard of this and knew that his life was lost. But he wished to make his revenge certain and instigated the girls of his country to a similar cursing of Ndalio and his son Mlatie. Fear of the event now held both countries spellbound. They saw fate strike first in Kilema. Smallpox broke out in Kilimanjaro and carried off Masaki and Sehya, his firstborn.

The people of Marangu rejoiced. Ndalio and his warriors sang a long song of derision. But Ndalio did not have long to rejoice. A deadly disease swelled up his body, and a rumor circulated that he had been bewitched and would give birth to twins (518).

Finally Ndalio disemboweled himself with a sickle, and when his son Mlatie died in consequence of circumcision

a terrified moan went through the land: "The curse of those girls had been fulfilled. Masaki died with his son Sehya, Ndalio died with his son Mlatie" (521).

In the war just mentioned Ndalio had called in troops of the Rombo and Taveta people, who were reputed to "stop their ears in battle so that nothing should deter them from strangling." But this destruction of life continuity and the "piling up of cursings," as it was called, was not in harmony with the old sib psyche, but was a characteristic of the political state, and it is significant that in the present instance the mother of Ndalio intervened, had herself made chief of the Marangu, and governed for a time in the interest of life continuity on the sib principle of neighborliness:

She called a meeting of all the warriors of Marangu and spoke to them on the assembly ground: "I am thinking of all the evil wrought in Ndalio's

time. I want to take steps that no new misfortune shall come out of it, that it shall not happen again and become even worse."

The men replied with approval, "We beg you, tell us everything that is in your head."

Msanya said: "What I have in mind is this. First, I decide that the *kiljasiga* (cursing) custom must disappear, for it brings destruction to countries. If there had been no kiljasiga Ndalio would not have sent for the girls and told them, 'Curse Masaki,' and Masaki could not have said to his girls, 'Curse Ndalio.' It was the kiljasiga that brought the great misfortunes on Marangu and Kilema that Masaki died with his son and Ndalio died with his son. Did not the girls cry: "May Ndalio die, die with his children?' And everything has happened as it was spoken. Therefore I order that kiljasiga be abolished, for it has caused evil deeds in the countries. That is my command. I give it" (522–523).

There are other varieties of cursing, including the most picturesque and elaborate form called "swinging the curse pot" (described in the chapter on government), which has been socialized to a degree; that is, it is permitted by the chief only in certain cases, as when a man refuses to conform to a decision of the elders and deliver perhaps a cow which has been in dispute. But in such cases the swinger of the pot must specifically except from the consequences of his extensive cursings the sib members of the man cursed, and also such of his daughters as are married and reside in other sibs, and his wife, if she leaves him and returns to her sib; that is, precautions are taken not to exterminate sib blood extensively.

Cursing is a specialized behavior trait in other populations than the Chagga but in this case its popularity seems to be a reflection of the peculiar interest of this group in life continuity. In a number of the passages cited it will be noticed that the extermination of blood as well as individual life is emphasized in the curses. Characteristic of this is the dying curse attributed to chief Rongoma, who was cursed by a woman he had caused to be strangled. He sacrificed a son to avoid the curse, but died on the same day, and his last words cursed continuity through women and cattle: "After my death may the girls have no hips and may the fat buttocks of cattle disappear from the world" (514).

Chapter XVIII

THE RELATIVE MENTAL ENDOWMENT OF RACES

While characteristic directions of attention and types of performance in different races and cultures are decidedly different we must be skeptical of any theory or so-called proof of the inborn inferiority of any one race or population taken as a whole in comparison with any other group.

In nature there are certain distinct routes and great termini of evolution, represented, for example, by insects, birds, and mammals, where form and function approach the degree of perfection possible in this type of mechanism, and all these patterns of organic life exhibit remarkable and characteristic abilities. When the wasp understands how to sting the different segments of a caterpillar in such a way that it does not die and decay but remains fresh meat to be devoured from time to time by the larvae, this substitute for refrigeration is a very clever performance. The ability of some animals to find their way about is not even approximated by man. The homing ability of the bird is so precise that when Watson built a nest for a tern on the top of a pole (in the Tortugas Islands) and then sent the bird to the mainland, in the meantime removing the nest and the pole, it returned and attempted to light in the air at the point where the nest had been. Herrick points out, also, that the emotional life of birds seems more highly developed than that of man. It is well known that they sing a lot, some of them prepare dance floors and hold periodic dances, and their courtship is almost hysterical. They appear also to be more completely socialized than man. The male pigeon takes his turn regularly at sitting on the eggs and is very insistent about it, even pushing the female away. It is true that he is moved by stereotropism, or the desire to crowd his body into a tight space (a sort of embrace), but it has the appearance of love and from the standpoint of familial solidarity it is perfect.

Now these animal species and man seem to have reached approximately the terminus of their type of organic evolution. They have the endowments appropriate to their type of performance, and there are no further steps in evolution open or important to them. There are, indeed, better and worse individuals in litters of puppies and kittens, but the fundamental patterns of

structure and performance remain dog and cat. The "organs, dimensions, senses"—the eye, the ear, the nose, the brain—remain of the same pattern. The variations and mutations are random (if not controlled by breeding) rather than consistent and progressive.

Cultural changes may have a very rapid tempo and a very revolutionary course, but when a species is once established, the organic changes are relatively slight. The biologist Conklin has placed the proper emphasis on this point in the following passage:

> It is a notable fact that the social evolution of man has been very much more rapid than his physical evolution. In physical organization man has changed but little since the beginning of recorded history, but in social organization the most enormous advances have been made and changes are still going on at a rate which is amazing if not alarming. The chief reason for this difference in the rate of physical and social evolution is to be found in the fact that experiences are more quickly registered in the intellect than in bodily structure or even in the instincts, and that in intelligent social groups all past experiences may be transmitted to future generations, so that each new generation stands, as it were, on the shoulders of the preceding ones. On the other hand, so far as body structures, functions, and instincts are concerned, each generation begins life anew as germ cells and if it inherits any characters due to the experiences of its ancestors they are few and rare.[1]

Nevertheless it is a fact that the breeds of dogs developed by man differ considerably in their aptitudes and dispositions. The bloodhound, for example, is not a more intelligent animal than the cur dog, but he has a superior sense of smell which enables him to do a class of work which the cur cannot do. And in the same way it is conceivable that the white race came into the possession of a unique mental faculty or a more highly developed form of some faculty, which has enabled it to develop a superior culture. We may therefore examine what are the peculiar mental endowments of man and how they differ, if at all, among the racial groups.

Man's distinctive mental power and the basis of his superiority is his ability to behave as if something were something else—to see resemblances which are not obvious to animals and to work toward practical ends through the recognition of these resemblances. Thus there is no obvious resemblance between a man's arm, a horse, a slave, a waterfall, a windmill, a jet of steam, an electrically charged wire, but they all contain "power" and can be applied to a mill for grinding corn. They function in the same

[1] Conklin, E., "The Rate of Evolution," *Sci. Monthly*, **10**: 601.

way. There is a process of substitution on the part of the mind by which one thing is identified with another and behaves "as if" it were the other. In so far as turning a wheel for grinding corn is concerned the millrace behaves "as if" it were a horse. The stick for pulling in objects otherwise out of reach behaves "as if" it were a lengthened arm and hand. The club is a weightier substitute for the arm and the fist. This ability to recognize uniformities among apparent disparities is termed the power of abstraction, and is developed feebly or not at all among animals below man. For example, a man may say he has a dog that is "as intelligent as anybody," and describe how the dog returned to the house and brought a forgotten sponge with which the rowboat was usually mopped out. And dogs are indeed capable of this sort of thing and do it right along. But it is incredible that the dog, failing to find the sponge, would have brought an old shirt, a bed blanket, a coffee sack, or a dipper as a substitute. It would have taken a bright boy to do this. Dogs are capable of bringing together things which they have seen together habitually—a coat if the man pats his arms and points toward the house—but they are not capable of substituting equivalents. They have the power of "association by contiguity" but not of "association by similarity."

One of the fields of application of the principle of abstraction is mechanical invention, and the inventions of the white man have become so important and far reaching as to quite overshadow the simpler devices of primitive times, but when we reflect that original man, naked, thin-skinned, and vulnerable, comparatively puny, with no claws or tusks or horns or poisoned fangs or saber teeth, and not even a fast runner, originated the club, the knife, the sword—to strike more effectively than the fist; hooks, traps, nets, and pitfalls—to seize more and larger game than was possible with the hands; the bow and arrow, spear, blowgun, and spring-trap—to secure motion swifter than that of any animal and to slay the animal at a distance, it is impossible to give him a low rating on the power of abstraction as applied to the field of invention.

When the white man came into the possession of gunpowder and the gun the fate of the inferior races was sealed; you cannot hold out with slings, spears, clubs, blowguns, and bows and arrows against rifles. And yet the ingenuity incorporated in the blowgun and bow and arrow is not inferior to that of the gun. The natives of the Amazon-Orinoco region and of the Malay Peninsula who puffed through the stalk of a bamboo a tiny arrow no larger than

a knitting needle but tipped with the deadly curare or the juice of the upas tree had developed a device involving as much "mind" as the one where a bullet is projected through a metal tube by a puff of powder.

When, in fact, we consider that inventions emerge in proportion to the materials and techniques already accumulated by a society it is more difficult to understand the invention of the bow and arrow than that of the gun. Powder had been invented by the Chinese centuries before its use in the European gun. The Hittites were selling iron to the Egyptians thirteen hundred years before Christ and this material had been used in Europe since the ninth century B.C. The popgun and the beanshooter were probably in use by children when the gun was invented. In this situation the putting together of the gun was a combination of materials and ideas already at hand. On the other hand, no one has been able to suggest any model in nature from which the clever contrivance of bow and arrow could have been derived.

Similarly the West Africans invented a system of distant speaking which showed as much or more original "mind" than the modern telegraph. Taking advantage of the tonal quality of their language, the natives were able to communicate at a distance, literally speak, by means of a drum language. We shall never be able to do this because our language lacks the tonal quality. On the other hand, the modern telegraph was the result of the cumulative work of many minds. It was based on Faraday's discovery of the induced current, its practical application was worked out by Gauss, Weber, Steinheil, and Morse, and the fundamental discovery resulted in a multitude of other practical applications which seem to outclass the mind of the savage:

> On the morning of Christmas day, 1821, Faraday called his wife into his laboratory and showed her the revolution of a magnet around an electric current. From this came the electric motor, electric utilization of water power, electric car, electric lighting, telegraph, and telephone. If all the water power in the U. S. were utilized (and it can be only through Faraday's electromotor) it would represent a capital of seventy-five billions.[1]

The mental life of any epoch is thus dependent on the values developed by preceding epochs. Experimental science, as distinguished from the observational and speculative science of the Greeks, is about four hundred years old (if we date it from Leonardo da Vinci) and at present the bare titles of scientific papers pub-

[1] Robertson, T. B., "The Cash Value of Scientific Research," *Sci. Monthly*, **1**: 142.

lished annually fill about seventeen volumes of closely printed pages. It was only about a hundred years ago that these values began to find an astonishing application in a variety of practical inventions:

> Inventions and discoveries of practical value to the race were few and far between until the dawn of the nineteenth century. Then, it seemed, the floodgates opened and in rapid succession we acquired the cast-iron plow, the cotton gin, the high-pressure steam engine, the screw propeller, the electromagnet, the telegraph, vulcanized rubber, the sewing machine, the electric locomotive, the airbrake, celluloid, the quadruplex telegraph, the telephone, the talking machine, the typewriter, the incandescent lamp, the trolley car, the automatic knot-tying harvester machine, electric furnace reduction, the transparent photograph film, electric welding, calcium carbide, carborundum, electrolytic alkali production, the motion-picture machine, disk plows, high-speed steel, the airplane, wireless telegraphy—to say nothing of monstrous devices for havoc and destruction in war.[1]

During this period of a hundred years, it is certain that more inventions were registered in the patent offices than had appeared before in the history of the world, and it is incredible that in so short a time the inventive ability of the white race should have improved in proportion to the variety and complexity of these inventions. It means only that a greater number of men were working on these problems in a specialized way, with superior techniques, on the basis of a greater body of accumulated data.

It cannot be said that anthropologists have always shown an appreciation of how the principle of abstraction works, in their attempts to explain origins, particularly the origins of savage invention. Lippert, the distinguished culture historian, is responsible for the theory that man took the idea of a mill for grinding, with its upper and nether millstones, from the upper and lower molars in his own mouth. Pitt-Rivers says that the idea of a large boat might have been suggested in time of floods, when houses floated down the rivers before the eyes of men. Mason claims that the hawks taught men to catch fish, the spiders and caterpillars to spin, the hornet to make paper, and the crayfish to work in clay. It is frequently stated that the poisoned arrow was imitated from the tooth of the snake, etc.

These assumptions ignore the power of abstraction, which is able to detect resemblances among a variety of details. The idea of crushing, pounding, and rubbing is much too general to warrant us in saying that the idea of the mill is derived from the human

[1] Steinmetz, C. P., *New York World*, Aug. 20, 1923.

mouth. When man has once a floating log, bark boat, or raft, he can enlarge it without assistance from floating houses. Man would have caught fish and spun and made pottery if there had been no hawks or spiders or crayfish. The snake is the most conspicuous user of poison in nature and no doubt was one source of imitation. But there are various poisons in nature. The curare with which the Guiana Indian tips his tiny arrow is a vegetable product. The Bushmen use animal, vegetable, and mineral poisons, and a mixture of all of them, and the Hottentots manufacture poisons from the entrails of certain insects and from putrifying flesh. In short, assuming poison in nature and the arrow in the hands of man, we can assume the development of a poisoned arrow point even if there had been no such thing as an envenomed serpent's tooth. There have also been serious attempts to determine what was the first weapon used by man. Was it a round stone, a sharp-pointed stone, a sharp-edged stone, or a stick? But all we can really assume is prehensility and the general idea. The first weapon used was the object at hand when the idea occurred to man. Or, having any one of these objects in his hand, it used itself, so to speak, and the action was afterward imitated.

Viewed also from the standpoint of the premises from which the reasoning follows, the civilized anthropologist has certainly not always shown more than savage intelligence. Lippert has argued from the premise: "No race or group has ever risen to a high level of culture without the milk of domestic animals. Infant mortality is too high in the absence of milk, and the presence or absence of milk has sealed the fate of races and nationalities." But passing over the fact that the Chinese and Hindus have always rejected and abhorred milk, it is evident that no race has ever attained a considerable level of culture in the absence of iron and other metals. And it would be possible to name a number of things which races of high culture possess and races of low culture do not possess. McGee has argued from the premise that plants and animals were first domesticated in the desert rather than in humid areas, because in unwatered regions plants, animals, and men were more in need of one another and showed a greater tolerance and helpfulness. But the presence of plant life and the idea of renewing it are enough without a desert environment. In the Malay Peninsula custom requires the natives not to eat durian fruit under the tree from which it is gathered, but to move to a vacant spot. In this manner more durian trees will grow from the falling seeds, and this is *one* of the origins of the domestication of plants.

Animals follow the camp for food, they are caught alive in traps, the buffalo calf follows home the hunter who has killed its mother, Malay women nurse orphaned wild pigs at the breast, and all this leads to domestication regardless of desert regions.

Another field of abstract or "as if" behavior is the use of symbols in language and numeral systems. It is probable that in the beginning the gesture (which is a crude pictorial representation) and vocal sounds were developed simultaneously, but the use of noises to designate objects has the advantage of relieving the hands of this responsibility and provides a vocabulary capable of an indefinite extension. Man is, among other things, a sound-systematizing animal.

The normal child, at a certain point of maturation, will learn the use of names for things from parents and playmates in this imitative way, and it is not apparent that the use of these symbols is a particularly difficult matter, but where, as in the case of Laura Bridgman, all the important senses are lacking except touch, it is possible to see just what is the mechanism and difficulty of abstraction. Dr. Howe has described his experience with Laura, as follows:

> Common articles, such as a knife, a spoon, a book, etc., were first taken, and labeled with their names in raised letters. She was made to feel carefully of the article with the name pasted upon it. Then the name was given her on another piece of paper, and she quickly learned to associate it with the thing. Then the name of the thing being given on a separate label, she was required to select the thing from the number of other articles, or to find the article; For instance, when the word "key" was given her on a bit of paper in raised letters, she would at once feel for a key on the table, and not finding it, would rise and grope her way to the door, and place the paper upon the key with an expression of peculiar gratification. . . .
>
> It was evident, however, that the only intellectual exercise was that of imitation and memory. She recollected that the label "book" was placed upon a book, and she repeated the process . . . but apparently without the intellectual perception of any relation between the things.
>
> After a while, instead of labels the individual letters were given her on detached bits of paper. They were arranged side by side, so as to spell, book, key, etc. Then they were mixed up in a heap, and a sign was made for her to arrange them herself so as to express the words "book," "key," etc., and she did so. Hitherto, the process had been mechanical, and the success about as great as teaching a very knowing dog a variety of tricks. . . . But now the truth began to flash upon her, her intellect began to work, she perceived that here was a way by which she could herself make up a sign of anything that was in her own mind, and show

it to another mind, and at once her countenance lighted up with a human expression.[1]

Dr. Howe said that when he had taught Laura to paste the labels on the objects he could do no more. It was as if you had lowered a rope to a man at the bottom of a dark well and could only wait to see whether he would grasp it.

Laura Bridgman and Helen Keller (mentioned in Chap. IV) were both normal children until they lost some of their senses through scarlet fever at about the age of two. They were consequently somewhat humanized by their mothers, especially on the side of sentiment, during the early months. But a French child, Marie Heurtin, who was born blind and deaf was similarly humanized through language. Some French nuns undertook this from a pious standpoint—in order to develop her for the Kingdom of God. They did this in a very rude way (somewhat as psychologists experiment with animals) by withholding her food until she repeated a sign for food, taking away her playthings and giving back only when she repeated certain signs for them. At the time this was undertaken, Marie was very "dark" but had been humanized to some extent by the sense of touch:

[At the age of ten Marie was placed in the institution at Larnay, near Poitiers.] As soon as she realized that she had been left by her father she became like an enraged maniac, scratching, striking, dashing herself against the walls and uttering inhuman cries. That lasted for three whole months.

Sister Sainte-Marguerite, who watched her day and night, noticed that she had a particular affection for a little pocketknife which she carried. She took it, and Marie was furious. She gave it back a moment and placed Marie's hands together, one cutting the other, which is the deaf-mute sign for knife. Then she took the knife again. The child was irritated, but as soon as she got the idea of making the sign herself the knife was given her once for all. The first step was taken. The child had realized that there was a connection between the sign and the object.

From that point progress was astonishingly rapid. . . . At present Marie Heurtin is a girl of twenty-three, with fine features, open countenance, energetic movements, on an elevated mental and moral level. Her French spelling is faultless, the fables of La Fontaine charm her especially, she writes letters, her impressions, and stories. She knows arithmetic, the elements of natural history, history, and geography as I could wish to find the knowledge of them uniformly among candidates for the bachelor's degree.[2]

[1] Howe, S. G., *Annual Reports of Perkins Institution and Massachusetts Asylum of the Blind*, 1838: 10–11, and 1841: 25–26.

[2] Arnould, L., "L'École française des Sourdes-muettes-aveugles," *Séances et Travaux de l'Académie des Sciecnes morales et politiques*, **171**: 620–621.

There are two contrasted modes of transmission of qualities and values to the individual. The one is a biological-hereditary process by which the germ plasm is transmitted from ancestors to descendants and represented in physical and mental traits. The other is the transmission by communication, or social heredity, of the data of experience accumulated and socially inherited by the group which incorporates the individual. The characteristic human mind is attained only by this social communication, and for this language is an essential requirement. The hereditarily defective child may be unable to grasp language and thus be inaccessible to communication, but the normal child with which no communication is held remains also an incompleted human. There have been a number of reports of "wolf children" found in India.[1] These are children who disappeared in infancy and were found running on all fours with wolves. They probably owed their survival to the fact that wolves recognize one another partly through body odor, and presumably a wolf from time to time snatched away a child by its breechcloth or otherwise and made off to its den, but by this time the child was saturated with wolf odor, smelt like the cubs, and was not devoured. These children are when found practically idiotic. I think we need not be skeptical about these reports. I have myself talked with a resident of a mission to which one of these recovered boys was brought. He could, of course, not talk, he could stand erect comfortably only by leaning against a wall. He learned to smoke cigarettes and at the time was learning to use some words.

The development of language in the abstract direction is further seen in the stretching of meanings and their transfer to other fields of application, thus making it possible to represent all the intellectual concepts and emotional tones arising in the experiences of men. Thus "light" means concretely "firelight," "sunlight," "candlelight," etc., but "light in dark corners," "the light that lies in woman's eyes," "sweetness and light," "the light that never was on sea or land," "lead, kindly light," are examples of this stretching of meaning. When Latimer was burned at the stake and said to his companion in the flames, "Be of good cheer, Master Ridley, and play the man. We shall this day light such a candle by God's grace in England as, I trust, shall never be put out," he referred to an "illumination" of the minds of men. Goethe's dying words are popularly supposed to have been, "more light," as if "truth" were "light." As a matter of fact, the poet had said to his house servant, Frederick,

[1] Kellogg, W. N., "More about the 'Wolf Children' of India," *Amer. Jour. Psych.*, **43**: 508–509.

some days before his death: "Open the other window shutter and let in more light." The symbolic turn was given to the words by Goethe's admirers, as appropriate to a man who hated all kinds of "darkness."

This symbolic elaboration of language may be seen to advantage in the sign language of the American Indians[1] and in the greatly conventionalized Chinese pictorical characters, where, for example, a mouth and a bird mean "singing"; woman and bird, "beautiful"; man, woman, mouth, "surfeited"; woman and child, "love"; woman, broom, storm, "wife"; woman, two mouths, "quarrelsome"; woman, mouth, sign for deflected, "dangerous"; a hand and a woman, "safe"; man in a square, "prisoner"; man in a box, "unfortunate"; a heart and sign for death, "forgetfulness"; the number 8 (able to be divided) and knife, "dividend."[2]

This extension of meaning is seen also when such terms as "attraction," "repulsion," "resistance," "current," "body," "law," originating in ordinary human relations, are adopted by the science of physics. And the same term may have many applications. Thus "balance" is (1) a machine for weighing (metaphorically the balance of justice—"weighed in the balance and found wanting"); (2) mental equipoise; (3) subjective uncertainty; (4) harmony between parts; (5) adjustment of accounts; (6) amount on hand; (7) a remainder.

The nonmaterial aspect of culture represents in the main the interaction between individual minds mediated by speech and the written and printed word. By language it is possible to transfer to others your own interior life—your sentiments, opinions, experiences—to reach conclusions and form policies in common, and to develop logical procedure, out of the conflict and criticism involved in the interaction of minds as mediated by language. Dewey refers also to

> the transfer of operations first carried on between different persons, into the arena of the individual's own consciousness. The discussion which at first took place by bringing ideas from different persons into contact, by introducing them into the forum of competition, and by subjecting them to critical comparison and selective decision, finally became a habit of the individual with himself. He became a miniature social assemblage, in which pros and cons were brought into play struggling for the mastery —for final conclusion. In some such way we conceive reflection to be born.[3]

[1] Mallery, G., *Bur. Amer. Ethnol., Ann. Rep.*, **1**: 269–552; **4**: 3–256; **10**: 3–807.
[2] Mason, W. P., *History of the Art of Writing*, 158–161.
[3] Dewey, J., "Some Stages of Logical Thought," *Philos. Rev.*, **9**: 465–489.

And when written language is developed it is not only possible to examine the opinions and conclusions of others in their absence, but to preserve accumulated experiences over indefinite periods of time and transport them from one part of the world to another. It is in this connection that the Germans have pointed out the "time-binding" value of language—the quality of making the past as if it were the present.

This is the general meaning of language, and while different contents of language are present according to the experiences which they represent, the quality of language seems everywhere about the same, though the complexity of structure is altogether greater in some primitive languages than in our own.

The following passage, for example, refers to an African Bantu-speaking tribe, living directly on the equator, with no written language, and practicing occasional ritual cannibalism. It will be noticed that the language has an astonishing complexity. When recorded by the philologist it always occupies less space on the printed page than the corresponding English or German translation, and while it lacks many civilized meanings it is capable of incorporating them when they are presented or developed:

The alliterative concord, which makes this family of languages unique among human tongues, consists in a device which indicates the agreement of the dependent words upon the governing noun by means of a prefix attached to verb, adjective, numeral, and possessive pronoun, relative and demonstrative. There is no sex gender in the language, but some eight "classes," or grammatical genders, with an inflection for the plural. Each of the sixteen different noun prefixes must be applied to the dependent words in the sentence. For example, should I wish to ask the question: "Where are those two spoons of mine which you gave me?" every word except the verb in the dependent clause have to begin with the plural prefix of *totoko* ("spoons"), thus:

"*Totoko tonko tokam tofe toki baki wonkaka tolenko?*"

"Spoons those mine two which you-gave-me where-are-they?"

Should the question be regarding the whereabouts of an equal number of bananas, similarly acquired, the words would be:

"*Banko banko bakam bafe baki wonkaka balenko?*"

"Bananas those mine two which you-gave-me where-are-they?"

Suppose there is only one banana involved in the inquiry, then I should have to ask:

"*Jinko jinko jikam jiki wonkaka jidenko?*"

"Banana that mine which you-gave-me where-is-it?"

I should ask for two goats given by you and lost by me in the following language:

"*Nta inko ikam ife wonkaka ilenko?*"

"Goats," etc.

Should I inquire about canoes, every dependent word must begin with *bi-*, the prefix for *biato;* if for sticks, it would be *be-*, the prefix of *betamba,* etc.

There is a diminutive prefix which can be further diminished so that by the form of the noun the degree of littleness can be indicated. Likewise there is an augmentative inflection which can be still further augmented. Thus the five words, *imbwambwa, imbwa, mbwa, embwa, embwambwa,* mean respectively: "little tiny dog," "little dog," "dog," "big dog," and "enormous big dog." It is a sort of comparison of nouns.

The verb is very highly developed and very complex. It contains the subject of the verb in the form of a pronominal prefix, as in Latin. It also has a pronominal syllable to indicate the pronominal object, as in Hebrew. But in this family of languages there is the indirect object, which is similarly indicated. *Akenda,* "he-is-going"; *tokenda,* "we-are-going"; *wonkunda,* "you-are-striking-me"; *akokunda,* "he-is-striking-you"; *lonjeleza,* "you-bring-him-to-me"; *baolonjeleza,* "they-have-brought-him-to-me."

By suffixes the shades of meaning of the verb can be changed after the analogy of the Hebrew verb form. Thus *tunga* means "to tie or bind"; *tungama,* "to be bound"; *tungya,* "to cause to bind"; *tungels,* "to bind for" someone; *tungola,* "to unbind"; *tungana,* "to bind each other"; *yatunga,* "to bind one's self"; and so on to the number of eight. But there are numbers of permutations and combinations of these, as, for example, the causative and dative can be combined in the form *tungeza,* "to-cause- (or help-) to-tie-for" someone; *tungoza,* "to-help-unbind-for" someone; *tungameza,* "to-help-to-place-in-a-bound-state-or-condition-for-the-sake-of" someone, and so on to the number of ten or twelve.

Now each of these separate forms is capable of tense and modal inflection to the number of at least fourteen tense forms, different *in toto* from the models of Indo-European tense inflection. There is an indefinite present, an immediate future, a distant future, an immediate past, a remote past, a continuative past, a past with the consequences no longer obtaining, *e.g., nsombaki,* "I-bought-it (but sold it again)," a "not yet" tense, and various ways to introduce negative ideas.

Examples of the variety of pronoun, tense, and mode in a single word would be: *ifokokaya,* "he-will-surely-give-you"; *aoyatunga,* "he-has-bound-himself"; *aoyatungama,* "he-has-placed-himself-in-a-bound-condition"; *aoyolokotungamezamaka,* "he-has-caused-himself-to-be-placed-in-a-bound-condition-for-your-sake."

The extraordinary development of the verb and noun is compensated for by a corresponding lack in adjectives and prepositions. If we reckon all the agglutinated forms of a transitive root like *tung-*, "bind," including the possible pronominal combinations, there would be more than five thousand different words from this root alone.[1]

[1] Faris, E., "The Mental Capacity of Savages," *Amer. Jour. Sociol.,* **23**: 609–611.

But while, as in this case, the savage has developed an abstract medium of language so complex as to dismay the white man who contemplates learning it, it has been persistently claimed that he is unable to use this medium in a logical way. Herbert Spencer emphasized this claim and more recently Lévy-Bruhl has devoted three separate volumes to the argument that the savage mind is in a "prelogical" condition. Now "logic" is one of the most controverted and ill-defined terms in our language, but taking it to assume (1) a premise and (2) a form of argument which insures the validity of the conclusion, it appears that the savage is quite as logical within his premises and in the form of his argument as the white man. In the following conversation between David Livingstone and an African rain maker, both had assumed that rain may be secured by supplicating a supernatural being, and evidently the white man gets the worst of the argument:

Medical Doctor [Livingstone]. Hail, friend! How very many medicines you have about you this morning! Why, you have every medicine in the country here.

Rain Doctor. Very true, my friend; and I ought; for the whole country needs the rain which I am making.

M. D. So you really believe that you can command the clouds? I think that can be done by God alone.

R. D. We both believe the very same thing. It is God that makes the rain, but I pray to him by means of these medicines, and, the rain coming, of course it is then mine. It was I who made it for the Bakwains for many years, when they were at Shokuane: through my wisdom, too, their women become fat and shining. Ask them; they will tell you the same as I do.

M. D. But we are distinctly told in the parting words of our Savior that we can pray to God acceptably in his name alone, and not by means of medicines.

R. D. Truly! but God told us differently. He made black men first, and did not love us as he did the white men. He made you beautiful, and gave you clothing, and guns, and gunpowder, and horses, and wagons, and many other things about which we know nothing. But toward us he had no heart. He gave us nothing except the assegai, and cattle, and rain making; and he did not give us hearts like yours. We never love each other. Other tribes place medicines about our country to prevent the rain, so that we may be dispersed by hunger, and go to them, and augment their power. We must dissolve their charms by our medicines. God has given us the knowledge of certain medicines by which we can make rain. *We* do not despise those things which you possess, though we are ignorant of them. We don't understand your book, yet we don't despise it. *You* ought not to despise our little knowledge, though you are ignorant of it.

M. D. I don't despise what I am ignorant of: I only think you are mistaken in saying that you have medicines which can influence the rain at all.

R. D. That's just the way people speak when they talk on a subject of which they have no knowledge. When we first opened our eyes, we found our forefathers making rain, and we follow in their footsteps. You, who send to Kuruman for corn, and irrigate your garden, may do without rain; *we* cannot manage in that way. If we had no rain, the cattle would have no pasture, the cows give no milk, our children become lean and die, our wives run away to other tribes who do make rain and have corn, and the whole tribe become dispersed and lost; our fire would go out.

M. D. I quite agree with you as to the value of the rain; but you cannot charm the clouds by medicines. You wait till you see the clouds come, then you use your medicines, and take the credit which belongs to God only.

R. D. I use my medicines, and you employ yours; we are both doctors, and doctors are not deceivers. You give a patient medicine. Sometimes God is pleased to heal him by means of your medicine; sometimes not—he dies. When he is cured, you take the credit of what God does. I do the same. Sometimes God grants us rain, sometimes not. When he does, we take the credit of the charm. When a patient dies, you don't give up trust in your medicine, neither do I when rain fails. If you wish me to leave off my medicines, why continue your own?

M. D. I give medicine to living creatures within my reach, and can see the effects, though no cure follows; you pretend to charm the clouds, which are so far above us that your medicines never reach them. The clouds usually lie in one direction, and your smoke goes in another. God alone can command the clouds. Only try and wait patiently; God will give us rain without your medicines.

R. D. *Mahala-ma-kapa-a-a!* Well, I always thought white men were wise till this morning. Who ever thought of making trial of starvation? Is death pleasant, then?

M. D. Could you make it rain on one spot and not on another?

R. D. I wouldn't think of trying. I like to see the whole country green, and all the people glad; the women clapping their hands, and giving me their ornaments for thankfulness, and lulli-looing for joy.

M. D. I think you deceive both them and yourself.

R. D. Well, then, there is a pair of us (meaning both are rogues).

The above is only a specimen of their way of reasoning, in which, when the language is well understood, they are perceived to be remarkably acute. These arguments are generally known, and I never succeeded in convincing a single individual of their fallacy, though I tried to do so in every way I could think of.[1]

The weak point in the logic of the savage is not his inability to adduce sustaining arguments but his assumption of wrong

[1] Livingstone, D., *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*, 25–27.

premises, which in turn is due to incorrect interpretation of experience. Thus the experience of death has given rise to various interpretations and "illogical" forms of behavior. In many tribes the camp must be removed to a different locality on the occurrence of any death. The assumption is that a spiteful or revengeful spirit has begun operations in the group and will continue to operate. This interpretation may have been assisted by the fact of the contagious or infectious nature of some prevalent disease; first one and then another of the members succumbs, and the removal is a flight from the magical influence. In some tribes the camp is not moved but the (black) members of the family in which the death occurred paint themselves white, as a disguise. In other tribes (Africans, Samoyedes) parents on approaching old age insist that their children kill them, the assumption being that the future life is an indefinite continuation of the present one, and they wish to reach it while they are still young enough to enjoy it. In other cases, the wives, slaves, and dogs and horses of the deceased may be buried with him, the interpretation being that if the future life is a continuation of the present one, these persons and animals are essential to its normal continuance. Among the Aztecs a dog was killed on the death of a child in order that its spirit might guide the inexperienced spirit of the child to the spirit world. In some cases a hunting or war party will turn back if a given animal is seen, say a bluebird or a jackal. In this case the interpretation is based on a coincidence or series of coincidences. If on previous expeditions which proved futile or disastrous one of these animals had been associated with the situation one or more times a causal relation was assumed between its presence and bad luck. In all of these interpretations there is a certain reflection and a certain logic. The widespread poison ordeal as practiced in Africa to determine the guilt or innocence of a person accused of crime seems monstrous and irrational. But in the mind of the African, the poison is not properly speaking a poison but a test. It is a selective agent, a detector, and has the quality of poisoning only those who are guilty. They use a bad premise but by no means contemptible arguments.

For the most part the arguments about the savage lack of logic are based on this employment of magical interpretations. Lévy-Bruhl, in his thesis that savage mind is "prelogical," uses no other data than those from the field of magic. One of the manifestations of prelogical mind which he emphasizes (following Durkheim) is the principle of "participation," by which he means a singular merging of personality in surrounding persons and

objects. Thus a woman visits the missionary and proposes to take the medicine in place of her sick husband. A man has a mystic connection with a totemic animal, so that when it is thirsty he feels faint, when it is pursued he pants, when it dies he dies; it is, in a manner of speaking, his alter ego, his external soul; if it is a tiger, it may at his wish tear his enemy, or if a snake, poison him. This is the magical participation of personalities, and it is indeed a principle of wide application not only among savages but in Christendom. We read, for example, in I Corinthians 7:14: "The unbelieving husband is sanctified by the wife." And our whole scheme of salvation is, in fact, one of magical participation.

Another "prelogical" trait of the savage, according to Lévy-Bruhl, is his confusion as to which one of several standpoints he ought to occupy in a given case. If, for example, a crocodile seizes a woman he assumes that this misfortune was mediated by a wizard by virtue of a mystic participation between the wizard and the crocodile, but whether the wizard turned himself into a crocodile or the crocodile acted as the emissary of the wizard is a point on which he is not at all clear. In speaking of the incident he may occupy successively both positions. But these spiritual questions are very confusing at best, and it does not appear that the indeterminateness of the savage is greater than that of the church fathers and later ecclesiastics on questions relating to the Holy Ghost, the Trinity, the Immaculate Conception, transubstantiation, and witchcraft. It was in fact usual at one time for the best white thinkers to occupy alternatively logically contradictory positions. Giordano Bruno expressed surprise when he was condemned to be burned in spite of his explanation that in the heretical passages he had been speaking as "philosopher" and not as "theologian."

There is a homely form of abstraction, namely the proverb, not dependent on any specialized accumulation of culture, which discloses natural mental aptitudes very well, and it is of interest that many savages, particularly the African blacks, have a store of these sayings which compare favorably with this kind of civilized wisdom and can even frequently be matched with our literary quotations. The English equivalents of the following African proverbs[1] are given in parentheses:

He runs away from the sword and hides himself in the scabbard.
(Out of the frying pan into the fire.)

[1] The African proverbs are from Ellis, A. B., *The Yoruba Speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast of West Africa;* Rattray, R. S., *Ashanti Proverbs;* Pechuël-Loesche, E., *Völkerkunde.*

The ground pig (bandicoot) said: "I do not feel so angry with the man who killed me as with the man who dashed me on the ground afterward."

(Adding insult to injury.)

Coconut is not good for bird to eat.

(Sour grapes.)

If the stomach is not strong, do not eat cockroaches.

(Milk for babes.)

Full-belly child says to hungry-belly child, "Keep good cheer."

(We can all endure the misfortunes of others.)

Cowries are men.

(Money makes the man.)

"I nearly killed the bird." No one can eat nearly in a stew.

(First catch your hare.)

No animal that a hunter has ever missed is small.

(The biggest one got away.)

Distant firewood is good firewood.

(Distance lends enchantment to the view.)

Ashes fly back in the face of him who throws them.

(Curses come home to roost.)

Stone in the water hole does not feel the cold.

(Habit is second nature.)

The hyena said: "It is not only that I have luck, but my leg is strong."

Also: The monkey says: "My talisman (against harm) is my little eyes."

(God helps those who help themselves.)

A fool of Ika and an idiot of Iluka meet together to make friends.

(Birds of a feather flock together.)

When you go to the village of the tortoise and it eats earth, you eat some too.

(When in Rome do as Rome does.)

Quick loving a woman means quick not loving a woman.

(Married in haste we repent at leisure.)

No one should draw water from the spring in order to supply the river.

(Robbing Peter to pay Paul.)

Three elders cannot all fail to pronounce the word *ekulu* (an antelope); one may say *ekúlu*, another *ekulú*, but the third will say *ekulu*.

(In a multitude of counselors there is safety.)

Even if the mouse were the size of a cow he would be the cat's slave just the same.

(The fault, Dear Brutus, is not in our stars, but in ourselves, that we are underlings.)

If the boy says he wants to tie the water with a string, ask him whether he means the water in the pot or the water in the lagoon. Also: When a child pretends to be dying (the best thing is to) pretend to bury him.

(Answer a fool according to his folly.)

A wife is like a blanket; when you cover yourself with it, it irritates you, and when you cast it aside, you feel cold.

(We cannot live either with them or without them.)

The elephant makes a dust and the buffalo makes a dust, but the dust of the buffalo is lost in the dust of the elephant.

(*Duo cum faciunt idem non est idem.*)

(Ear, hear the other before you decide.)

(*Audi alteram partem.*)

Blood is not water.

(Blood is thicker than water. Also Mephistopheles: *Blut ist ein ganz besondrer Saft.*)

If the spirit world possesses nothing else, it has at least the power of its name.

(If God did not exist, it would be necessary to invent him.)

The conception and manipulation of numbers as symbols has given the white child more trouble than the language symbols. Mental arithmetic has been the bugbear of the beginners, and "Let X equal the unknown quantity" has been the *pons asinorum* of the more advanced. When Laura Bridgeman was asked: "If you can buy a barrel of cider for one dollar, how many barrels can you buy for five dollars?" she first asked, "How does the man know I am here?" and then answered, "I would not buy so much; it is too sour." In this connection the small boy keeps as close to the concrete as possible and leans heavily on his hand. The savage does the same and sometimes resorts to his toes. The Arawak has names for numbers up to four. "Five" is "hand"; "eleven" is "two-hands-and-one-toe"; "nineteen" is "two-hands-one-foot-and-four-toes"; "twenty" is "man"; "eighty" is "four men," etc.[1]

In this connection the early reports on the mathematical ability of savages, including statements that some tribes (Bushmen, Veddas) used no number beyond three or five, led to the conclusion, especially on the part of Herbert Spencer and Francis Galton, that the mind of the savage was radically deficient in this field. Now if you can count five you have the capacity to count any number whatever. It is only the first step that costs. Small groups living from hand to mouth, with no commerce and little to count, develop no large number systems. But when a savage has coconuts and sells them to the white man's ship, he will learn to count in the thousands. He will develop his own mathematics, which may not be regular but which will be an instrument for the solving of his problems. Faris (in the paper cited above) put the following problem to an African boy:

"If nine pieces of cassava cost nine brass rods each, how much would they all cost?" After the inevitable argument that they did not cost

[1] Brett, W. H., *The Indian Tribes of Guiana*, 417.

nine rods each, but could be bought anywhere at five rods each, he finally yielded the point and agreed for argument's sake, and then set out to try to find the solution. He took nine sticks and placed them on the ground, breaking the last one into nine pieces. He then placed one of these pieces on each of the other sticks, and found that he had eight whole sticks and one piece left over, so he announced that the result was *eighty-one.*

In reporting the extraordinary richness of the Andamanese language in possessive pronouns, quoted above (Chap. IV), Man points out at the same time that they possess only two numerals:

> The only numerals in the language are those for "one" and "two," and they have absolutely no word to express specifically any higher figures, but indulge in some such vague terms as "several," "many," "numerous," "innumerable," which seem to convey to their minds an approximate idea of the number intended.

In this case the elaboration of pronouns took place on the basis of organic tensions and failed to develop along the more abstract line because, in the absence of competition, commerce, and the multiplication of values, the mind was not activated along the line of calculation and enumeration.

In their volume on the Australian Arunta Spencer and Gillen state that the natives have no conception of physiological paternity. Children are the reincarnation of totemic ancestors which enter women and are thus reborn. This view has been generally accepted and has been emphasized by "evolutionists" as pointing to a universal stage of human evolution where the mind was very feeble. In his study of the Trobrianders (who are culturally on a much higher level, with village life, gardens, and domestic pigs), Malinowski reported the same ignorance, and in a later paper, he says:

> The broad assertion that the natives are entirely ignorant of the existence of physiological impregnation may be laid down quite safely and correctly. . . . There seems to be no doubt that if we are at all justified in speaking of certain "primitive" conditions of mind, the ignorance in question is such a primitive condition, and its prevalence among the Melanesians of New Guinea seems to indicate that it is a condition lasting right into much higher stages of development than it would seem possible to assume on the basis of Australian material only.[1]

There seems, however, no doubt that this is a mistaken interpretation and that the natives are perfectly aware of what is going on but maintain a dogma and fiction in order to support another

[1] Malinowski, B., "Baloma: The Spirits of the Dead in the Trobriand Islands," *Jour. Anth. Inst.* **46**: 406, 418.

feature of their social system. Strehlow, a missionary of long residence among the Arunta (called by him the Aranda), describes their ideas of reincarnation as connected with the fact that they do not know of procreation through the father, but he evidently means that they do not generally admit it, for in a footnote he adds:

I could not verify the statement of Spencer and Gillen that [copulation] is a sort of preparation for conception and birth. Moreover the old men knew, as I was assured, that cohabitation is to be considered as the cause of the conception of children, but say nothing about it to the young men and the women. It is certain that both the Aranda and Loritja know the relation between copulation and offspring among animals; even the children are enlightened upon that point.[1]

Roth says of the North Queensland tribes:

Although sexual connection as a cause of conception is not recognized by the Tully River blacks so far as themselves are concerned, it is admitted as true for all animals—indeed, this belief confirms them in their belief of superiority over the brute creation.[2]

This familiarity with the facts of reproduction in animals and the fact that the old men conceal their knowledge of human reproduction seriously discredits the theory of native ignorance.

More recently Thomson investigated the point among Australian tribes of Cape York Peninsula and the Archer River district on the Gulf of Carpentaria. In his first report he says:

I actually approached the present study with a firmly rooted belief that the natives were entirely ignorant of the fact of physiological fatherhood. It was only after I was repeatedly made aware of the facts stated here that I became convinced of the reality of the natives' knowledge.

Informants of the Koko Ya'o, Ompela, and Kanju tribes treated contemptuously any suggestion that the mother has any part in conception, and declared that the seminal fluid of the male produces the child. "Mother nothing," my informant, Tjaminjinyu, of the Ompela tribe, declared with finality.[3]

In his later investigation Thomson produces evidence of the belief in the Wik Monkan tribe that the father is not only solely responsible for the origin of the child but has a continuous creative function during the course of the pregnancy:

[1] Strehlow, C., *Die Aranda- und Loritja-Stämme in Zentral Australien*, Theil **2**: 52.
[2] Roth, W. E., *North Queensland Ethnog. Bull.* 5, 81.
[3] Thomson, D. F., "The Hero Cult, Initiation and Totemism on Cape York Peninsula," *Jour. Anth. Inst.*, **63**: 506.

The Wik Monkan recognizes, and freely affirms, the fertilizing influence of seminal fluid (*tankarra*), but on the physiological aspect of conception and pregnancy, his knowledge is less exact. He recognizes that pregnancy results from the introduction of seminal fluid, but as to how the embryo is produced, his ideas are as vague as those of any white man who possesses no biological knowledge. His belief is that the seminal fluid enters the uterus (*po'o mompa*) and gradually builds up the body of the embryo, and thus he insists that a single sexual act is not sufficient to produce conception, which results only from repeated intercourse.

At Mapoon Mission on the Batavia River a young man came to me and complained bitterly that he had been induced to marry a girl, who had subsequently given birth to a child of which he was not the father. He admitted that he had had sexual intercourse with the girl before marriage, but he affirmed that as this had occurred only once, he was sure that the baby that had been born later could not have been his own. Nothing that I could say to him would shake his belief: married men, he declared, had told him that conception followed only after repeated acts.

The actual statements of my informants, in the Wik Monkan language, are set out in full below, for they reveal not only the beliefs about conception and pregnancy, but also that these people recognize most of the important indications of pregnancy that form the basis of present-day diagnosis [as shown in the following transliteration]:

"(The) man [said one of my informants] copulates with (the) woman many times; copulates until baby finds. He semen copulates; he semen copulates, many times, many times. He semen it road (canal) closes menstrual blood for. That *tankarra* blocks [added my informant]. Menses finish stop: me child for might (be). (The) man now starts to give extra food to that woman to help that body [my informant said]. It (the) semen belly sticks; (the) man again wife his copulates with. It (the) child grows. Semen goes in hole inside egg uterus in lies inside. Again he (the) man woman his copulates with again plenty times. She (the) woman speaks, 'I am child with.' (The) woman feels hypogastrium heavy baby eye break. . . . "

The belief that repeated sexual acts are necessary to build up the baby from seminal fluid is evident in this statement, but the recognition of the cessation of the menses as an early indication of pregnancy is of interest. So is the conception of the closing of the genital passage, which is, of course, also a biological fact, in the formation of the plug of mucus in the internal *os*. The natives also associate with pregnancy the appearance of the *stria gravidarum* on the hypogastrium (*yerp*), although they attribute the *stria* to the fingernails of the unborn child rather than to the distention of the abdominal wall. The Wik Monkan believe that there is a bag (*mompa*), the name applied to the fetal membranes and also to the placenta, in which the seminal fluid is stored, and within which it assumes, gradually the form of an egg (*tita*). At first this bag (po'o mompa), which my informant described as *ark pukkäk* (place baby for), is situated in the hypogastrium. My informant

suggested that the reason old people did not have babies was because "they start to shut this place," and again that "old people do not go much," *i.e.*, they become impotent.[1]

In addition Thomson shows that the father must observe a number of food tabus during the pregnancy, that the natives use different terms for biological father and sociological father (the younger brother of the father, who will take his wife in case of his death, is called "growing father"); and that legends of the tribe show that seminal fluid is regarded as the life-giving principle. In a moon legend all who do not benefit from it die forever while the moon, who benefits from it, lives on:

> Long ago, when the moon was a man, he went fishing. He cut some stems of the dynamite plant which was used as a fish poison, tied them into bundles, hammered them, and threw them into the water. When the stupefied fish rose to the surface of the water moon speared them; then he slept. At daybreak, as he was eating his fish he sank down under the water.
>
> An old woman went up, looked down into the water, and cried, "There are some fish down there dead; I shall swim for them." She went down but she turned back without getting any fish. Another old woman swam, but she too turned back. Then an old man swam, but he saw nothing. Another old man swam, and then another, and another, but they all saw nothing. One of the old men only bumped into one of his fellows. Then another tried. Then an old woman went into the water. Still another old woman went down, and then little boys and girls, but they did not see anything there. At length two young women went into the water. They found it [fish]. They peeped out of the water, but the moon seized them and began to rape them. He copulated and copulated with them; then he came up and said, "Look at me; I am pouring out my semen for you all." But an old man came and said, "This is bad!" And another old man came and he also said, "This is bad!" Still another came, and then old women, and after these other women, and young boys and children. Each in turn looked at the semen, but they all cried, "This is bad!"
>
> At length moon spoke, "I shall eat it myself!" He picked up his own semen and swallowed it, and then cried, "You shall all die altogether. I shall lie down; I shall die, but I shall come up again. After that I shall rest, but each time I die I shall come back again." So, after the old moon dies he rests awhile, but the new moon always appears again later.[2]

The profession of ignorance on the part of the natives is therefore no more than a policy based on another concept. This concept is stated by Spencer and Gillen for the Arunta:

[1] Thomson, D. F., "Fatherhood in the Wik Monkan Tribe," *Amer. Anth.*, N.S., **38**: 375–377.
[2] *Ibid.*, 388–389.

The totemic system of the Arunta and other Central Australian tribes is based on the idea of the reincarnation of Alchera [old old time] ancestors who were in many cases regarded as the actual transformations of animals and plants or of such inanimate objects as water, fire, wind, sun, moon, and stars.[1]

Now at the beginning of Chap. XVII above, on the African Chagga, the following quotation shows the same concept and policy:

When a Chagga wishes to be excused from his service on the land of the chief because of a childbirth at home, he says, "A mother is sick at my house." The messenger understands that a birth is involved but must ask, "Is it your wife or a cow?" The tabu of the word for birth is easy to understand as will appear later. It is the fear of naming an event, whether connected with a woman or a cow, which is more closely connected with sib unity than any other. In former times if a married man in conversation with a youth were asked where children came from and replied that they were born, he made a public scandal and was taken before the court of the chief. As one who had betrayed marriage secrets he was fined three oxen, one for the child, one for the old men, and one for his age class.[2]

The Chagga policy differs from the Australian and Trobriand in assessing a fine for recognizing a fact, instead of claiming ignorance of it, but the same concept leads to similar policies. It may be noted also (as mentioned in Chap. XVII) that the Chagga themselves maintain a comparable *ngoso* fiction and attempt to conceal the truth from the women.

Much of the information about the mental ability and other traits of savages which has formed public opinion is old and reported by observers who themselves betray a lack of intelligence or comprehension.

Most frequently "savages" [says von Luschan] are accused of being weak in abstract thinking, like children. To show how such opinions originate, I beg to relate a single case lately reported to me by one of my friends. A young colonial officer buys a basket and asks the name of it in the native language. The first native says, "That is of straw"; another native says that they also make them of rushes. One of the two seemed to have lied, so each of them received twenty-five lashes. A third native is called. He says, "This basked is plaited," and gets twenty-five also. The next native affirms that the basket is nearly new, and gets twenty-five. The next that he does not know whose basket it is, etc. The final result of this scientific investigation is two hundred lashes;

[1] Spencer, B., and F. J. Gillen, *The Arunta*, 1: 79 (The Macmillan Company. By permission).
[2] Gutmann, B., *Das Recht der Dschagga*, 2–3.

and the white man writes in his notebook: "These natives here are brutes, not men." The black man says to his friends, "This fellow belong white is not proper in his save box," and thinks it safer to keep at a good distance from him; and a certain scientist at home gets a splendid illustration of his theory of the poor intellect of savage man and of his weakness in abstract thinking.[1]

Another source of misapprehension about the mental life of the savage is his reluctance to communicate with the white inquirer, as pointed out by David Livingstone:

Every man in a tribe feels himself bound to tell the chief everything that comes to his knowledge, and, when questioned by a stranger, either gives answers which exhibit the utmost stupidity, or such as he knows will be agreeable to his chief. I believe that in this way have arisen tales of their inability to count more than ten, as was asserted of the Bechuanas about the very time when Sechele's father counted out one thousand head of cattle as a beginning of the stock of his young son.[2]

The most singularly unintelligent judgment passed on the savage by explorers is that he is feeble in powers of inhibition—that he is incapable of self-restraint, is carried away like a child by the impulse of the moment, and never rejects an immediate gratification for a greater future one. Cases like the one mentioned by Darwin of the Fuegian who struck and killed his little son when the latter dropped a basket of fish into the water are cited without regard to the fact that cases of sudden domestic violence and quick repentance are common in any city today; and the failure of the Australian blacks to throw back the small fry when fishing is referred to without pausing to consider that our practice of exterminating game and denuding our forests shows an amazing lack of foresight. The following translation of a speech by an Ojibwa Indian chief shows conservation of game by the Indian and at the same time the Indian's judgment on the reckless destructiveness of the white man:

"In the early times the Indians owned this land, where they lived, bounded by the lakes, rivers, and hills, or determined by a certain number of days' journey in this direction or that. Those tracts formed the hunting grounds owned and used by the different families. Wherever they went the Indians took care of the game animals, especially the beaver, just as the government takes care of the land today. So these families of hunters would never think of damaging the abundance or the source of supply of the game, because that had come to them from their fathers and grandfathers and those behind them. It is, on the other hand, the white

[1] Luschan, F. von, "Anthropological View of Race," in Spiller, G., *Inter-Racial Problems*, 14–15 (London: P. S. King and Son; Boston: Ginn and Company. By permission).

[2] Livingstone, D., 1. *Missionary Travels in South Africa*, 36.

man who needs to be watched. He makes the forest fires, he goes through the woods and kills everything he can find, whether he needs its flesh or not, and then when all the animals in one section are killed he takes the train and goes to another where he can do the same.

"We Indian families used to hunt in a certain section for beaver. We would only kill the small beaver and leave the old ones to keep breeding. Then when they got too old, they too would be killed, just as a farmer kills his pigs, preserving the stock for his supply of young. The beaver was the Indians' pork; the moose, his beef; the partridge, his chicken; and there was the caribou or red deer, that was his sheep. All these formed the stock on his family hunting ground, which would be parceled out among the sons when the owner died. He said to his sons, 'You take this part; take care of this tract; see that it always produces enough.' That was what my grandfather told us. His land was divided among two sons, my father and Pishabo (Tea Water), my uncle. We were to own this land so no other Indians could hunt on it. Other Indians could go there and travel through it, but could not go there to kill the beaver. Each family had its own district where it belonged, and owned the game. That was each one's stock for food and clothes. If another Indian hunted on our territory we, the owners, could shoot him. This division of the land started in the beginning of time, and always remained unchanged. I remember about twenty years ago some Nipissing Indians came north to hunt on my father's land. He told them not to hunt beaver. 'This is our land,' he told them; 'you can fish but must not touch the fur, as that is all we have to live on.' Sometimes an owner would give permission for strangers to hunt for a certain time in a certain tract. This was often done for friends, or when neighbors had had a poor season. Later the favor might be returned."[1]

In the great majority of the American Indian and Australian tribes a man is strictly forbidden to kill or eat the animals whose name his clan bears as a totem. The Central Australian may not, in addition, eat the flesh of any animal killed or even touched by persons standing in certain relations of kinship to him. At certain times also he is forbidden to eat the flesh of a number of animals, and at all times he must share all food secured with the tribal elders and some others.

A native of Queensland will put his mark on an unripe zamia fruit, and may be sure it will be untouched and that when it is ripe he has only to go and get it. The Eskimo, though starving, will not molest the sacred seal basking before their huts. Similarly in social intercourse the inhibitions are numerous. To some of his sisters, blood and tribal, the Australian may not speak at all; to others only at certain distances, according to the degree of

[1] Speck, F. G., "The Family Hunting Band as the Basis of Algonkian Social Organization," *Amer. Anth.*, N.S., **17**: 294.

kinship. The west African fetish acts as a police, and property protected by it is safer than under civilized laws. Food and palm wine are placed beside the path with a piece of fetish suspended near by, and no one will touch them without leaving the proper payment. The garden of a native may be a mile from the house, unfenced, and sometimes not visited for weeks by the owner, but it is untouched if protected by fetish.

With respect to the acuity of the sense organs there has been no disposition to deny the superiority of the lower races. On the contrary, since the dog, the cat, and other animals while lacking abstraction have in some cases superior sense perceptions—sight, hearing, smell, and sense of direction—the theorists who explain the situation of the lower races as a delayed stage of organic evolution have emphasized the reports of travelers that the savage has also sense perceptions more acute than those of the civilized, and consequently closer to those of the animal. Now one of the savage's chief pursuits is that of game and he becomes a practiced and wonderful tracker, but the white man who specializes along the same line acquires the same sort of skill. Superiority in tracking is not due to superior eyesight but to a skill in interpreting marks, similar to the skill we acquire in making out the sense of a badly written or illegibly printed page. When the psychologists have turned their attention to these questions they have been unable to confirm the popular belief. Bruner, for example, has reported experiments showing that the sense of hearing of the savage is inferior to that of the white man because he has less varied activities to mediate. In his *Hearing of Primitive Peoples* he says:

> Not only the intellectual but sensory possibilities are to be stated in terms of the variety of motor response of which the individual is capable. Other things being equal, those individuals or races possessing the greatest complexity and variety of reactions to elements in their respective environments likewise will be gifted with keener and more acute sensory mechanisms.

This report seems to need confirmation, but Woodworth has examined the question systematically and finds no confirmation of the view that the savage has superior acuity of the senses. He says, for example:

> Ranke, on testing natives of Brazil, a race notable for its feats of vision, found that their ability to discern the position of a letter or similar character at a distance, though good, was not remarkable, but fell within the range of European powers. The steppe-dwelling Kalmuks,

also renowned for distant vision, being able to detect the dust of a herd of cattle at a greater distance with the naked eye than a European could with a telescope, have also been examined; and their acuity was indeed found to be very high, averaging considerably above that of Europeans; yet only one or two out of the forty individuals tested exceeded the European record, while the great majority fell within the range of good European eyes. Much the same result has been obtained from Arabs, Egyptians, and quite a variety of peoples. Among the most reliable results are those of Rivers on a wholly unselected Papuan population. He found no very exceptional individual among 115 tested, yet the average was somewhat better than that of Europeans. I had myself, through the kindness of Dr. McGee, the opportunity of testing individuals from quite a variety of races at the St. Louis Fair in 1904, and my results agree closely with those already cited, though I did not find any cases of very exceptional powers among about 300 individuals. There were a number who exceeded the best of the 200 whites whom I also tested under the same conditions, but none who exceeded or equaled the record of a few individuals who have been found in the German army. . . . Rivers has made an observation in connection with the test for eyesight, which I am able to confirm, and which is perhaps of much importance. He found that when the letter or character used in his test, the position of which had to be recognized at the greatest possible distance, was removed from him beyond the distance at which he felt that he could judge it, he could still guess it right nearly every time, though without confidence. By such guessing, one's record in this test can be bettered considerably; and careful study enables one to see the slight and blurred indications of position which form the basis of the guessing. Now it may well be that the occupations of civilized life breed a habit of depending on clear vision, whereas the life of those who must frequently recognize objects at a great distance breeds reliance on slight indications, and so creates a favorable attitude for the test of eyesight. When this possibility is taken in connection with the deterioration of many European eyes from abuse, and in connection with the observed overlapping of all groups tested, the conclusion is not improbable that, after all, the races are essentially equal in keenness of vision. Even if small differences do exist, it is fairly certain that the wonderful feats of distant vision ascribed to savages are due to practice in interpreting slight indications of familiar objects. Both Rivers and Ranke, on testing some of the very individuals whose feats of keen sight seemed almost miraculous, found that, as tested, they had excellent but not extraordinary vision. A little acquaintance with sailors on shipboard is enough to dispel the illusion that such feats are beyond the powers of the white man.[1]

In another direction, that of memory performance or the ability to recall past experiences, the historians or "bearers of tradition" among some of the preliterate groups have performance

[1] Woodworth, R. S., "Racial Differences in Mental Traits," *Sci.*, Feb. 4, 1910.

records hardly paralleled in civilization. The following represents this ability among the Maori of New Zealand, and comparable examples could be cited from the Indian tribes of America and from some of the negro kingdoms of Africa:

> The Maori depended entirely on memory, on oral tradition, on verbal teaching, in preserving all the prized lore and passing it on to his descendants. The School of Learning was the result of the strong desire to conserve such matter in its original purity. Let me give two examples of Maori memorizing powers. During the winter of 1896 I obtained from an old native of the Ruatahuna district the words of no less than 406 songs, together with much information of an explanatory nature pertaining to them. All these songs were given from memory—not one was in written form. Again, when Tamarau Waiari appeared before the Land Commission at Ruatoki in order to explain the claim of his clan to certain lands, he traced the descent of his people from an ancestor who flourished thirty-four generations ago. The result was a long table of innumerable branch lines, of a multitude of affinitive ramifications. This marvelous recital occupied the attention of the Commission for three days. The old man gave much evidence as to occupation, extratribal marriages, etc., and the genealogical table contained well over fourteen hundred names of persons. . . . [1]

We are so habituated to an elaborate system of transmitting and acquiring "mind" that we lose sight of its complexity. In the first place it is quite remarkable that nearly all members of a white population acquire reading, writing, and arithmetic, in addition to language, at a relatively early age. Following this an accumulated body of knowledge is communicated to many children in the public-school grades and in colleges up to about twenty years of age. At this point young persons are ready to specialize in intelligence and certain of them will settle at this or that seat of learning where another three or four years will be devoted to communicating to them the state of some chosen science, until they are prepared for "research." In the meantime the candidate will have prepared a "dissertation" the purpose of which is to show by copious references to authorities in footnotes that he knows pretty well what is the state of the science. In some fields, say chemistry, it will be impossible to keep up with the progress of the science in all its branches; the chemistry of colloids is said to be more than enough to engage the whole attention.

If now he becomes a research specialist he will probably not select some new problem (there are few such) but one that has been carried to a certain point by his predecessors—the vitamins,

[1] Best, E., "The Maori School of Learning: Its Objects, Methods, and Ceremonial," *Dominion Mus. Monog.*, **6**: 5.

the endocrine glands, the diphtheria germ, radioactivity, etc. The extension of knowledge may thus be accomplished by minds not extraordinarily gifted, through the application of known techniques in directions already indicated. When Boerhaven, Koch, and Pasteur had prepared the way to the germ theory of disease and yellow fever had been associated with the mosquito, it was suggested to the British authorities in Uganda that they have all the native chiefs send in specimens of all the insects in their districts with a view to determining what might be the cause of sleeping sickness. This was done, and when a spot map was made it was found that sleeping sickness occurred only in districts where the tsetse fly was prevalent. In this case we have not the expression of an extraordinary mind but the application of a technique which could be communicated to any normal native of Uganda.

Intelligence thus involves the interaction of minds, and the importance of "communication" from the standpoint of mental attainment may be stated negatively in terms of *isolation*. Taking white culture as a standard, if an individual, a race, a social class, a sex, is isolated from the patterns of this culture it will appear to be of inferior mental quality. Laura Bridgeman was isolated (for a time) by an impairment, the wolf children by an accident, the savage is isolated by space, the negro in America by prejudice, woman formerly by convention, the slum classes by their poverty. Up to sixty years ago much the same arguments were used about the mental inferiority of woman and the lower races. Up to about, say, forty years ago the same arguments were used against the Japanese as against the other "lower races." We broke down their isolation and forced them to communicate with us, and at present they are on a parity with us in intellectual attainment.

Peasant life in Europe is still in some regions considerably shut off from communication with the centers of scientific life, and their folk medicine is comparable with the magical practices of savages. The following prescription for the cure of a consumptive child represents the medicine in use in one of these communities, until recently at least:

> Take water from nine watering troughs, earth from the graves of nine children, straw from the corners of nine thatched roofs, nine old stumps of cabbage, and nine spindles. Cook into a concoction and bathe the child, saying: "Not one, not two, not three . . . not nine," but very softly. Then roll the child over nine children's graves and let it jump over a dog.[1]

[1] Hovorka, O., and A. Kronfeld, *Vergleichende Volksmedizin*, **2**: 47.

Now this kind of medical practice evidently represents not at all the mental ability of its practitioners. It represents a cultural lag due to lack of communication. Peasant boys from these communities occasionally make their way to medical centers (Vienna, Berlin) and become "scientists" as readily as American farm boys under the same conditions.

It may be said also that the greatest minds of previous periods of white civilization may appear mentally inferior in comparison with present scientific standards and in certain directions quite on a level with savages. Thus while in the England of Elizabeth and Shakespeare we have an astonishing level of literature we find that practically all the great men of that time were believers in witchcraft:

> The most brilliant minds [says Miss Murray], the keenest intellects, the greatest investigators were believers [in witchcraft]. Bodin, Lord Bacon, Ralcigh, Boyle, Cudworth, Selden, Henry Moore, Sir Thomas Browne, Matthew Hale, Sir George Mackenzie, and many others, most of whom had heard the evidence at first hand.[1]

From this general approach it will be seen that the significance of racial endowment for the interpretation of behavior reactions tends to disappear. It is to be emphasized, however, that there are no proofs that the mind is of precisely the same quality in all races and populations, and no such claim is made by anthropologists. It is not improbable that there is a somewhat different distribution of special abilities, such as mathematics, music, etc. The most scientific approach to the problem is through mental testing, but the results of intelligence tests as applied to races and populations have always been negative. Positive results have, in fact, been reached by this method but it has always been clearly shown that these results have depended on the nature of the tests. That is, the tests employed have always measured mental ability plus a cultural factor, namely learning. There is thus no clear-cut evidence that differences in abilities exist per se, since it can always be shown that the variables mentality and culture have not been isolated by the tests.

For example, during the World War mental tests were given to 1,726,966 men of the draft army. Now the Alpha test devised for this purpose was influenced by the tests first devised for school children and applied also to the diagnosis of feeble-mindedness in criminals and institutional cases, the assumption being that an adult who could not pass a test suitable for a normal child of

[1] Murray, M. A., *The Witch-cult in Central Europe*, 10.

twelve was feeble-minded. But by this test as applied to the draft army it was found that it would be necessary to diagnose 47 per cent of the whites and 89 per cent of the negroes as feeble-minded. It now became plain that the tests had been to some extent measuring education. All the "illiterates"—negroes, Poles, Italians, etc.—graded low. The Polish and Italian immigrants were much nearer the negroes than the whites. A second test, called the Beta, was therefore prepared which attempted to eliminate the factor of learning, and by this very different results were reached. The literate negro graded slightly higher than the illiterate white, the literate emigrants graded far above the illiterate, etc. At the same time negroes as a whole remained below whites as a whole, and literate negroes below literate whites. On the other hand, the literate negroes of New York graded higher than the whites as a whole in certain isolated southern regions. But while the Beta test revealed in a surprising way the importance of cultural factors in intelligence it evidently did not succeed in eliminating them, and the results as between negroes and whites remain negative.

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